

Beyond Looking:
Sebastião Salgado's Religious Response to a World in Crisis

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Senior Religion Thesis
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Spring 2006



IMAGE A: *São Paulo, Brazil (1996)*

Against a sky-scraper etched horizon, pajama-clad baby bottoms spill forth, nearly overwhelming the scene. They look as if they are not human at all, rather cotton-skinned hatchlings emerging from a deep sleep. The photograph casts the viewer's gaze almost on ground-level with the toddlers, distorting the scale so that the high-rise buildings in the background appear as plastic building blocks. With the exception of one lone being perched above the group in a high chair, the twenty or so toddlers sprawl across a coarse, weather-resistant carpet, some caught in the midst of a tumble or a tentative crawl upwards, while others flop helplessly on the ground, resigned to the horizontal. That the toddlers loom so largely in the foreground exaggerates their stalled motion—one can imagine gazing upon this sea of downy

soft cotton-swathed babies in real time, as if they were an extraordinarily large and human-looking species of ants, lumbering over the feeble buildings in the background just as easily as they do each other's bodies. Because the individual toddlers seem so absorbed in their own unique motions, viewing the group in its entirety provokes the itching suspicion that the above-described photograph has undergone manipulation—that the toddlers were photographed individually and then inserted and compiled into a single image so as to make believe a compositional coherence.

Though the image formally evokes, and perhaps encourages, a degree of creative imagining and association, the viewer must not stray too far into his or her fantasies. The accompanying caption—*São Paulo, Brazil (1996)*—demands recognition for the “reality” of the scene depicted. Thus obliged to consider the photograph not as a posed composition but as a *photographic re-presentation of a real-life moment*, the viewer must address several pressing questions: What is going on here? Where exactly are these children, and how did they get there? Why are they in such a position so that they can be photographed and shown to an unacquainted viewer? The rest of the caption, worded by the photographer Sebastião Salgado himself, notes that the “Children crawl around on the roof of a child-welfare center in São Paulo. When *exploding cities blow up* families, toddlers like these are *dumped by desperate parents*”¹ [emphasis mine] Salgado's diction conveys tragedy and violence, contrasting the innocence of toddlers against the brutality of cities. The image itself divides into vertically stacked halves, the bottom representing a clean expanse of chubby-cheeked, cotton purity while the top half exposes a gritty, jagged urban landscape dangerously encroaching upon the toddlers, so close it almost touches them. The steady hum of city traffic sounds off in the background. A horn blast or lone

¹ Sebastião Salgado, “Outcast: Displaced People of the World,” *Time Magazine*, <<http://www.time.com/time/daily/special/photo/salgado/5.html>> (2 February 2006).

voice calling into the air possibly punctuates the suffocating, grimy and cloying humidity of the city air. Salgado thus lends the plight of the toddlers a visceral realness and a moral gravity that causes the photograph to acquire new resonance. Two important questions linger: What will happen to these children? And what are “we,” the viewing audience, supposed to do about this snapshot of “reality” that we see before us?

Beyond doctrine and theological content, I stake the claim that religion deals with the issues of aesthetics and ethics alluded to above. The sense that there is something essentially incorrect about the children’s situation derives from norms and values reflective of a viewer’s social realities and standards of right and wrong—parents should care for their children and children should not lay abandoned on a city rooftop. Seeing Salgado’s image reminds his audience of their moral and ethical sensibilities to injustices inflicted upon human life, and he urges them to respond. From within this relationship between aesthetics and ethics—seeing and acting—religion and religious symbolism emerge as ways in which people implicitly and explicitly orient themselves to the ordinary and the extraordinary. To borrow from religious historian Catherine L. Albanese, I conceptualize “ordinary” as representing meanings and values found within society, while “extraordinary” constitutes meanings and values above and beyond the boundaries of human society. The “extraordinary” serves as standards against which people in society must evaluate themselves.² Salgado’s photographs serve as an example of a form of representation that wields symbolic energy in orienting people to the world. Thus, his images occupy a space between the ordinary and extraordinary by enabling viewers access to the extraordinary through use of the ordinary. I note “extraordinary” and “ordinary” not to unduly separate them into mutually exclusive categories. Instead, I argue that while strategic, religious

² Catherine L. Albanese, *Nature Religion in America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 6-7.

use of the ordinary can suggest and tap into something of the extraordinary, the extraordinary sought for in Salgado's conceptualization of religion may very well locate itself within the ordinary.

To make my point explicit, I argue in this essay that Salgado utilizes his photography as a language with which to communicate what he sees as wrong with the world and to transform the ways in which his audience perceives and responds to very real, human injustice and suffering. He deploys his images as tools to stimulate an experience of meaningful, extraordinary reality that exists beyond the confines of what he considers his audience's typical mode of visual perception. For Salgado, the underlying moral imperative and the extraordinary reality that he wishes to expose constitutes "humanity." Salgado thinks that economic and perceptual crises have so removed people from understanding their basic material needs and essential commonality as human beings that "humanity" operates here as transcendent — above and beyond the ordinary "alienated" perception. Thus, Salgado attempts to overcome a normalized, alienated world view and get back to an understanding of the world and human kind based on attention to material needs, common humanity, and mutual accountability. Salgado wants his viewers to extend themselves—perceptually and ethically—beyond their zones of familiarity, so through his photographs he invokes an experience of the extraordinary that situates itself firmly within the material world and thus within the realm of bodily perception and bodily action. Viewers must look at and consider Salgado's material photographs in order to see and understand how he imagines the role of humankind in the world. While refraining from categorizing Salgado's attempt to change the ways in which his viewers see and act as essentially religious, I assert that Salgado's aesthetic and ethical work of disrupting operative systems of

belief and asserting his own symbolically-charged representations of reality can be explored through the framework of religion.

The remainder of this essay deals with how Salgado works to change his viewers' field of perception in such a way that the transformation of seeing leads to an ethical response. The issue of how to act—in acknowledgement of and against a wrong or an injustice that one sees—bears significance when one considers how images oftentimes over-saturate modern viewers.

Particularly in technologically advanced and developed regions of the world, intense media coverage inundates viewers with countless images depicting content ranging from a young Hollywood starlet's trip to the grocery store, to the discovery of a new species of butterfly, to people suffering the ravages of natural disaster, political turmoil and economic upheaval. With respect to the last category of human trauma, some media and culture critics have asserted that modern viewers suffer from compassion fatigue,³ a term coined by psychologists to describe a physical, spiritual and emotional exhaustion that prevents one from feeling or caring for others. Related to the viewing of images, the concept of compassion fatigue suggests that one can only look at and respond emotionally to so many provocative and stress-inducing photographs depicting "pain" and "suffering" before weariness and a numbed self-protection set in. After seeing so many images of even the most egregious cases of misery and violence, many modern viewers—so goes the theory of compassion fatigue—become anesthetized, or apathetic to the images before them. According to this claim, images depicting people dying are categorized into inadequately brief and generalized designations, such as "poverty" and "refugee." Oftentimes, but not always, the images lose meaningful valence, thus doubly victimizing the sufferers, who are gazed upon but not seen. Viewers passively look at swollen bellies and crusty lips signifying

³ Rosemary Thompson, "Compassion Fatigue: The Professional Liability for Caring Too Much," *A Public Entity Risk Symposium*, 2003, <<http://www.riskinstitute.org/symposiumdocs/CompassionFatigue-PERISymposiumPaper.pdf>> (14 April 2006).

starvation. They do not actively see and understand that the body in question belongs to a human being, an individual with a community, a story and very real pain. According to the theory of compassion fatigue, the desensitization of one's seeing capacity—that which enables them to understand the humanity of the “victim” and the complexities of a situation—constitutes a two-part relationship between the viewers and the agents responsible for producing and disseminating images. While the power lies within the viewing audience to passively look or actively see, it can only do so with images provided by the media. If the most popular and wide-reaching media vehicles exclusively employ a visual language identifying, for example, smoke stacks with “pollution,” it exacerbates the viewers' difficult task of discerning meaning from stereotypical categorization. Of course smoke stacks emit destructive particles into the atmosphere, and must be implicated, but electricity-wasting, sports-utility-vehicle-driving consumers must too take responsibility for their role in destroying the environment that all human beings share.

The task of assessing Salgado's work of transforming the ways in which his audience sees and responds to the world requires understanding that compassion fatigue critiques modern viewers for becoming desensitized to images depicting violence, poverty and disease. This essay does not claim that compassion fatigue adversely affects all viewers, nor does it assert that compassion fatigue operates at all in the viewing of photographs. Simply, this paper invokes compassion fatigue for two purposes: first, to distinguish passive looking from active seeing—one can look at an image of “poverty” and not see or understand how poverty produces significant distress—and second, to create a space in which the complexity of Salgado's aesthetic and ethical work can emerge for the purposes of exploration and close scrutiny.

