The urban veil: image politics in media culture and contemporary art
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Citation for published version (APA):
Fournier, A. (2012). The urban veil: image politics in media culture and contemporary art Eigen Beheer

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In the fall of 2003 while I was completing a master’s degree in my native city, Montreal, a commotion ensued in the media after a young woman appeared for the first day of class at a private high school wearing a Muslim veil. Irene Wassem, then sixteen, was expelled from Charlemagne College because the garment did not meet the school’s dress code. As the story unfolded in the media, a new image of the Muslim veil began to emerge. Following 9/11, the veil, and especially the Afghan burqa, became a visual shorthand for the war on terror. Discourses of feminism and democracy provided the subtext for the plethora of veils in the media, revitalizing the general public’s interest in Islam and the oppression of women. Countering and rerouting this politically fraught representation of the veil was the claim that Wassem had decided to adopt the veil during her summer break “for religious reasons.” Her mother, Hélène Malley, a French Canadian, stated that she and her husband supported their daughter’s personal choice and had taken care to find a blue scarf that would match the school’s uniform. They reported their daughter’s expulsion to the Quebec Human Rights Commission, and although in 1995 the commission had declared that banning the veil in public schools violated the Charter of Human Rights, in this instance they refused to issue a ruling because the incident had occurred in a private school.

Eight years later, as the world commemorates the ten-year anniversary of 9/11, I am living in Amsterdam writing the final version of the introduction to my doctoral

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2 “School won’t allow hijab, says Montreal student.”
thesis. Two French women have just become the first to be fined for defying the ban on face coverings in France, a law that took effect in May of this year. It is said that Hind Ahmas (32) and Najat Nait Ali (36) had hoped for this conviction so that they could begin the “long process of challenging the law before the European Court of Human Rights.” Meanwhile, similar laws targeting the burqa and niqab are under discussion in the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, and Portugal.

These two anecdotes form parentheses around the multiple threads of my dissertation. This project investigates the particular purchase the image of the Muslim veil has on collective imaginaries outside Muslim-majority countries, by looking at how the image operates in media culture and contemporary art. The main objective of this thesis is to carve out a space of articulation for the “urban veil,” a term I use to refer to a contested site where the politics of representation meet articulations of the heterogeneous subject position of Muslim women living in metropolises in Europe and North America. By image politics I signal sociopolitical forces that subtend readings of the image of the Muslim veil as sign. Image politics moreover implies a site of singularities, struggle, negotiation, and transformation that speak to emergent imaginaries of the veil in specific geopolitical contexts.

The Multivalent Folds of the Urban Veil

While my dissertation is concerned primarily with images, the two incidents involving veiled women that I have recounted above speak to the tensions and multifarious forces enfolded in the notion of the urban veil. The two stories bracket off

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specific geographic locations (North America and Europe) and a time frame (the first
decade of the twenty-first century), in which the growing visibility of veiled women has
been met by large-scale sociopolitical discourses that have mobilized the image of the
veil into their workings.

Since the early nineties, the presence of veiled women in Europe and North
America has multiplied significantly, most noticeably in universities and colleges.4 The
reasons for this increase are varied. In A Quiet Revolution: The Veil’s Resurgence from
the Middle East to America, Leila Ahmed suggests that in addition to the spread of global
Islamism, the coming of age of a group of women who do not always share the same
opinions and interpretations of Islam as their first-generation immigrant parents is an
important factor.5 In The Muslim Veil in North America: Issues and Debates, Sajida
Sultana Alvi, Homa Hoodfar, and Sheila McDonough demonstrate how the adoption of
the veil by students and young professionals is often a strategy for these women to
negotiate the many facets and senses of belonging that make up their daily experience,
particularly as pious women in societies whose norms and values are often at odds with
their own. In these contexts the veil can be a powerful means to challenge sexism,
counter stereotypes regarding Islam, and affirm the rights of the wearer as an equal
citizen within these societies. Ahmed reminds us that the presence or absence of the veil
is not indicative that the veiled woman is necessarily more religious than her non-veiled
counterpart. Such a reading is far too simple to account for the different ways pious
women choose to embody and live according to their personal beliefs. Notwithstanding

4 Homa Hoodfar, Sajida S. Alvi and Sheila McDonough, “Introduction” in The Muslim Veil in
5 Leila Ahmed, A Quiet Revolution: The Veil’s Resurgence from the Middle East to America
the variety of reasons underlying Muslim women’s decision to adopt or refuse the
practice of veiling, its visibility is above all an intimation of the wearing subject’s ethical
and inner spiritual commitments.

