Visual Sociology: The Sociological Analysis of the Image

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Abstract

V isual sociology, as defined by the International V isual Sociology Association, is a branch of sociology that examines social phenomena through visual materials such as photographs, films, and other images. It employs visual research methods to gain insights into social issues, identities, and relationships, emphasizing the role of visual materials in conveying social meanings and power dynamics. This article explores this vital field of sociology by tracing its origins and historical development, highlighting key research topics, and discussing some of its main issues. Additionally, it examines the state of this discipline within Arab and Islamic cultures. A content analysis Method was adopted to deconstruct the social and cultural issues associated with images and to underscore the importance of sociological analysis in understanding visual phenomena. Additionally, the historical method was used to trace the emergence and development of visual sociology.

Keywords: Visual Sociology, Image, Qualitative Research, Visual Phenomena.

Introduction

Visual sociology is an interdisciplinary field that examines visual imagery in social contexts and its impact on societal structures, behaviors, and perceptions. It involves both the production and interpretation of visual materials—such as photographs, films, and other visual media—through sociological frameworks. Rooted in both sociology and visual culture, this field emerged as scholars began to recognize the significant role that images play in shaping social realities.

Historically, visual sociology traces its origins to the early 20th century when photography and film were first utilized as tools for social analysis (Wacquant, 1992). As a distinct subfield, it gained momentum in the mid-20th century, particularly with the advent of new technologies and visual methods in ethnographic research (Emmison & Smith, 2000). In contemporary research, visual sociology continues to explore the intersections of media, technology, and culture, addressing issues such as identity, representation, power, and the influence of digital imagery (Banks, 2001).

The use of visual methods now plays a vital role in social research, offering unique insights that complement traditional sociological approaches by capturing the lived experiences of individuals and groups in ways that words alone cannot express (Henny & Leonardo, 2012).

This research seeks to understand how visual sociology contributes to social analysis, how it has evolved historically, and what its current scope is in relation to other sociological branches. While sociology has traditionally relied on textual data and quantitative analysis, the visual component of social life has often been underexplored. This study aims to investigate the role of visual methods in sociology, their historical development, and their potential impact on social research and theory, with particular reference to the state of this discipline in Arab and Islamic cultures.

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Aims of the Research

This study aims to:

- Define the field of visual sociology by exploring its origins and its position within the broader discipline of sociology.
- Trace the historical development of visual sociology, highlighting key milestones, influential thinkers, and major factors that have shaped its evolution.
- Examine the current scope of visual sociology, focusing on how visual methods are applied in contemporary sociological research.
- Investigate the state of visual sociology within Arab and Islamic cultures.

Methodology

This research will employ a content analysis approach alongside the historical method to address its objectives.

Content Analysis: This method will be used to systematically examine the sociological perspectives of visual materials, such as photographs, films, and social media content. The goal is to understand how social issues, behaviors, and identities are represented in these visual mediums.

Historical Method: This approach will trace the evolution of visual sociology as a discipline, from its early influences in the social sciences to its current state. A review of historical texts, academic journals, and seminal works that have contributed to the development of visual sociology will be conducted.

Key figures such as Howard Becker, Erving Goffman, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean Baudrillard, and others will be analyzed for their contributions to the visual turn in sociology. This analysis will map significant milestones and paradigm shifts within the field, providing a comprehensive understanding of how visual sociology emerged, how it was received by traditional sociological theorists, and how it has expanded in scope and methodology.

What is Visual Sociology?

Visual sociology is a subfield of qualitative sociology that traditionally involves the use of images in social scientific research. This initial definition represents the early stage of the discipline's development and reflects the primary focus of visual sociologists at the time. However, as the field has evolved, it has expanded beyond the mere use of images as research tools to encompass a broader understanding of visual techniques and their applications in generating new forms of sociological data. (Grady, John 1996)

The **International Sociological Association** defines visual sociology as a diverse field of study that brings together sociologists engaged in visual studies and the analysis of visual culture. As a relatively new discipline and methodology within sociology, visual sociology is attracting a growing number of scholars and students who use visual methods and are interested in the production, utilization, and dissemination of visual knowledge. (International Sociological Association 2017)

Visual sociology examines and interprets social phenomena through visual materials such as photographs, films, and other images. It employs visual research methods to explore social issues, identities, and relationships, emphasizing the role of visuals in conveying social meanings and power dynamics. (International Visual Sociology Association)