Salgado's “photojournalism” works to mediate the gap between seeing and action and addresses the resulting religious crisis of injustice. The 2006 exhibition standards used by the

Photographic Society of America assert that “the journalistic value of the photograph,” or its capacity to enable knowing, lies in its “credibility” in representing “the truth”⁴ of news and current events. The expectation that photography can in some cases represent an empirically verifiable reality operates in tension with a perspective that holds individual subconscious and subjective experience responsible for greatly complicating the possibility of knowing “pure” and “objective” reality. Rather than assuming the impossible task of proving either claim, Salgado believes in the potential of his photographs to illuminate a visually absent, but morally urgent reality embedded within the material world. Regarding IMAGE A (São Paulo, Brazil, 1996), the viewer sees that the pictured toddlers have been abandoned by their families because Salgado explicitly describes the truth of the matter as such. By doing so, Salgado makes certain claims of representing, through his photographs, a “real” reality otherwise imperceptible to his audience. According to Salgado, the viewer needs to see, as well as respond, in a certain way to his representations of reality. Salgado tries to close the gap between seeing and acting by striving to make perception precipitate what he considers ethical action.

Salgado’s assertion of a reality that he sees but others may not provokes several questions—What is the “truth” that Salgado sees? Why are others unable to discern the same “reality”? And how does looking at his photographs enable one to see as Salgado does? As a Marxist economist turned photographer, Salgado orients himself to and interprets the world through a materialist framework, such that his understanding of the critically-charged gap between perception and action lies rooted in a material explanation. As noted above, people typically employ sense perception to know and move through the world. But, if looking is all we have, and looking itself is not good enough, how can we know anything? I suggest that the issue

⁴ “Consolidated Exhibition Standards,” *Photographic Society of America*, 1 January 2006, <<http://www.psa-photo.org/ces2006.pdf>> (14. April 2006).

of religion emerges here again, as religion oftentimes involves how one sees, knows and acts in the world. Thus, privileging the visual sense, while complicating the visual sense's ability to meaningfully negotiate the world, produces feelings of alienation and disenchantment with a world that remains frustratingly incomprehensible. If access to truth and reality has been complicated beyond the sure grasp of the modern viewer, then, so has the moral system from which engaged, ethical action springs. Thus, sense perception plays a part in how people construct attitudes towards what constitutes as meaningful, and how they act according to such notions. Perhaps, then, the capacity and ability of sense perception to access the ordinary and extraordinary can be understood in religious terms. At the risk of generalizing, it is interesting to suggest that Salgado sees his audience as alienated from their senses. Because the modern viewer oftentimes compartmentalizes his or her bodily senses, such that one tastes in a restaurant, one hears at the symphony, and one sees to navigate the world, he or she debilitates his or her own ethical capacity, which works in part from sense perception. In other words, the way we see informs what we perceive or judge as meaningful, which in turn should, thinks Salgado, move us to act accordingly.

Salgado thinks that an underlying moral imperative driving the relationship between seeing and acting comes from the fact that we are all human beings. Once people overcome the alienation within themselves and from others and realize their common humanity and shared accountability for the problems of the world, Salgado believes that all people can care about and take responsibility for each other as sharers of one planet and one humankind. Because Salgado thinks that many of his viewers suffer from sensory alienation, and perhaps compassion fatigue, that renders them unable to connect with and understand other people—to truly *see* in others the humanity present in themselves—he employs photographic technique and verbal directives to

cue, focus and engage his viewers' cognitive and sensory attention. In doing so, he attempts to illuminate, vis-à-vis his photographs, that which is visually "absent" but nonetheless a very real "something." By constructing a certain way of seeing and evaluating the world, Salgado tries to transform his viewers' response to what they look at and come to know.

Causing one to look, however, constitutes just one part of Salgado's method. For Salgado's purpose of reorganizing his audience's perceptual experience, the aesthetic work of subverting one world view so as to illuminate his own requires rethinking the conception of aesthetics. Stemming from the Greek word, "aisthesis," for "sense perception," aesthetics encompass all of one's senses, thus making it "born as a discourse of the body"⁵ and "nothing less than the whole or our sensate life together."⁶ Most human beings utilize sense perception—seeing, hearing, tasting, touching, smelling—to help themselves organize and move through the world and interact with other seeing, hearing, tasting, touching, smelling bodies. Though the concept of compassion fatigue points to a gap between seeing and action, it problematizes, rather than refutes, the significance of the visual sense. Thus, this essay does not argue for the priority of one sense over another or try to establish how all people employ their senses to navigate their physical and cosmic worlds. In keeping with religious historian David Chidester's work on the significance of visual and auditory symbols in Judeo-Christian religious discourse, I observe here that sense perception operates as one significant mode for humans to know themselves, each other and the world. To my discussion, Chidester contributes great insight into the different attributes characterizing seeing and hearing. However, I draw the most inspiration from his exploration of how the interpenetration and unification of different modes of sense perception

⁵ Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 13, quoted in S. Brent Plate, *Religion, Art, and Culture: A Cross-Cultural Reader* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 20.

⁶ Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 13, quoted in Constance Classen, *The Color of Angels: Cosmology, Gender and the Aesthetic Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 2.

create what he calls a sort of synesthetic “antistructure” that violates “normalizing expectations about the world of perception” and “breaks through structured limitations that organize experience.”⁷ “Synesthesia” refers to the integration of senses to produce extraordinary and paradoxical results, two examples of which include “radiant sound” or “luminous taste.” Synesthesia thus transgresses perceptual structures by combining senses in new and unexpected ways. Chidester’s discussion of synesthesia and its capacity to make the familiar unfamiliar and represent the un-representable helpfully frames what I argue is the religious quality of Salgado’s attempt to represent through a visual medium the invisible, but nonetheless perceptible.

To analyze how Salgado attempts to produce multi-sensory experiences that work to shatter the categories and assumptions operative in visually-dominated viewers, German writer Walter Benjamin will prove crucial. Benjamin’s work on surrealism and the technologies of reproduction will illuminate how Salgado uses photographic techniques to intimately connect his audience with the people in his photographs. He does not want his viewers to passively look at his photograph and process the difference in lines, forms and tones. He wants them to recognize in his aesthetic language the people, stories, and humanity that he sees vividly in the people whom he photographs. Drawing from Benjamin’s work on surrealism and the movement’s efforts to reclaim multi-sensory experience as a means of facilitating ethical, reciprocal seeing rather than voyeuristic, alienating seeing, I argue that Salgado deploys the tactic of “profane illumination” in hopes of overcoming what Benjamin calls “religious illumination.”⁸ Both illuminations provide “different kinds of moments that stimulate different kinds of attitudes and responses,”⁹ thus indelibly shaping the way one sees and understands things. However, the

⁷ David Chidester, *Word and Light* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 17.

⁸ Walter Benjamin, “The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia,” in *Reflections : Essays, Aphorisms, and Autobiographical writing*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1986).

⁹ John Lardas. “8 am Thesis Meeting.” In *Katherine’s Thesis* (Haverford: Religion Department, 2006).

enchantment associated with religious illumination comes from socially normalized moralities that facilitate alienation between and within human beings. To provide an example of a normalized morality, one can consider the opinion that famine is terrible and sad, but simply a part of life. Can such a statement really make moral and ethical sense? By dividing bodily senses from each other, thereby rendering a person unable to respond to situations as a complete, unified sensory being, religious illumination undercuts what Salgado identifies as an underlying moral imperative of humanity and social responsibility. According to Salgado, one must first recognize that actions and behaviors conducted in this earthly life bear real, material and spiritual consequences for the environment and human kind before seeing humanity and worth in one's fellow being. Thus, one can only perceive the implications of his or her behavior if they have the entirety of their sense perception capabilities.

By focusing a person's attention away from this life to the hereafter, where earthly pain will be vindicated, religious illumination produces complacent, alienated and, arguably, inhuman, attitudes towards suffering and injustice. In contrast, "profane illumination" constitutes for Benjamin a type of enchantment that breaks through religious illumination. "Profane" refers to the ordinary materiality of the everyday, and Salgado sees great potential in the profane to "intoxicate" his viewers. Very generally, intoxication disorients and *shakes up*, so to speak, a person's perspective of the world. By disrupting one's typically stable field of vision, intoxication works to dislocate people from their religiously-illuminated realities and use their bodily senses to grasp the real truth of a dignified humanity embedded in the world. By attempting to challenge his viewers' way of seeing and transform their experience of looking at

his photographs, Salgado attempts to expose his viewers' "optical unconscious,"¹⁰ or the "stock imagery"¹¹ of swollen bellies and emaciated bodies that they unknowingly use to look at and interpret the world. Profane illumination may in turn effect a perceptual "revolution"¹² that overthrows religious illumination and lays down the groundwork for the development of connected, human-to-human relationships.

I situate my discussion of Sebastião Salgado's photographic work within a religious discourse concerning aesthetics, ethics and representation. Analysis of Salgado's photographs occupies a central role, as this essay focuses on how Salgado employs his images as an access point through which viewers can participate in a visceral experience of the extraordinary. I assert that Salgado deploys his images as a tool for transforming his audience's vision and engendering an ethical response. To substantiate my claim, I will explore Salgado's economic background as a means of grasping what experiences and training have significantly shaped how Salgado conceptualizes the proposed gap between seeing and action. By analyzing Salgado's extensive Marxist economic training, this paper will appropriate Marxist-informed language and concepts that may prove helpful in illuminating the economic and perceptive crises Salgado sees ailing the world and humanity. His expansion of aesthetics beyond the visual sense to an embodied, active engagement importantly draws upon critical energy resulting from the gap between seeing and action. I will discuss how Salgado utilizes a variety of photographic and technological techniques to attempt to create a multi-sensory experience that, on one hand, shatters a visually-dominated perceptive mode that blinds one's ethical capacity, and on the other, harnesses that critical energy to provoke the viewer into an active, embodied participation with the extraordinary.