That said, in the last decade the decision to don the veil in North American and
European countries has had more weighty consequences. Foreign interventions in
Muslim majority countries, notably in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the horrendous attacks
of 9/11 in New York, followed by Madrid and London, speak to the neo-liberal context in
recent history, in which complex geopolitical forces and power relations have been
packaged as a volatile clash between the cultures of Islam and the West. Edward Said’s
discussion of the orientalist depiction of Islam and Muslims produced in Western media,
an argument he first made in 1981, has only intensified within this context.6

In his recent book Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present,
W.J.T. Mitchell explains how images have always played a key role in politics and in the
formation of collective consciousness.7 Mitchell notes the accelerated pace of production
and the networked circulation of images in contemporary media. Using the term cloning
figuratively and literally, the author argues that unprecedented in the post-9/11 era is how
images are now designed to replicate themselves endlessly and infect the collective
imaginary of the global population as they travel through the omnipresent media matrix.

With this argument Mitchell insightfully pinpoints a paradox at the core of the
image politics of terror. Terrorism in the post-9/11 era has been repeatedly conceived of
as a virus, a disease invading and spreading through Western societies. The

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superabundance of images of veils has been key to this imaginary. In European print media alone, the image of the Muslim veil has become a sort of “minor genre” of its own, to borrow the term of art historian Sven Lutticken.\textsuperscript{8} The growing visibility of the veil in urban spaces readily sustains the anxiety underlying the image and metaphor, serving as visual proof of the disease invading the social body. And yet, Mitchell correctly signals that it is not a real threat of terrorism, but the images that assault the social imagination with fear, which operate in a viral, and within this same logic, terrorizing manner.

Images have played an equally important part in galvanizing populist movements in many Western European countries, notably England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium in recent years. Populism as a growing political force dovetails with many narratives of the war on terror in which Islam and immigration are prevailing threats to local cultural identity and social security. Yet the friend/enemy frontier articulated in discourses of the war on terror between Islam and the West, which brings the vulnerability of national borders to the fore, is relocated and presented as an internal frontier between “the people” and the establishment—which, for its part, is no longer seen to represent the peoples’ interests. This internal frontier, according to the political theorist Ernest Laclau, is an essential feature of populism.\textsuperscript{9}

In his discussion of the role of the imagination in populist politics, sociologist Merijn Oudenampsen stresses the work that images and storytelling do to produce this internal frontier, and by extension, the symbolic identity of the people via modes of negative identification. Strong cultural imagery is mobilized to identify people by what they are not, in other words, to create a “constitutive outside.” Throughout Western


Europe, political parties and their leaders articulate this internal frontier first and foremost as an autochthonous/immigrant distinction. For example, Geert Wilders’ PVV in the Netherlands defines “the people” in opposition to the liberal elite and its failed multicultural policy, and the immigrant, who tends to be Muslim and/or a terrorist. Symbolic imagery of lighthouses, windmills, and politicians posing as helmsmen at sea, who will symbolically steer the community out of difficult times, are contrasted with images of veiled women and minarets—symbols of cultural values and a religion that are presented as a threat to the community and are therefore excluded from it.

In the last decade, the discursive and imagistic formations of the war on terror and growing populist politics successfully revived and exploited a long tradition of stereotypes regarding the Muslim veil in the West that can only be seen as imperial and orientalist by nature. I argue that what is most problematic with this occurrence, and what will be a central theme of analysis throughout my dissertation, are the spatial operations (both conceptual and geographic) that the image of the Muslim veil continues to effect in a drastically different historical moment and geographic setting. The media use of the image, so often hyperbolically represented in the image of the burqa, promote tired readings of the Muslim veil as signs of Muslim women’s oppression, the backwardness of Islam, and the fanaticism and violent nature of Muslims. These readings are derivative of embedded spatial mappings of the image that designate, as I have begun to demonstrate here, an outside to the West, or to social-political communities within the West. In this manner, they immediately signal division. Most importantly, the politically charged legibility of the image has real effects on the lives of Muslim (veiled) women living in North America and Europe. Their visibility is immediately translated into a sign
of difference, foreignness, and ultimately a threat to the security of the local society and culture. As the two introductory anecdotes suggest, the increasing attempts to ban the charged symbol’s visibility from various social spaces reflect and fuel these stereotypes and anxieties.