In contemporary society, visual practices have expanded beyond traditional images to include digital and online platforms such as social networking sites and YouTube. These new forms of visual communication have developed alongside classical visual media, often surpassing them in influence. This shift has necessitated the development of new cognitive frameworks and methodological tools to analyze their mechanisms and implications. (Nathanson, Rivig, and Zoev, Dennis, eds., 2013)

A central premise of visual sociology is that an accurate scientific understanding of society can be achieved by observing, analyzing, and framing its visual manifestations—both in human behavior and material cultural products. The discipline seeks to normalize the use of visual images as legitimate sociological data. (Nathanson, Rivig, and Zoev, Dennis 2012)

We are living in what can be described as the "age of the image," where visual culture dominates daily life. Images permeate all aspects of modern existence—appearing in newspapers, magazines, books, clothing, billboards, television screens, computers, the Internet, and mobile phones—creating an unprecedented visual environment in human history.

Visual sociology generally adopts one of two methodological approaches when analyzing visual materials. The first approach uses photographs (with increasing interest in video and film) as research tools for data collection. The second approach treats images as data in their own right, requiring interpretation and analysis, particularly in studies of cultural sociology, where films and other cultural products are often examined using semiotic methods. (Scott and Marshall 2011)

This emerging field of sociology not only seeks to understand and analyze visual phenomena but also integrates qualitative and quantitative approaches to reveal different aspects of the subjects studied. A key assumption in sociological analysis is that images themselves serve as valuable data sources, not merely as illustrative or decorative elements in research. A single image—or a collection of images—can constitute an argument in sociological research if analyzed and interpreted through sociological theory. This approach, in turn, contributes to the development of sociological theory. Moreover, visual sociology extends beyond analyzing images alone; it also examines non-visual data by exploring how people perceive, interpret, and share images in their social interactions. In this context, visual sociologists analyze the broader social dynamics surrounding images, rather than focusing solely on the images themselves. (Nathanson, Rivig, and Zoev, Dennis 2012)

A Brief History of Visual Sociology

The American sociologist Howard Becker (1928–2024) believed that the emergence of sociology coincided with the development of photography. Auguste Comte (1798–1857) coined the term "sociology" in 1839, the same year Louis Daguerre (1787–1851) successfully printed a photograph on metal and displayed it publicly. From the beginning, both disciplines worked on various projects, the most important of which was the exploration of society (Becker, 1974).

Although sociology and photography emerged simultaneously, they remained largely independent of each other for a long time. However, by the late 19th century, sociologists and social photographers began incorporating photographs into early issues of the American Journal of Sociology (AJS). In its first fifteen years, images primarily served to support articles on social reform.

Stasz analyzed the relationship between images and written content in these early articles and found that images did not significantly reinforce the text. Instead, they were sometimes used for artistic enhancement or to visually contrast pre- and post-event conditions. Photographs often depicted people in their everyday lives, but the technical quality of these images was generally poor, suffering from improper composition. For example, one photograph of a group of baptized Protestants was difficult to discern because they were hidden behind a large wall (Henny, 2012).

Despite these limitations, some photographs had high documentary value, particularly those illustrating housing conditions in Chicago. These images played a significant role in a series of articles on Chicago's

housing problems from 1910 to 1915. Around 1914, a notable shift occurred in the publication of photographs in AJS when Albion Small took over editorial leadership. Documentary photographs disappeared from the journal after 1915, replaced by articles supported by statistical data. From then on, photographs—printed on coated paper—were primarily used to honor deceased sociologists (Henny, 2012).

Beyond AJS, some early sociological works incorporated photographs, such as Frederick Thrasher's The Gang (1927). However, for a long time, visual imagery was largely ignored by social scientists. Interestingly, this was not the case in other social sciences, such as anthropology. Many anthropologists, including Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, used photography and film in their research. In Balinese Character (1942), Mead and Bateson selected 759 images from over 25,000 photographs taken during two years of fieldwork. They aimed to experiment with a new way of documenting cultural behavior through interconnected images (Harper, 2000).

Interest in the role of visual media in sociology began to revive in the mid-1970s. A number of books and scholarly publications on the subject emerged, and periodic meetings were held. Video Sociology was published at Boston University between 1972 and 1974, and annual video-sociology sessions were introduced at the American Sociological Association conferences starting in 1974 in Montreal. These sessions continue to this day.

A pivotal moment in the history of visual sociology was the publication of Howard Becker's 1974 article Photography and Sociology. Becker provided an in-depth analysis of the work of both photographers and sociologists, highlighting their shared interests in understanding institutions, social systems, and communities. While sociologists sought to analyze society scientifically and develop general theories, photographers used their craft to explore social realities. Early photographers depicted distant societies or hidden aspects of their own communities, often working alongside sociologists to expose social issues through images and words (Becker, 1974).