¹⁰ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Mechanical Reproducibility, Third Version," in *Selected Writings: Volume 4, 1938-40*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 251-83.

¹¹ Benjamin, "The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia."

¹² Benjamin, "The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia."

The Gap between Seeing and Action: Why “Seeing” Must Change

In this section, I explore how Salgado approaches the gap between seeing and action where the problems of alienation, commodity fetishism, ideology and false consciousness emerge. I situate Salgado’s worldview within the context of his personal recollections, extensive education and self-association with Marxist economics. Though it may seem counterintuitive that Salgado reads Marx as a critique of religion yet also employs Marx as a platform from which to launch his own religious work, I clarify that Marx conceptualized religion as ideology—a total vision of human life that relies upon doctrine and belief to divert one’s attention from earthy suffering and injustice by focusing on “God” and the here-after.¹³ In contrast, I argue for an understanding of religion that provides a space for Salgado to represent his vision of how humanity should operate in the world. Salgado situates his work firmly within the material world, thereby recognizing, along the lines of Marx, how fundamentally economic realities operate to determine behavior. Thus, a discussion of Salgado’s world view can not entirely divorce itself from Marx. German writer Walter Benjamin’s work on “religious illumination” will further mediate the discussion of Salgado’s Marxist-based religious vision and work and lay the foundation for the following section’s discussion of “profane illumination,” which Benjamin proposes as a solution. Thus, by borrowing Marxist language and working through Benjamin’s concept of religious illumination, this section will establish a conceptual framework necessary for understanding how Salgado views the economic crisis of globalization as causing a perceptual crisis, which in turn leads to an ethical crisis. The perceptual and ethical problems perpetuate the exploitation and suffering of human beings, thus constituting a moral catastrophe.

Sebastião Ribeiro Salgado was born in the small town of Brazilian town of Aimorés on February 8, 1944 to parents of Portuguese Brazilian and Ukrainian Jewish descent. He spent his

¹³ Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 138.

first 15 years in the modest town of his birth, relatively isolated from the major industrialized cities dotting the country.¹⁴ Salgado recalls how his conception of the world radically changed when, he, as a child, traveled with his mother to the capital of his home state of Minas Gerais. Traveling by train, they passed through the Vale do Aço, or Valley of Steel, named for its steel production factories.¹⁵ Seeing for the first time flowing rivers of magma and legions of men laboring before roaring pits of fire, Salgado awakened to a world invigorated by human production. He reveals how profoundly the experience moved him by describing the

*immense buildings which to me rather resembled cathedrals, and I saw these men, almost priests, who worked in this universe of fire and smoke. It was a world of great power, great force. It was there that I understood where pen knives come from.*¹⁶

For Salgado, laying eyes on the process of transforming magma and iron ore into something as seemingly ordinary as a pen knife startles his understanding of the material workings underlying the world. For the first time, he grasps how astonishing it is that human beings have the ability to tap into and utilize for their purposes the extraordinary powers of the earth. He communicates his awe-filled, cosmically resonant recollection by invoking a language heavy with Christian imagery, casting the steelworkers in the role of priests, earthly men called to God and charged with the dual responsibility and blessing of communicating the divine message to humankind. Although Salgado does not affiliate himself with a particular religious tradition,¹⁷ he appropriates the sense of marvel and grandeur coded into the language to translate the wonder of his experience to an audience that may not see the cosmic beauty in steel production that Salgado appreciates. For humankind to develop the means to harness the primal fires of the earth and

¹⁴ Amanda Hopkinson, "Of Human Grandeur," *The Guardian Unlimited*, 27 July 2002, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk.weekend/story/0,3605,762976,00.html>> (20 Mar 2006)

¹⁵ Salgado, *Workers*, 13.

¹⁶ *Looking Back At You*, prod. and dir. Andrew Snell, 59 min., BBC-TV and Amaya/YLE, 1998, videocassette.

¹⁷ Simon Hattenstone, "In the Beginning," *The Guardian Unlimited*, 11 September 2004, <<http://arts.guardian.co.uk/salgado/story/0,,1301861,00.html>>

transform it into an object as innocuous and ordinary as a pen knife amazed Salgado then and continues to amaze him today, as indicated by his still awe-filled description. Understandably, given how early and intensely his interest in labor was piqued, Salgado gravitated towards the materialist philosophy of Karl Marx and pursued his interests through to the highest levels, first studying for his Masters Degree in Economics (1969) at the University of São Paulo (Brazil) and Vanderbilt University (USA), and then completing the course work for a doctorate in economics at the University of Paris in 1971.¹⁸

His career took a different turn, however, two years following the completion of his formal education. While working as an economist for the International Coffee Organization, Salgado and his wife, Lélia Wanick Salgado, visited Kenya on assignment.¹⁹ Borrowing his wife's recently purchased camera, Salgado began taking photographs, first of his family, and then of the people and places around him. The images of Kenyan tea workers lingered within his mind, and he began to wonder, "Do pictures *reveal* more than statistics?"²⁰ [emphasis mine] Interestingly, Salgado's choice of the word "reveal" to describe the end goal of economics and photography suggests three points. First, there exists to Salgado a reality accessible through photography and economics. Second, that this reality requires "revealing" implies that there exists a severance between reality and people's ability to access it on their own. Third, while economics and photography both mediate what Salgado understands as true reality, the mode of photography somehow works to more effectively complete the task of unveiling²¹ the truth as he

¹⁸ Sebastião Salgado, interview by Carole Naggar, New York, 29 March 2000.
<<http://www.terra.com.br/sebastiaosalgado/>> 30 February 2006.

¹⁹ Mev Puleo, "The Prophetic Act of Bearing Witness: The Work of Sebastião Salgado," in *Arts Magazine*, (July 1, 1994), 19.

²⁰ *The Spectre of Hope*. dir. Paul Carlin, prod. Paula Jalfon, Colin MacCabe, Adam Simon, 52 min., Minerva Picture Company, 2000, videocassette.

²¹ Within New Testament studies, the words "unveiling" and "revealing" clearly resonate with the literary genre of Revelation discourses, which are very generally characterized by the communication of knowledge necessary for salvation to humankind by an angelic messenger. Similarly, "Apocalypticism," which literally means

sees it. Clearly, Salgado holds a certain view of what is real and meaningful, but what does he think accounts for other people's inability to see as he does? Economics provide a certain body of statistics to help people conceptualize the operations of the world. But, Salgado suggests, for the purpose of engendering an ethical response to whatever conditions and injustices are implied by quantitative data, economics fail to adequately facilitate "seeing," or comprehension of what Salgado sees as real, meaningful reality.

Salgado thus recognizes a gap between how one sees the world and how one acts according to and in response to that understanding. His original interest in Marxist economics suggests that he locates the causes of the gap between seeing and action in a Marxist-informed, materialist-based explanation. It may prove helpful, then, to frame the discussion with a few key terms—alienation, false-consciousness, ideology and commodity fetishism—that offer Salgado a source of religious critique and religious vision. Discussion of these terms will help shed light on how Salgado understands the economic and perceptual—seeing, so to speak—modes of understanding the world to paradoxically divide from and inform each other. In "German Ideology," Marx asserts that "As individuals express their life, so they are."²² Marx implies that *how* people produce their means of subsistence and *what* they produce inextricably links with what they themselves are. Salgado offers numerous photographs representing his view of this relationship done right, so that the object of one's production works in coordination with the complexities and richness of the individuals. Please consider one example, located on the following page. From the top right corner of the image, flattened sinews of steel nervously wave

"unveiling" or "revealing," characterizes a world view held by many ancient Jews and Christians, and maintains that evil forces control the present age, but God will vanquish them at the end of time. While this essay does not explicitly fit Salgado within the tradition of prophetic messengers charged with the task of "revealing" to humankind a message from God, I point out these associations to provide another angle from which one can access Salgado's work in terms of religion. See *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "German Ideology," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978), 150.

horizontally across the page before coasting downward, tracing out a left vertical edge. Immediately behind the thin bands, a thick, segmented cylinder lazily unfurls from the lower right corner, complimenting with its upward posture the downward flowing sinews of steel. On the right side, a square-edged shaft forms a slightly slanted parallel edge. Thinner beams intersect the musculature of the page, intricately slicing out a geometry of tubular forms and shadowed crevices. Framed within the midst of these criss-crossing sinews and shafts, a denim or canvas-clothed man embraces the flattened bands of steel. He wears a hard hat on his head while shadows cast by overhead beams obscure the contours of his face. Only his body is illuminated by a soft light streaming its rays downward, suspending the worker's body in mid-air. Gracefully, as if in between breaths, his arms grasp the steel pipes in a sure embrace, while his outstretched legs lightly hook around the cylinder and steel shaft. The angle of his body suggests that he urges himself against the crisply metallic coolness of the pipes in an attempt to meld his body into steel. In fact, the thick, course grey of his simple attire seems cut out of the same sturdy material used to construct the pipes against which he presses his body.²³

Salgado includes this image in *Workers*, his extensive survey of manual and industrial laborers in the world and includes only the following information: "A worker maintains pipes—part of the electronic cabling system—around the number-four furnace. Dunkirk, France, 1987."²⁴ The simplicity of Salgado's description and his focus on identifying the function of the worker in his photograph belies the image's sensuousness, but perhaps fittingly suggests the relationship between the worker represented here and the pipes that he maintains. After seeing

²³ A. Cooper has observed that the depicted worker may struggle to contain an inner erotic energy and suggests this inner monologue of desire and conflict: "I want to love you but I better not/Touch (don't touch)/I want to hold you but my senses/Tell me to stop/I want to kiss you but I want it too Much (too much)/I want to taste you but your lips Are venomous poison." The pipes, of course, lack lips, which, on one hand, serve to increase the worker's tension, and on the other, save the worker from ingesting *Poison*.