And yet, while the image continues to symbolize a viral element invading from the outside, or an immigrant bearing the expression of values and beliefs deemed incongruent with those of the autochthonous culture, many practicing Muslim women, including those who do not don the veil, cannot be considered immigrants in any sense of the term. Rather, they are second- or third-generation citizens of these countries; they are Canadian, American, French, Dutch, and British women, who nominally share equal rights within these countries, including the right to practice their religion. The new generation of young veiled women, such as the three mentioned above, consider these countries their homelands. For their part, these women are intrinsic to the DNA of their countries makeup, to borrow one of Ahmed’s analogies. Their adherence to the practice of veiling within these countries where it is not imposed, but is rather a nominal right given to them by the state, already implies significant challenges to the semantic legibility of the veil as sign. Hence, even if it is not the objective behind a woman’s decision to wear the veil (as was arguably the case for Wassem), the effects of that choice can trouble and shed new light on a tired image. Others, such as Ahmad and Ali, are actively striving to contest “white men” and their politically fraught attempt to save, in the now infamous words of Gayatri Spivak, “brown women from brown men.”

confronted and challenged by the inscriptions of emergent singularities, that are the women who decide to don the Muslim veil for a wide range of personal reasons in their specific socio-political contexts.

I want to emphasize that my use of the term “urban veil” does not refer to a physical entity that covers a women’s head, to the practice of veiling, or to women who don the veil. The term is meant as a placeholder for an image of a heterogeneous subject position that is simultaneously over-determined by the politics of representation in media culture and emergent within this historical moment. The urban veil is in this way inseparable from the image politics of the Muslim veil in media culture, and yet its manifold facets cannot be reduced to these representations. I argue ramifications of the urban veil can be unpacked through the close analysis of several contemporary art practices. In this way the urban veil is first and foremost a site of struggle between the established images and imaginations of the Muslim veil, and at the same time, images that provoke a reimagining—that involves seeing, feeling, and thinking—the Muslim veil differently.

Methodologies in Image Analysis

Ultimately, this thesis investigates the role images play in how we understand ourselves, as well as the role they play in our relations with others. I examine how the image of the Muslim veil remains an operative force for a politics of identity that follows the tradition of orientalism and necessarily aims to secure an image of self that is anchored in an image of a defining other. I want to carve out a space for new relations, whereby the image of the Muslim veil can produce alternate understandings of the veiled
women outside Muslim majority countries—an image that ultimately cannot be neatly aligned within the traditional binaries of West/Orient, self/other, us/them. But it is crucial to go beyond pinpointing and deconstructing misrepresentations. All (mis)representations of the veil, I maintain, have real effects, albeit to differing degrees, on collective imaginaries and on the perception and experience of veiled women in North America and Europe. In this light, the methodological approach of my thesis takes heed of Mitchell’s injunction to renounce critical iconology, which, conventionally, inquires into the meaning of images in their traditional contexts. “We need instead,” he writes, “a method that recognizes and embraces both the unreality of images and their operational reality.” For Mitchell, it is of utmost importance to “trace the process by which the metaphorical becomes literal and the image becomes actual.”11 In this line, this study looks and what facets of images participate in the construction and maintenance of established discourses regarding the Muslim veil, and makes salient features of other (or the same) images that actualize specifications of the urban veil.

In this dissertation, I follow two main theoretical trajectories that contribute to a methodological framework that aims to shed new light on the workings of images (of the veil) and how they affect imaginaries, contribute to (collective) subject formations, and shape subjective experiences. The first is a psychoanalytic politics of representation as developed primarily by the art historian and film theorist Kaja Silverman and the second is drawn from philosopher Gilles Deleuze’s elaborate use of, and contribution to, image analysis. The two theoretical perspectives differ drastically in many ways, but overlap and supplement each other in equally productive manners for my purpose. Each

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perspective allows me to focus on different facets of images, ranging from their immanent characteristics to their perception and socio-political consequences.