²⁴ Salgado, *Workers*, caption book, 15.



IMAGE B: *Dunkirk, France, 1987*

and experiencing this image, it proves difficult to imagine the worker and the pipes in any other configuration than how Salgado represents them here. The worker fits so seamlessly and gracefully within the body of what the viewer now realizes is a cabling system, that to remove him would require violence to the coherence of the image. The worker perhaps *needs* to be with the steel pipes around which his livelihood pivots. But, to note an important point of contrast, this worker's represented need does not seem to be exploitive or destructive. Rather, Salgado offers this image as an example of how he thinks human beings can and should relate to the objects of their production.

Homages to workers, such as described above, contrast against the problematic economic and perceptual modes that Salgado sees people using to understand the world, and Salgado addresses with the bulk of his photographs these economic and perceptual crises. To give a very abbreviated and general summation of a few principles of Marx's economic theory, a capitalist system produces alienation by dividing production into different labor sets, such that different people with different skill sets perform different parts of production.²⁵ This division of labor promotes alienation in two ways: first, between the worker and his object of production, which no longer adequately represents the complex entirety of the worker; second, between the worker and the consumer of his object of production, who relates to the worker strictly through a relationship of commodity trade. In this production order, the worker no longer knows the product of his labor as his own, while the consumer does not know the worker who produced the acquired object. As human beings reproduce, societies grow, and production and consumption relationships become more complicated and intertwined, people lose grasp of the non-economic values that formerly connected them.²⁶ Because they no longer see and participate in each other's

²⁵ Pals, 134.

²⁶ Pals, 133.

common humanity, they no longer feel directly accountable for their fellow human beings. Individual concerns assert themselves over communal interests, and all involved people alienate and dislocate themselves from each other. That is, they cease recognizing in each other living human value. Marx indicts capitalism as encouraging such individualist practices.

The globalization system²⁷ that Salgado identifies as wreaking havoc upon the world and human kind exacerbates what Salgado considers a religious crisis, caused by the cumulative human, perceptual and ethical alienation described above. Because globalization constitutes the penetration of free market capitalism into all areas of the world faster, deeper, and more intensely than ever before,²⁸ the dominating global order that Salgado perceives extends a network of alienation across the world. Expanded to such an enormous scale, the interpersonal alienation between a few individuals transforms into a world-wide chokehold of egregious and systematic inequality. In theory, globalization implies that all people across the world share access to the same resources and opportunities. In practice, however, Salgado sees that the spread of free market capitalism around the world, and with it, the privileging of individual economic gain, has distributed the majority of wealth and power into the pockets of the developed world, which constitutes a minority of the total world population. He defines this era of globalization as “an incredible system that we have created in order to transfer wealth from one part of the planet to the other...”²⁹ In religious terms, Salgado sees that the very values and meanings that human kind has created contains within it the seeds for humanity’s own

²⁷ Economists, politicians and other observers of the world hotly debate whether the world has fully globalized or not. Arguing for either position lies beyond the realm of this paper, but suffice it so say that Salgado thinks the world has globalized. For a more in-depth discussion of globalization and its economic, social and cultural implications, see *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, ed. David Held and Anthony McGrew (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2003).

²⁸ David Held et al, “Rethinking Globalization,” in *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, ed. David Held and Anthony McGrew (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2003), 67-73.

²⁹ *The Spectre of Hope*. dir. Paul Carlin and prod. Paula Jalfon, Colin MacCabe, Adam Simon, 52 min, Minerva Picture Company, 2000, videocassette.

destruction, yet many people fail to see what devastation they have helped to create. While many in the minority developed world enjoy unprecedented luxury and decadence, the majority³⁰ developing world struggles to satisfy even its most basic needs for safety, food, clean water, and steady employment. Thus, the perceptual crisis constituted by alienation comes from and feeds back into an economic crisis embodied by Salgado's interpretation of globalization. Operating together, the perceptual and economic crises produce a morally-charged religious emergency of dehumanizing inequality and injustice.

Engendering an ethical response to a problem of injustice requires access to some degree of power. But, the system of globalization described by Salgado makes it impossible for the people of the developing world to empower themselves because they wield no economic leverage. Proponents of globalization observe that because financial hubs, such as New York, London and Tokyo, in the developed world drive global financial activity,³¹ the decisions made by the minority developed world determine the labor and production undertaken by workers in the developing world. On the one hand illustrating the interconnectivity and interdependence of people in a globalized world order, the system itself then precludes the possibility that the severely oppressed and impoverished people of the developing world can ever assert themselves economically. For example, Salgado offers as an example how the pricing of raw materials from Africa is determined by "people in New York."³² Significantly alienated from each other by geographic, cultural and social distances, the "people in New York" do not take into consideration the needs of people in "Africa."³³ While the prices may stand competitively on a general world-wide scale, they fail to provide adequate compensation for the African workers

³⁰ Designation taken from Salgado's *Majority World*.

³¹ Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999), 116.

³² *The Spectre of Hope*.

³³ *The Spectre of Hope*.

and their particular needs and circumstances. Despite the workers' labor, they still struggle to make even a subsistence wage. He readily recalls how on one trip to Africa he saw

*these guys working hard, working twelve hours a day to produce. They produced a lot, they worked a lot, and what can they buy with their products or earnings? They cannot buy health services, they cannot buy a house, they cannot buy education. But they work as much as us.*³⁴

Because the only market for their goods exists in the developed world, they *must* agree to the low prices or receive no money at all. Aptly articulating the perversion of the globalization world order, Salgado dryly observes that “they pay you to consume them.”³⁵ Consequently, not only are workers in the developing world alienated from the objects of their production and the developing world consumers who purchase their goods, but the workers are compelled by the system itself to participate in world wide relationships that actively deny the fulfillment of their most basic needs and yield no possibility for self-empowerment. No matter how hard they work, they cannot overcome the developed-world-dominated globalization system that exploits them and others of the developing world. Because all time, thought and movement merges towards maintaining the one goal of bare survival, the people of the developing world come to embody their alienation. Thus, the world economic order of globalization bleeds into the social and moral order of human kind. People *must* have money to fulfill their most basic needs, and they *must* work, and so they *must* participate in the very system that, at best, commodifies their labor so that the workers themselves hold little significance as individuals, or, at worst, systematically exploits and destroys them. The compulsive and totalizing conviction that there exists only one way to exist in the world resonates with Marx's conception of ideology³⁶—those systems of ideas, policies and practices that pretend to reflect one's true interests, but in actuality, work to

³⁴ Salgado, “Introduction,” *Migrations*, 3.

³⁵ *The Spectre of Hope*.

³⁶ Marx, 148.

satisfy the interests of the minority dominating class and legitimate the suffering of the majority working class.

Walter Benjamin, in his essay entitled “The Last Snapshot of European Intelligentsia,” similarly argued against the ideology of the power-wielding bourgeois, though he conceptualizes the problem of ideology in terms of “religious illumination.”³⁷ The “religious” component here references Marx’s critique of doctrinal religion and theology as the embodiment of ideology, the totalizing belief system that diverts one’s attention to the hereafter so as to avoid dealing with problems of one’s earthy life.³⁸ Benjamin criticizes religious illumination as a “conservative revolution” that makes gestures towards social change, but in actuality exists to perpetuate material oppression and injustice. People who are religiously illuminated intellectually contemplate a situation and feel “optimism” that circumstances will change and liberation will be had, but, as Benjamin points out, freedom never comes and material problems persist. Thus, religious illumination represents for Benjamin passivity and complacency, which he rejects as ineffectual and perhaps pernicious because it reproduces the false consciousness that material problems will resolve themselves without human agency.

Benjamin’s description of religious illumination aptly characterizes Salgado’s own religious critique of the globalization orientation to the world—the belief that there exists no other possible order than the current system of globalization. Thus, the world economic crisis perpetuated by globalization parallels what Salgado thinks is a misperception that globalization *must* reign as the current world order. Salgado protests that “Globalization is presented to us as a reality, but not as a solution.”³⁹ This injustice and alienation of economics and perception constitutes for Salgado a chronic and compelling crisis of perception, orientation and constructed

³⁷ Benjamin, “The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia.”

³⁸ Pals, 138.

³⁹ Salgado, “Introduction,” *Migrations*, 15.

meanings gone haywire. He sees how violently humans act against each other and the world and thinks that it all could have been prevented had they not so deeply believed in the rightness—or inescapability—of the system that entrenches them in the mires of their own alienation.

The discrepancy between the haves and the have-nots, such that millions of people die from diseases and conditions foreign or outrageous to the developed world, greatly upsets Salgado, who sees its counterpart reflected in the perceptual crisis represented by the gap between seeing and action. A consumer in Delaware, USA reads that his T-Shirt bears the label, “Made in Guatemala,” but he may not comprehend the intricate and alienating production processes underlying the manufacturing of his shirt. If the consumer does recognize that clothing made in Guatemala may suggest production conditions far beneath American standards, he may shrug and explain, “Well, that’s the way clothes are made. There is nothing I can do about it.” His perceptual understanding fails to facilitate an ethical response. Likewise, for the Guatemalan worker, the American consumer exists as a face-less, bodiless figure that represents no substantive meaning. The worker, instead, focuses on the wages he or she must earn to survive. Thus, though the shirt embodies the medium through which the worker and consumer can connect, the two sides nonetheless remain significantly alienated from each other. Marx’s theory of commodity fetishism⁴⁰ applies here, as it speaks of social relationships determined by the economic value of things exchanged, rather than the people who produce those items. By interacting through the language of commodities, the human beings occupying either end of the exchange never connect. Because they do not see and understand each other, they do not feel in any way connected by what Salgado calls “the dignity of humanity.”⁴¹ He urges that

More than ever, I feel that the human race is one. There are differences of color, language, culture, and opportunities, but people’s feelings and reactions are alike.

⁴⁰ Daniel L. Pals, 138.

⁴¹ Amanda Hopkinson, “Sebastian Salgado,” *British Journal of Photography* 6762 (29 March 1990): 11.

*People flee wars to escape death, they migrate to improve their fortunes, they build new lives in foreign lands...*⁴²

Yet, despite the common patterns of behavior, mutual interests to make for themselves and their families better lives, and shared determination to protect their loved ones from bodily harm, and individualist-focused economic values trump humanist values. Salgado thinks that this crisis of perception—one characterized by people's inability to truly see each other's humanity—prevents people from seeing the complexities, pain and suffering of their fellow human being.

That the economic conditions of globalization compel workers and consumers alike to think that the conditions of production must divide and alienate as it does, and that there are no other options provides prime breeding ground for the exploitation of workers. Marx's intellectual partner Friedrich Engels employs the term "false consciousness"⁴³ to describe such a situation in which people think that they know the reasons why they act. In actuality, he asserts, forces of the dominant culture and social system—ideology⁴⁴—operate to compel people's behavior and thinking in ways beyond their own comprehension. False consciousness, then, constitutes a perceptual crisis of sorts and correlates with Benjamin's notion of religious illumination. Ideology, false consciousness, commodity fetishism and religious illumination thus operate to blind both the exploited and the exploiters from material reality and their common humanity, so that they feel no investment or accountability for each other's livelihoods. Alienation thus engenders dehumanization, which in turn renders impossible any move towards ethical action.

Considered on a macro scale, globalization causes nations of people to uproot and migrate in the hope of attaining better lives. In 2000, Salgado published *Migrations*, a photographic survey of mass displacement and movement that communicates the message that

⁴² Salgado, "Introduction," *Migrations*, 15.

⁴³ Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 89.

⁴⁴ Pals, 138.

the leaving of one life for another does not occur without great violence to modes of living, family structures and personal safety. Through his photographs, Salgado demonstrates that armed conflicts arise between groups competing for power and resources, and countless children, women and men flee as refugees from their homes and ways of life. Greed and political corruption cripple some governments, thus rendering their infrastructure incapable of supporting and helping their people. Foreign governments and relief organizations offer short-term aid, but the root problems of injustice exist. Much to his surprise, Salgado also discovered in his travels how powerfully the forces obscuring one's perceptual vision and debilitating one's ethical capacity operate in all people, whether they come from the developed or developing world. He reflects that the capacity of humans to adapt to the most terrible atrocities is "incredible," and relays a personal experience to expand upon his observation. He describes how

A man walked up with a child in his arms, and discussed something with someone nearby. Then he walked up to a pile of bodies and threw the child on top. I ran up to him and said "Old man, who was this child? And the man told me it was his child who died the night before. He just threw him on the pile and left. He had completely adapted himself to this world of death."⁴⁵

So pervasively does perceptual alienation operate to obscure people's fundamental morality and respect for human life that even the exploited—those so intimately acquainted with economic injustice and material inequality—can, in some cases, stop seeing the horror of their circumstances. Alienation operates everywhere and in everyone, though it takes on a particularly pernicious form when the economically marginalized and oppressed lose grasp of their own situation. The exploited are, then, alienated doubly. That human bodies—and the personalities, history and feelings that those forms once carried—can be so easily discarded as trash horrifies

⁴⁵ Sebastião Salgado, "Migrations," Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities Occasional Papers Series, ed. Christina M. Gillis, (Berkeley: 2002), 7.

Salgado. The pressing question of how one's sense of morality and respect for the dignity of human life could be so directly degraded lingers in the air.

Such descriptions outline the destructive economic and social crises that Salgado sees human kind participating in, but Salgado argues most passionately through his photographs. Consider Image C, located on the following page. The immediate focus belongs to a young man. Sprawled on his back against the mound of rolled blankets, he looks as if he has just lay down for an afternoon nap. His body twists, however, in an awkward curve, simultaneously conveying the sense of rag doll helplessness and death-stiffened rigidity. The flesh on his body has emaciated so much so that the skin draws tightly against his cheekbones, pulling his mouth and deeply sunken eyes wide open to form a shiny, rubbery mask. His eyes point downward, away from the viewer's gaze, but his body spreads open, displaying a bare chest, fingers extended and hardened into a solid glove, and knees gently crossed, as if he were preserving his modesty. At his feet curls another body—is it a child? a man or a woman?—positioned also as if in sleep, his/her arms pulled in close to the face. Something about the slenderness of the person's arms and the hip and thigh-hugging sweater suggests a woman, but it is so hard to tell. She lays on the ground, making her final resting place on a bitter bed of baked earth and sharp, piercing straw. Look very closely at the space immediately left of the young man's elbow and an inch above the head of the woman(?), and you will discern within the pile of bodies and blankets a face and hand peeping out from a darkened space. The face and hand appear upside down, indicating that the person to whom they belong lies on his or her back. Perhaps he or she was not completely dead when thrown away. Perhaps he or she had, in the frenzy of death throes, dug out an air hole as a futile last attempt to gasp a life-saving breath. In the back, towards the left side, another body rests, this time kneeling downward as if caught in a quiet moment of humble prayer.



IMAGE C: *Area of Goma, Zaire, 1994*

That this person rests on her(?) knees lends an added violence to the scene. Of all the many pernicious elements represented in the image, that this woman can not recline, even in death, seems especially cruel. Ignoring the scorching blaze of the mid-day sun and heat, a tractor rumbles forward, posed to dump the array of bodies and blankets caught in its ravenous jaws. In the silence of death and abandonment, only the screeching mechanical moans of the tractor lends any indication of movement. The stench of rotting corpses fills the dry air with a rank sweetness, and one wonders when the vultures will swoop down to feast. And the tractor? Who drives the tractor? Who urges those cartoonishly-large wheels to move forward, crunching over scorched earth, straw and bone-crackling bodies? Who coaxes the tractors' steel jaws to scoop up and dump out so many bodies and blankets into a single, jumbled mess? The harsh intensity of the mid-day sun reflects off the window-eyes of the machine, thus veiling its driver, warding off the questions, "How can you stand it? The smell? The bodies that once vibrated with life and personality? What horror is this?"

But the questions urgently persist, and Salgado explains,

*In the camp at Kibumba, thousands of Rwandan refugees die daily of cholera, dysentery, and starvation, victims of one of those most horrific tragedies of recent history. These photographs show the burials of more than 4,000 persons, far too many to permit funeral rituals. French Army tractors pile the bodies up against mounds of volcanic lava and then cover them with earth. Death has become a management problem. Zaire, 1994.*⁴⁶

In seeing the image, one easily recognizes many things wrong, the most obvious being that a machine dumps corpses into a pile for "burial." To a developed world audience, such treatment of the dead violates what seems a "natural" respect for passed lives. This reaction suggests that whether coded by religious, cultural or otherwise social values, human life, for many human beings, bears meaning. Carelessness with bodies in death transgresses these morals. Thus, recognizing a gross mishandling of dead bodies, the viewer immediately searches for a reason

⁴⁶ Salgado, *Migrations* caption book, 12.

why this injustice, this blatant offense against valued human life, takes place. The tractor driver seems a ready target for the viewer, who proclaims, “Of course the driver is to blame! The driver treats these dead people so appallingly—look, I can see it for myself! The evidence is right there in the photograph.” But Salgado does not let his gentle viewer off so easily. As his caption explains, the people in his photograph are, or, rather, once were, Rwandan refugees, who, around 1994, fled their home country for asylum in Zaire. Presumably, the people whose bodies crumple like refuse on the scorched earth fled the ethnic genocide terrorizing their country, but the image illustrates their fate. Though they escaped death by violence of war, they found a similarly brutal and unnecessary death by violence of starvation and disease.

Significantly, Salgado locates this image within *Migrations*, the collection of images in which he explicitly and passionately articulates the individualist-focused, globalization-facilitated crises threatening to annihilate human kind. By showing a French Army tractor disposing of bodies in a way deemed most efficient, but terribly unnatural and wrong to his viewers, Salgado reports the fact of this mode of burial and offers his critique. His composition and caption attempt to startle viewers from their secure worlds and remind them of their moral and ethical sensibilities demanding that human beings, dead or alive, cannot be treated in such a detached, dehumanized fashion. Earlier in this essay, I asserted that Salgado’s images serve as mediated access points through which viewers can access their conceptions of the extraordinary, the space beyond that bears judgment upon the ordinary. His image and caption provoke one to grasp for that sense of the extraordinary in order to try to make sense of what they see.