The Lacanian branch of psychoanalysis offers insights regarding the role that the perception of images plays in psychic processes underlying subject formation. The mirror-phase as developed by Lacan, whereby the enfant perceives the mirror-image as her idealized counterpart, sets in motion processes of identification, idealization, and projection underwriting the subject’s sense of self and her relation to others. Lacan’s productive distinction between the gaze and the look, which also informs this dissertation’s image analysis, sheds light on the role that vision, visuality, and the visual realm continue to play in constructions of subjectivity and intersubjective relations in contemporary screen culture. I contend that these contributions help to explain why the image of the Muslim veil continues to be mobilized and to hold (Western) imaginaries within its grasp.

Many including Deleuze and Felix Guattari have vociferously criticized the normative suppositions regarding difference inscribed into patterns of perception and psychic development in classical psychoanalysis (Freud, Lacan). However, Kaja Silverman convincingly renegotiates this tradition by investing its legacy with a politics of representation that extends beyond the individual subject to account for wider social political norms and stereotypes. Silverman’s notion of the cultural screen, which she defines as the “repertoire of representations by means of which our culture figures all of those many varieties of ‘difference’ through which social identity is inscribed”\(^{12}\) is a central leitmotif throughout this dissertation and a kind of yardstick for measuring the operative effects of images: in other words, whether the legibility of an image sustains

existing understandings of the Muslim veil, or whether it reroutes common sense readings and begins to carve out a space within this screen for new understandings.

The theories of Deleuze contribute to this dissertation a focus on the intrinsic and material characteristics of images, thereby supplementing psychonalayysis’s concern with the participation of images in psychic processes grounded in the realm of visuality. The film theorist Patricia Pisters has convincingly demonstrated how the Deleuzian philosophy of images provides a particularly apt theoretical framework for analyzing images within the matrix of contemporary digital screen culture. In his work on cinema, Deleuze classifies images in a way that he compares to a natural history, indicating that for him images, like living things, can be identified by their distinctive features. What is more, for Deleuze, images do not represent the world; rather they are realities in themselves. Images are akin to living entities, consisting of immanent percepts and affects. They move through the world and connect with it in rhizomatic ways, producing specific effects in the process.

In this way, Deleuzian thought is not devoid of politics. In fact, Deleuze argues that images are composed of relations of economic and socio-political conditions and have the capacity to express them by giving them material form. The art image, for him, is a particularly potent site in this regard. Deleuze often refers to the art image as an idea. Just as the image connects to the world in rhizomatic ways, so too is it inexorably linked to the brain and thought processes. The art image is creative in that it presses on an

impasse in what is known—often through a perceptive logic that speaks to all sensations rather than to the faculty of vision alone, thereby generating something new.

Throughout the chapters of this thesis I employ many of Deleuze’s categories of images as analytical tools. More significantly, however, working with Deleuze in image analysis implies performing close readings of the immanent characteristics of images and their operative effects. Such a method of critical analysis allows, on one hand, to investigate how the image of the Muslim veil intersects with orientalist and imperialist discursive formations. On the other hand, close readings of the materiality go beyond such narratives, shedding light on the transformative effects of the image of the Muslim veil as it travels from one media platform and cultural and geographic situation to the next. Particular attention is paid to how the image of the veil negotiates the cultural conventions of different media, including technologies of image reproduction, advertising, social media, and fashion platforms. Most importantly, I look at how the image takes root, connects, and contributes to the specificities of the cultural and socio-political registers within these contexts, and the social forces and new semantic readings of the urban Muslim veil that emerge in the process.

Selection of Works

I want to emphasize that the objective of this dissertation is not to produce a comprehensive understanding of the Muslim veil in Europe and North America. Nor is it a survey of representations of the Muslim veil in media culture and contemporary art. In contrast, I am interested in exploring the tensions and paradoxes that emerge out of close readings of images, as I look for details, fragments, and discontinuities that allow for a
resituating of the image of the Muslim veil along new conceptual and geographic trajectories.

For this reason, each chapter is dedicated to the close analysis of only a few images taken from media culture and contemporary art. As I am concerned with the perceptual processes orchestrated by images and the manner in which their inherent material features interconnect with and produce the social, the economic, and the cultural registers of their immediate contexts, I ultimately demonstrate how images participate in the construction of intersubjective encounters. The makers of the images in question are consequently not limited to Muslim (veiled) women. Rather, the theoretical objects of analysis span a wide range of subject positions and perspectives, which allows me to highlight the multilayered and capacious notion of the urban veil. Although I have chosen to employ the term “urban” to characterize new imaginaries of the Muslim veil, it is in no way intended to evoke a binary between city and rural life. I use the term “urban” to conjure a site of intense connectivity, in which screen culture and images play an ever-increasing role as mediators between cultural subjectivities, temporalities, and spatialities.

Chapter Summaries

The arguments of this study are developed through the course of five chapters, moving from an analysis of existing conceptual and geographic mappings of the image of the Muslim veil toward a rerouting of the sign and micro-political articulations of its semantic legibility as an integral thread of its urban contexts in Western Europe and North America.
The first chapter, *The Image-as-Veil, the Images-as-Folds, and the Islamic Aesthetics of the Veil*, outlines the methodological framework of this project and develops two models of image and articulates an Islamic aesthetics of the veil that I use as theoretical tools of analysis throughout.

Kaja Silverman’s theorization of the cultural screen and Deleuze’s notion of the fold articulate the key characteristics of two different operative modes of the image: “the image-as-veil” and the “image-as-folds.” I maintain that both models are critical for addressing the complex issues and questions surrounding the image of the Muslim veil in the present. They also highlight the alternative individual and collective identification processes enfolded in the urban veil. I argue that inherent to the image-as-veil are perceptual operations based primarily in Western understandings that align vision, knowledge, and power. The image-as-folds radically refutes this tradition. Building on Deleuze’s notion of the fold, I will demonstrate that this modality of the image emphasizes its materiality and its relation to thought and has a strong predisposition to have transformative effects on normative representations. Whereas the image-as-veil inscribes modes of separation, I will propose that the image-as-folds embodies a movement of connectivity.

Drawing on the writings of Dominique Clévenot, Oleg Grabar, and Abdelkébir Khatibi, I claim that the image-as-folds conjoins with an “Islamic aesthetics of the veil” that foregrounds the textures, lines, and ornamentation of surfaces, evoking a mode of perception that is more analogous to reading than to viewing. The articulation of the two models of image and the Islamic aesthetics of the veil emerge from the close analysis of various images across media platforms, from colonial postcards and classical cinema to
contemporary works by artists Shirin Neshat (an Iranian living in New York) and Zineb Sedira (a French-Algerian living in London).

The second chapter, *The Archival Image of the Muslim Veil*, I expand on the semantic readings of the veil by exploring the media archive of the image. This chapter takes as a starting point the socio-political landscape of the Netherlands, which is one among several European countries where the issue of the Muslim veil has become a politically charged topic in recent years. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the current political use of the image of the Muslim veil depends on a tension between inherited and borrowed historical meanings of the veil as sign. This chapter is divided into two main parts. In the first, I investigate the role the image of the Muslim veil plays in *Fitna* (2008), the controversial short film composed of appropriated media images by Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch Freedom Party. A descriptive reading of the piece demonstrates how the veil becomes a sign that is meant first and foremost to conjure the affect of fear: the fear of an imminent threat to Dutch society and culture. The cultural theorist Sarah Ahmed stipulates that the affect of fear always reactivates preexisting stereotypes.

In the second part of this chapter, Linda Wallace’s *Living Tomorrow* is shown to engage with the experience of a time out of joint in contemporary Dutch society. The form the archive takes in this installation I maintain takes part in what art historian Hal Foster characterizes as “an archival impulse” in contemporary art. I argue that *Living Tomorrow* operates through an expanded format that partially relinquishes the role of the archivist to the visitor, asking her to reevaluate the past and stipulate how the future of the diverse social, cultural, and economic strands of Dutch society will play out.
In the third chapter, *The Urban Veil: A Politics of (Dis)Identification*, the video installation *(un)covering*, by the Canadian artist Farheen Haq, provides a subjective iteration that raises questions of interpellation and identification vis-à-vis the cultural screen. I maintain that Haq performs a politics of dis-identification via interconnected tactics of repetition, notions of drawing, and a specific orchestration of the look. First, I bring *(un)convering* into dialog with a series of images taken from Canadian print media surrounding a terrorist threat in that country: images that operate at the level of the spectacle. Haq opens up and appropriates the performative dimensions of the politics of representation of the Muslim veil in the media, occupying the gap of agency that they paradoxically form. Second, I contend that Haq engages with the tenuous relationship between feminism and religion, which is pronounced in discussions of Islam. To this end, Amelia Jones’ articulation of a para-feminism resonates with how Haq significantly presses on and extends the limits of contemporary liberal feminist theory. In this second part, *(un)covering* is brought into conversation with the theoretical work of cultural anthropologist Saba Mahmood.