Accordingly, they wonder, “Is this the best that we can do?” Salgado’s photograph points to the how deeply people are entrenched in their alienation, thus conveying the urgency of his task and the moral imperative to reassert humanity that drives his work.

After years of traversing the world and photographing displaced, exploited and laboring people, Salgado describes how he came to understand the implications of globalization on all people:

...everything that happens on earth is connected. We are all affected by the widening gap between rich and poor...by rampant urbanization, by destruction of the environment, by nationalistic, ethnic, and religious bigotry. The people wrenched from their homes are simply the most visible victims of a global convulsion entirely of our own making.⁴⁷

For Salgado, the material dislocation and existential alienation first invoked by Marx starts with a globalizing economic system that allows one group's decisions to profoundly impact people who live thousands of miles away. Even if the t-shirt wearer in Delaware does not personally and directly victimize the Guatemalan factory worker and the viewers of his photograph do not participate in the dumping of human bodies, Salgado asserts that each person must recognize his or her investment in and accountability for the suffering and injustices inflicted upon fellow human beings. When that humanity is not recognized, the intricate interconnectivity resulting from globalization provides for alienation and exploitation to compound and, as a result, deeply dehumanize both the exploiters and the exploited. False consciousness—the compulsion that one *must* participate in exploitive labor to survive, that one *must* buy a t-shirt made under exploitive conditions because that just what happens, and that one *must* use tractors to dispose of so many bodies—subverts what Salgado views as the commonality of all people. He calls this commonality “dignity” and hopes that by overcoming alienation and the false-consciousness—two conditions facilitated by the gap between seeing and action—people will realize the humanity connecting them all. Salgado recalls how in 1987,

I took pictures of steel workers in the Ukraine and France when they were separated by a huge ideological gulf as well as by national borders. But I think that in the end these separations don't really exist. If you go somewhere and close your eyes for a minute and

⁴⁷ Salgado, “Introduction,” in *Migrations*, 8.

*imagine that they are not there, all you see before you is a family of workers, and families within families all around the world.*⁴⁸

For Salgado, then, a deep, abiding humanity resides in every person, in every part of the world, regardless of occupation, color or creed. Ideology, false-consciousness, alienation and commodity fetishism interlink to produce a “religious illumination” that veils people’s ability to see the devastation that humanity inflicts upon itself. Thus, if religion is understood to constitute the ways in which people construct concepts of meaning, the alienated world view produced and exacerbated by globalization produces a religious crisis. According to Salgado’s materialist-based and humanist-infused world view, if people truly see so that they engage in an active process of understanding and participation, they must act accordingly to defend and affirm their humanity—that which Salgado recognizes as the “real” real shrouded beneath ideology and false consciousness.

Salgado believes that as people sharing a common humanity and one planet, we are morally and literally complicit in each other’s suffering. Fred Ritchin, a photo editor and long-time supporter of Salgado’s work, perhaps put it best in his introductory essay to Salgado’s *Sahel: The End of the Road*. Citing a news article, Ritchin explains that sulfur dioxide pollution produced by power plants greatly influenced atmospheric conditions that led to the 1970-85 Sahel drought, one of the most devastating famines ever to strike Africa. Despite other climactic and environmental factors than may have facilitated the drought that led to the deaths of 1.2 million people, Ritchin confesses,

*But it’s particularly disturbing, in hindsight, to realize that there just might have been a connection between those spectral bodies that gave us nightmares and the smoke pouring from our chimneys.*⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Sebastião Salgado, interview by David Ransom, “My Pictures Look Like My Life,” *The New Internationalist* <<http://www.newint.org/issue239/my.htm>> (28 March 2006).

⁴⁹ Fred Ritchin, “Twenty Years Ago, and Later,” in *Sahel: The End of the Road* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 5.

Whether people are compelled to act by a sense of human commonality or not, Salgado, through his images and the supporting observations of Ritchin, urges that people *must* care. As occupants of the same world and organisms of one global ecosystem, we are all, in the end, complicit in aggravating the forces that can bear disastrous consequences beyond our control. Only once people are disabused of the alienation, false consciousness and commodity fetishism obscuring their capacity to truly see, can human beings accept their commonalities and invest themselves in each other's well being. As Berger notes, "Soon after we can see, we are aware that we can also be seen. The eye of the other combines with our own eye to make it fully credible that we are part of the visible world."⁵⁰ If alienation did not lead people to wrongly value things over people, they would be able to engage in reciprocated seeing and action. For Salgado, economic injustice drastically polarizes the world into the majority have-nots and the minority haves, thus creating an economic crisis of exploitation to parallel the perceptual crisis. Salgado thinks that a common, dignified humanity should propel people to behave according to how they see and understand the moral and social order of the world—the way things are, so to speak. But it seems more than a little perverse and irreverent to see a photograph of piles of real, human bodies caught in the grip of a tractor IMAGE C (Goma, Zaire, 1994), and think in response to that, "Well, that's just the way things are."

The crux of Salgado's message, that seeing mutual humanity *should* motivate ethical action, of course relies upon the portrayal of that humanity and the experience his photographs produce. The two images explored in this section highlight two points—how production relationships should be and how production relations have so spiraled into a mess of alienation and exploitation that the wounds have bled into the moral and social order of the world. In

⁵⁰ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2003), 9.

IMAGE C (Goma, Zaire, 1994), Salgado did not represent in his depiction of humanity an embodied, present nobility. What he conveyed instead constituted a visual tragedy of real, human lives and bodies horrifically—by means of the alienated, callous efficiency used—dumped into a refuge heap of corpses. The image then evoked a very real and powerful sense that something terrible was going on. The pervasiveness of the crisis that Salgado feels morally compelled to address makes itself startlingly clear, and he, in his counter-attack, must employ sophisticated techniques to wage his battle. Thus, while this section explained Salgado’s vision of a humankind blind to its own self-destruction and desperately in need of economic and perceptual transformation, the next section explores how Salgado goes about trying to rework his audiences’ seeing so as to provoke an ethical response.

Salgado’s Work of Reality/Reality at Work

Earlier in this essay, I referenced Walter Benjamin’s notion of “religious illumination” to frame the character of the problem that Salgado diagnoses. Here I propose as a solution Benjamin’s concept of “profane illumination,” which emphasizes multi-sensory, lived experience. Specifically, I assert that Salgado attempts to create through his images a multi-sensory experience that first disrupts the ways in which his viewers organize reality and then reconfigures their perspective so that they see reality as he does. In dialogue with David Chidester, I explore how the visual and auditory sensory modes organize reality in different ways, therefore engendering widely different responses in the perceiving body. Consequently, I will expose the multi-sensory mechanisms underlying Salgado’s attempts to transform his viewer’s vision so that they see and act on their fundamental humanity.

Salgado uses his images to allow his audience to look beyond their ordinary, visually dominated mode of perception and access the extraordinary reality that is, on one hand, invisible

to the eye, and on the other hand, perceptible to the senses. You can not look at humanity, but somehow, Salgado asserts, you can sense and respond to it, thus suggesting that non-visual senses come into play to perceive humanity. Consequently, a discussion of the aesthetics and ethics of Salgado's work should expand the definition of aesthetics beyond its conventional association with beauty. Born of the Greek word, "aisthesis," for "sense perception," aesthetics constitutes the whole of one's bodily senses,⁵¹ unified into a coherent field that feels, smells, tastes and hears, as well as sees. Reconsidering aesthetics to include the entire range of senses thus opens one up to a new array of perceptual opportunities. Rather than offering strictly visual "looking" experiences, images can now serve as conduits for multi-sensory "seeing" experiences that go beyond the structures of normal reality to tap into the "extraordinary" of humanity.

It seems paradoxical to suggest that people must look *beyond* themselves for their own humanity. The problem with looking to oneself for "humanity" lies in Salgado's claim that many modern viewers cannot truly "see" because a variety of conditions, such as alienation and false consciousness, cause one to construct false notions about what is truly meaningful—basic material needs and the commonality of all human beings. To invoke Benjamin, many people are religiously illuminated and misled in their conceptions of reality, so Salgado takes it upon himself to mediate through his images a certain experience of his reality for his viewers. When taking pictures of people, Salgado asserts that "The important thing is to concentrate on the essential, by which I mean the dignity of humanity."⁵² A question that then begs answering wonders how Salgado represents dignity. If the visual sense has been so problematized by criticisms of "compassion fatigue" and alienation, how can viewers recognize in Salgado's

⁵¹ Classen, 2.

⁵² Hopkinson, "Sebastian Salgado," 11.

images what he admits himself is invisible? How can appealing to the one's other senses enable "seeing" of the invisible?