The fourth chapter, *The Intersubjective Inscriptions of the Urban Veil: Toward a New Politics of Difference*, takes the image as a site of intersubjective encounters and asks what new forms of intersubjectivity the image of the urban veil inscribes. At the heart of this inquiry is a desire to explore alternate forms of individual and collective identity formation that do not perpetuate division nor dissolve difference. Two artworks serve as case studies in this chapter, proposing provisional answers to this question.

The first is an identity-sharing, online interface by artist Martine Neddam, a French Algerian of Jewish decent living in the Netherlands. The project was
commissioned by an institution dedicated to public art interventions in Marseilles, France, but was dropped when Neddam proposed to create the character of a young Muslim woman living in that city. Based on the project proposal and political terrain into which it sought to intervene, I argue how hayet.djelali.org indexes and subverts the workings of the term laïcité in France. In particular it reveals a double bind imposed on the Muslim woman’s body by the principle of laïcité.

The second case study, Haq’s Endless Tether, is a large-scale video installation that continues Neddam’s investigation, working through the bodies in, and in front of, the screen. A descriptive analysis of the piece is aligned with Deleuzian concepts of the body in art, highlighting how intersubjective relations depend primarily on the ever-shifting meaning attributed not directly to bodies, but to the intersecting and distancing relations established between them. By plunging the viewing subject into a dynamic field of relations—which offers multiple sites of (dis)identification—Endless Tether proposes an alternate to the politics of difference underscoring the term laicité in France, offering a more complex way of thinking the self/other relation.

The final chapter, Reflections on the Image of the Muslim Veil in Fashion, investigates how the Muslim veil participates, or not, in what Gilles Lipovetsky has called the era of consummate fashion. This chapter brings the investigation of the image of the urban veil to the level of everyday practice, and asks how the mechanisms of the fashion system, in which the female body and femininity are spectacularized and commodified, can co-exist with the beliefs undergirding the Muslim daily practice of veiling. The concept of the mirror serves to articulate the precarious distinction between what I call the double movement of the subject in consummate fashion: a process of
being made, or fashioned into a certain model by the system, and that of fashioning oneself, or creating a self-image through the system.

The experimental fashion shows of Hussein Chalayan, a Turkish-Cypriot designer based in London, offer multiple perspectives of how two seemingly opposing cultural codes of dress intersect and diverge on questions concerning the woman’s body, desire, and the gaze. An art project produced by a group of young Muslim women living in the Netherlands, one component of which took the form of a fashion magazine, demonstrates how fashion can be used as a means of self-affirmation. This project requires a revisiting of the concept of desire put forth in psychoanalysis. Furthermore, the images in the magazine expose how the aesthetics of the veil, which is characterized by the sense of touch, as well as texture and ornamentation, can be used to deflect consummate fashion’s fetishization of the female body. Finally, I argue that the image of the veil in these instances expresses a subject position that does not completely identify with a liberal conception of the individual or a traditional understanding of communitarianism. I thus introduce the term “generation,” as recently defined by Fredric Jameson, to articulate an active subject position that engages, rather than passively endures, the struggles of its specific historical moment and location.

The image of the Muslim veil is impregnated with colonial and neo-imperial histories in which it predominantly stands as a sign of otherness. While keeping these histories in check, this dissertation explores how the Muslim veil is coming into being in a historical moment and at geographic locations in which it must also be aligned with a number of alternate genealogies. Motivating this study is a desire to explore the image of the urban veil as a site of connectivity: occasioning surprising effects, for example, as it
is read alongside discourses of feminism, articulations of difference, and the system of consummate fashion. This project attends to the performative side of images and the potential of art to transform normative representations. Following Deleuze, if a work of art has the capacity to press on what is known and generate an idea, then this thesis delves into what the works under study have to offer in terms of new understandings of the urban veil in all its singularities and manifolds.