In addressing such questions, I draw on Chidester, who characterizes key differences between the visual and auditory modes. Chidester contends that in the visual mode, seeing begins with the subject. The object of one's sight continually reflects light, thus leaving itself open—and vulnerable—to the look of the viewer, who, in gazing at the object before its eyes, immediately identifies the order and relationships of all beings and objects in space.⁵³ By Chidester's characterization, the visual mode thus lends the viewer significant power. Free to look or not look as he or she pleases, a person who relies only on their visual mode selectively picks and chooses what realities and truths they accept. In contrast, Chidester characterizes people engaged in the auditory sense as responding to and receiving information over time. That is, one can not hear the object itself whenever one wants to. Rather, one hears only when the object initiates an acoustic disturbance of the atmosphere.⁵⁴ The subject wields much less power in the auditory mode because the object in hearing does not always make itself available to perception.⁵⁵ The dynamic perceptual engagement associated with hearing thus suggests a shift in power between the subject and object. Whereas seeing has typically been associated with dominance and detached contemplation, hearing cannot be separated from the action that caused the hearing process to being. Thus, Chidester notes that while viewers may engage in visual "neutral contemplation," the process of hearing requires a response to changes in the environment. He notes that what a person hears not only drives them to react, but the object of

⁵³ Chidester, 10.

⁵⁴ Chidester, 9-10.

⁵⁵ Chidester, 10.

hearing also shapes the way in which the hearer responds.⁵⁶ In other words, one's reaction to a piercing scream differs dramatically from one's reaction to a giggle or a sigh.

I bring to attention Chidester's different characterizations of the visual and auditory modes for two reasons: first, to acknowledge how each mode of sense perception structures reality in different ways, thus influencing how people construct different values and meanings according to what they hear or see; and second, to identify the auditory sense's exciting potential to subvert dominating, visual relationships. By Salgado's characterization, the people in his images are marginalized, displaced, oppressed and suffering. If represented for an exclusively gazing experience, the people whom Salgado photographs become doubly alienated—first by their economic and social positions, and second by the dominated gaze of an unknown viewer who holds all of the control. Thus, Salgado's incorporation of the auditory sense in the “seeing” experience asserts the “object's” agency. The auditory sense in the “seeing” experience lends the people in the images “voices” with which they can speak and urge the viewer-now-hearer to respond. To provide an example of how one can “hear” through seeing, consider the image located on the following page. Identified by Salgado as Kamaz refugee children in Afghanistan, the two children gaze directly through the camera at you, the viewer. The children gently grip each other, holding onto the one for support. Dirt smudges their cheeks and their rough-hewn clothes hang from their still-baby-soft frames, but what seems so striking are their eyes. Though neither child appears old enough to look so serious, a likely residue of hunger, weariness and just-past trauma bruise deep circles under their eyes. The older child on the left gazes at the viewer with a mixed message of challenge and resignation, while the younger child to the right purses his lips and burrows his brown with what appears to be the beginnings of irritation or suspicion.

⁵⁶ Chidester, 11.



IMAGE D: *Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan (1996)*

Berger has claimed that one striking experience characteristic of viewing Salgado's images is that the people whom Salgado photographs seem to speak. In the video *The Spectre of Hope*, Berger explains to Salgado that the men, women and children in the pictures look at Salgado and know that through his camera they gaze at the world, asking their audience: "What are you—you out there in the world?" or "Is there anything else out there?" Berger asserts that the people whom Salgado photographs say through their eyes and postures, "I am here," or, so Salgado interjects, "I exist."⁵⁷ Supporting the idea that Salgado's images provoke both visual and auditory perception, Salgado likens his camera to a microphone. He shares with Berger how "Sometimes people call you to give their pictures. They come to your lens as if they were to come to speak to a microphone."⁵⁸ For Salgado, the people whom he photographs want to be seen and recognized. They affirm their rightful existence and worth by "speaking" through the camera to a strange audience that may think otherwise.

Salgado understands that as a photographer and liaison between the people in his images and the people who look at his photographs, he must mediate a particular connection such that the viewer recognizes a fellow human being in the photograph. Framed in religious terms as defined earlier in this essay, Salgado reveals to his viewer the humanity of the people in his photographs. With respect to IMAGE D (*Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan, 1996*), Salgado takes advantage of light shining downward on the children's faces, simultaneously highlighting the peaks of their face and darkening the shadows around their eyes. By taking advantage of available light in just this way, Salgado helps transform the objects of the viewers' gaze into living human beings who communicate the conflict of their lives through their faces and postures. The children in IMAGE D stand with a gravity beyond their years, asserting themselves as

⁵⁷ The Spectre of Hope.

⁵⁸ The Spectre of Hope.

experienced, unique and complicated people. Photojournalist and religious scholar, Mev Puleo, contends that Salgado lends his voice to the child, thereby “rendering specific that which is general by giving a face to those we otherwise might not see...”⁵⁹ Salgado recalls how “The moment the children came out of the group to sit in front of the lens, they became individuals. They were innocent, pure, but in their eyes it was possible to see what they have lived through, what was their life.”⁶⁰ Berger adds that there is a strange way, in all of Salgado’s pictures, that the viewer “feels in [Salgado’s] vision the word ‘Yes,’ not because [the viewer] approves but [the viewer] says ‘Yes’ because it exists.”⁶¹ Whereas in a visually-dominated subject-object relationship the center of gravity lies with the viewer, who chooses when and for how long to gaze at the object, “seeing” that integrates hearing or expressing of the children’s voice, allows the power of the former “objects” to assert their existence and the validity of their lives.

Despite differences in visual and auditory perception, Chidester asserts that all senses ground themselves in the unity of the relatively coherent touching, smelling, hearing, tasting, looking vehicle of the body.⁶² He demonstrates this unification by pointing out how the senses share common dimensions of measurement that overlap. For example, while one may describe a perfume as fragrant (smell), one may also describe the same scent as sweet (taste) or soft (touch). Sensory domains connect and overlap to produce integrated sensory experiences, the most extraordinary of which Chidester designates synesthetic, or an experience “in which perceptual modes come together in unexpected combinations, create new sensory configurations, or interpenetrate in the unusual trans-sensory perception of lights that are heard or sounds that are

⁵⁹ Puleo, 5.

⁶⁰ The Spectre of Hope.

⁶¹ The Spectre of Hope.

⁶² Chidester, 14.

seen.”⁶³ While I refrain from characterizing all of Salgado’s images as facilitating synesthetic experiences, synesthesia’s extraordinary perceptual character proves helpful in imagining how multi-sensory perception may engender disruptive and transformative experiences while viewing Salgado’s photographs.

I earlier invoked Marx and Benjamin to frame and understand what Salgado sees as the economic and perceptual crisis inflicting alienation and devastation upon humankind. While this theoretical framework grounded itself in economic materiality, it suggested its implications most resonantly within the sphere of alienation, where people dislocated from each other and themselves. Chidester and Benjamin again come into play to propose an interesting approach to the problem of ordering and values identified by Salgado. If ordinary sense perception fails to keep people connected to the standard of the extraordinary “humanity,” then Chidester and Benjamin suggest shattering the visually dominated order with multi-sensory perception. The “antistructural” potential of synesthetic experience facilitates a “radical breakthrough” in the ways in which one perceives reality.⁶⁴ Because synesthetic experience intoxicates or dizzies normalizing expectations of how reality is ordered, multi-sensory experiences “break the ordinary structural relations between the senses and their perceptual environment” thus creating new possibilities for sense perception.⁶⁵ The viewer is no longer just the viewer. The object is no longer an object. The two agents swap and merge roles, such that they participate in a dynamic sensory exchange.

Chidester’s identification of different but unified perceptual modes also enhances Benjamin’s work on surrealism. In his essay, “The Last Snapshot of European Intelligentsia,” Benjamin describes how when surrealism first broke forth as an aesthetic movement,

⁶³ Chidester, 15.

⁶⁴ Chidester, 17.

⁶⁵ Chidester, 17.

*Everything with which it came into contact was integrated. Life only seemed worth living where the threshold between waking and sleeping was worn away in everyone as by the stops of multitudinous images flooding back and forth, language only seemed itself where sound and image, image and sound interpenetrated with automatic precision and such felicity...*⁶⁶

Benjamin thus characterizes the surrealist pursuit for multi-sensory experience as an endeavor charged with intense energy and the dissolution of false boundaries separating the visual and auditory modes of perception. The “interpenetration” of the visual and auditory produces critical energy for “intoxication,” or a dizzying of typical modes of perception and normalized structures of meaning. Benjamin asserts that the critical powers of intoxication lie directly in the material everyday, thus rendering intoxication a body-sense-facilitated engagement. He calls intoxication an “I-loosening of-self,”⁶⁷ by which he suggests that the “self,” too, is a construction. By “loosening” the self through intoxication, or “fruitful living experience” grounded in the sense, the “I,”—one’s true nature—disintegrates the naturalized categories created by the dominating visual mode. Recall how Chidester characterized the visual sense as allowing for relatively detached neutral contemplation of objects relating to each other in space. Chidester aptly notes the tendency of the visual sense to “order” objects in relation to the viewer fixes the viewer as the center of gravity around which all other bodies circle. Thus, the assertion of non-visual sense subverts the order constructed that one situates oneself in. As explained earlier in this essay, Benjamin claimed that “religious illumination” can be understood in terms of one’s ordering of one self according to beliefs, values and relationships dictated by ideology or one’s false consciousness of how the world works. Thus, Benjamin proposes that one can employ the “intoxicating” disruption caused by “profane illumination” to counteract and overcome religious illumination.

⁶⁶ Benjamin, “The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia.”

⁶⁷ Benjamin, “The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia.”

Salgado uses his photographs to provide his viewers with the means to access the extraordinary—their moral standards of humanity—within the ordinary—his images. However, many modern viewers suffer, in Salgado’s opinion, from religious illumination that alienates them from each other and their senses. He sees that many people are so entrenched in their alienation, which is exacerbated by over-reliance on the distancing, objectifying, visual mode, that he employs a synesthetic approach to constructing his images. Chidester and Benjamin have individually pointed out that the integration of sensory modes breaks through ordinary, normalizing ways of understanding the world. Salgado recognizes this ordinary way of structuring the world as alienating, and so he utilizes a multi-sensory approach in an attempt to shatter the normative, visually dominated way of seeing. He does this to assert a more coherent, unified, and extraordinary sensory experience that intoxicates the viewer and charges his symbolic work with new-found energy.⁶⁸

Acting to disrupt the ways in which one sees and orders the world, synesthesia thus engenders “profane illumination,” the intoxicating disintegration of socially constructed values that Benjamin suggests as a solution to religious illumination. By trying to engage his viewers in a multi-sensory experience, Salgado’s photographs thus operate as his form of profane illumination. By intervening and disrupting the ways in which his viewers see the world and providing his symbolic images as a gateway through which his viewers can access their standards of the extraordinary—that humanity to which we must always look—Salgado tries to engender in his audience what Benjamin calls a “morally liberating” experience, transformation of vision and a response.

Offering a caveat vital to understanding Salgado’s religious work, Chidester cautions that synesthetic experience does not just randomly disrupt one’s visual perception. The shattering of

⁶⁸ Chidester, 17.

one's perspective constitutes the first part, while the reconfiguring of those pieces into a new perspective constitutes the second part. It is here that Salgado intervenes to directly assert his own message and to mediate a certain type of perceptual experience. Primarily, Salgado uses light to cast shadows, expose forms, highlight expressions and suggest the non-visual "extraordinary" that Salgado urges. In his introductory poem, "Salgado, 17 Times" for Salgado's *An Uncertain Grace*, Uruguayan poet Eduardo Galeano commented on Salgado's use of light:

Salgado's camera moves about the violent darkness, seeking light, stalking light. Does the light descend from the sky or rise out of us? That instant of trapped light that gleams in the photographs reveals to us what is unseen, what is seen but unnoticed; an unperceived presence, a powerful absence. It shows us that concealed within the pain of living and the tragedy of dying there is a potent magic, a luminous mystery that redeems the human adventure in the world.⁶⁹

According to Galeano, Salgado employs light to "reveal" "what is unseen, what is seen but unnoticed; an unperceived presence, a powerful absence." Galeano thus articulates a sensory paradox constituted by duality; in Salgado's image he "sees" in the black-and-white image something that is not visible to the eye, yet he feels its presence. The synesthetic character of his experience, such that he feels light and sees emptiness, invigorates and guides his experience.

Galeano also notes a "magic" and "mystery" that "redeems the human adventure in the world." Implicit within his observation lays the assumption that human kind has somehow transgressed some moral value or "sinned." Interpreted through Salgado's association of humanity with the "extraordinary" *beyond* ordinary experience, I assert that Salgado employs "ordinary" light to charge his images with a religious symbolism suggestive of the "extraordinary. In IMAGE E, located on the following page, Salgado shoots against the intense natural light that pours into a darkened room. The boys stand against the window, casting their bodies in a deep, velvety black shadows. Salgado positions himself at a slight angle in order to

⁶⁹ Eduardo Galeano, "Salgado, 17 Times," in *An Uncertain Grace*, 8.

include in the eye of his camera the long bands of dry light, which alternately illuminate and obscure the boys' faces. The boys appear simultaneously absent and present. Streaks of light



IMAGE E: *Southern Sudan, 1995.*

partially illuminate the features of some faces, while parallel shadows obscure and consume others. Salgado's manipulation of light and shadows thus evokes—to a developed world audience probably well-versed in Judeo-Christian mythology—a number of religiously and sensory-resonant concepts, a few of which include grace, suffering, salvation and hope. While Salgado, a former Marxist economist, personally rejects affiliation with a particular religious tradition, he strategically appropriates Judeo-Christian symbolism to lend his aesthetic language an already coded moral valence. He, however, then transforms the symbolic meaning of light for his own purposes, using it to evoke the presence of “extraordinary” existing above and beyond the limits of human society, meanwhile casting the light and shadows in ways to expose the

humanity very present—but perhaps unseen—in ordinary reality. Thus, Salgado’s photographic use of religiously salient light creates an experience simultaneously beyond and within ordinary experience.

Salgado’s exclusive use of the black-and-white medium enhances the symbolic and multi-sensual energy of his work. Regarding color photography, Salgado responds that

Colors are just colors: red is red and blue is blue. What I enjoy are the shades of grey, playing with the shades of light. You can use more imagination and gain greater density. Because it comes naturally to me: I see the world in monochrome and I dream—yes definitely, I dream—in black-and-white.⁷⁰

Rather than take on the tangential task of proving or countering Salgado’s claim that color can contribute nothing to his work, I assert that Salgado prefers the black-and-white format for several strategic reasons. First, while colors can stimulate a variety of senses with their “loudness” and “sharpness,” colors appeal most directly to the visual sense, which immediately identifies the presence of color. In contrast, black-and-white images force a viewer to reconfigure his or her vision. Rather than immediately discerning color and deducing order and meaning from the organization of pigment, the viewer must, when approaching Salgado’s black-and-white re-presentations of “reality,” discern textures, shadows, forms, expressions and movement that have always been present but “unseen” by color-preoccupied viewers. Additionally, because most people view the world in color, Salgado’s imposition of a black-and-white photograph forces his audience to keep looking to make sense of the scene before them. Without a blue sky, green grass and grey buildings to organize and structure their perspective, viewers must look to lines, forms, shapes and shadows to discern the complexities of the people in Salgado’s images. Thus, Salgado does not “manufacture” a new reality. Rather, he uses light in his images to expose a human reality perceptually present, but invisible to the eye. By

⁷⁰ Hopkinson, “Sebastian Salgado,” 15.

appropriating a visual language already familiar to his targeted audience, meanwhile injecting it with his own visual and verbal directives, he tries to express the human drama that entrenches all people.

After Seeing

Of the many challenges that I encountered while writing this essay, perhaps one of the more difficult obstacles to overcome involved how to satisfactorily convince my peers, advisors and friends that I was indeed writing about “religion.” On a few occasions, friends and peers flipped through my borrowed collection of Salgado-photo books and asked why I did not just discuss the Christian iconography that seemed so apparent in several of his images. I did not have a better reply than to say that I think there must be more to the exploration of religion, and people in relation to religion, than rehashing the theological and doctrinal content assigned to representations of—just to name a few—crucifixes and Jesus-figures. Something about Salgado’s images got to me, and I wanted to learn more.

The pieces and parts of my research drifted together, and I stumbled upon, with the gentle nudging of my advisor, John Lardas, a few driving points that eventually became this essay. On one hand, this essay explores the question of how Salgado uses his photographs to transform his viewers’ vision and provoke an ethical response. Along similar lines, but conceptualized slightly differently, this essay pursues the question of how Salgado’s images operate as access points through which people can participate in a visceral experience of the extraordinary. By extraordinary, I mean the values and meanings that exist beyond human society and operate as that to which “ordinary” human societies should orient themselves. The issue of religion emerges here where Salgado’s uses his photographic representations of reality to orient and re-orient his

viewers to his conception of “true,” unalienated reality. The orientation of oneself to the ordinary and extraordinary, and the construction of symbols and images that help one gain access to the extraordinary, constitute, for me, at least some part of religion.

I assert throughout this essay that the two questions noted above lead to the same point of reference. The very hinge upon which Salgado expects “true” seeing to translate into some sort of action, and the “extraordinary” that people seek through the “ordinary,” constitute the same thing—humanity. Salgado sees that human kind has become alienated from itself—economically and perceptually—so he constructs photographs in such a way as to facilitate a multi-sensory “seeing” experience. Because many modern viewers rely largely on their alienating, objectifying visual mode, Salgado hopes that the creation of a multi-sensory seeing experience will shatter his audiences’ visually-based and “false” conceptions of reality and meaning. Wielding an arsenal of symbolically charged images that remind viewers of their common humanity, Salgado then intervenes to reconfigure the fragmented pieces of his audience’s perspectives and transform the ways in which they see and act in the world.

At the conclusion of this essay, I find myself left with a number of questions that may be addressed in future evolutions of this project. Namely, while I focused here on how Salgado approaches the gap between seeing and action, I think it may prove interesting to explore the/a gap between seeing and knowing. For Salgado, a concept of a common humanity constituted the moral imperative moving him from seeing to action. However, if for some reason, or in some way, that imperative were removed or undermined, then what would take its place in motivating ethical action? Similarly, Salgado conceived of ethical action as constituting “respect for human life.” So, if that standard of humanity no longer applied, how would one even define ethical action? Perhaps from the midst of these questions, “knowing” arises as possible next point of

inquiry, a tentative middle ground where sensory perception, cognition, and other yet to be determined factors mingle and merge to produce new guidelines for how to live and act in the world.

Appendix

IMAGE A: *Migrations*, 314-315.

IMAGE B: *Workers*, 234.

IMAGE C: *Migrations*, 192.

IMAGE D: *The Children*, 95.

IMAGE E: *Migrations*, 155.

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