Visual sociology gained further recognition at regional sociological meetings and international sociology conferences in the United States beginning in 1978 and in Mexico in 1982. While the U.S. remained the center of activity, interest later spread to Europe, with terms such as Sociologie de l'image in France and Medienwirkungsforschung in Germany emerging to describe the field. In 1982, the International Society for Visual Sociology (ISVS) began organizing forums at international conferences in the U.S., Europe, and Asia (Henny, 2012).

In 1983, a group of eight to ten visual sociologists attending an American Sociological Association meeting in Detroit responded to inquiries about the field. Among them was John Grady, a sociologist who contributed significantly to visual sociology research and helped establish the International Journal of Visual Social Sciences (IJVSS). Another key figure was Dutch sociologist Leonardo Henny, who enriched the journal for many years (Harper, 2016).

For a long time, visual sociology remained a marginal field within mainstream sociology and received little attention from major sociological journals. However, recent visual and pictorial trends have led prominent sociologists to recognize the growing importance of visual methodologies and the role of images in contemporary culture. Modern literature in visual sociology now addresses various social issues, including ethnic conflicts, gender studies, collective identities, and urban landscape photography. Researchers have employed methods such as photo-elicitation interviews, participatory video, and photographic analysis (Nathanson & Zoev, 2012).

Currently, visual sociology is represented by two major international research groups. The first is the International Visual Sociology Association (IVSA), founded in 1983, which publishes the journal Visual Sociology, later renamed Visual Studies to attract a broader interdisciplinary audience. The second group operates under the International Sociological Association (ISA) and was established by Dennis Zoev and Regev Nathanson. This group organizes sessions at international sociological forums, holds periodic conferences, and publishes biannual bulletins on visual sociology research (Nathanson & Zoev, 2012).

The ISA's visual sociology research committee aims to bridge theoretical and practical discussions on visual data analysis. It provides a platform for exchanging ideas and developing sociological methodologies, such as website analysis, sociological video production, and photographic analysis. Another key objective is to explore how visual data is collected, produced, and analyzed, whether through archives, media, or documentary photography. Additionally, the committee examines the socio-cultural significance of visual communication and its intersection with verbal and sensory experiences.

The International Journal of Visual Sociology now publishes research by social scientists worldwide. Within visual sociology, two main approaches can be distinguished:

- Social Reformers Following in the footsteps of early American sociologists and photographers, they use visual media to advocate for social change.
- Behaviorists Initially opposed to photography, they now use visual techniques for empirical research and teaching, focusing on scientific measurement rather than social activism.

Beyond these two approaches, ethnomethodology has also incorporated visual data into sociological analysis. Traditional areas of sociological research—such as class, gender, family, nationality, ethnic relations, labor, and urban life—have been examined through a visual lens. More recently, visual sociology has expanded into fields like social movements, protests, and new media (Nathanson & Zoev, 2012).

In Arab cultures, visual sociology remains largely underdeveloped, with only sporadic efforts in the field. According to Farid Ezzahi, few Arab researchers specialize in visual studies, as aesthetics and image research remain marginalized in a culture predominantly focused on language, literature, and religious texts (Ezzahi, 2019).

Overall, visual sociology continues to evolve, gaining recognition as an essential methodological and theoretical approach within contemporary sociological research.

Some Manifestations of Sociological Analysis of the Image

The image serves as a rich source of information, producing deep meanings that abstract data alone may not fully convey. While images may contain simple, easily identifiable, or measurable information, they also function as repositories of meaning—both captivating and enigmatic (Grady, John 1996).

In today's world, according to Rachida Triki, the image has become one of the most complex philosophical concepts, carrying significant stakes in contemporary society. The notion of "image warfare" is now widely recognized, where images act as weapons that can legitimize, prevent, or facilitate trade, or serve as strategic tools of control. This is particularly evident in the stark disparity between technologically advanced powers and the rest of the world (Triki, Rashida 2019).

The image is no longer worth merely a thousand words, as the old Chinese proverb suggests, but rather millions. Recent historical events illustrate this point: the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001; the fall of Saddam Hussein's statue in Baghdad in 2003; his subsequent arrest, trial, and execution; the image of the Palestinian child Muhammad Al-Durra dying in his father's arms in 2000; and iconic paintings such as Mona Lisa by da Vinci, Guernica by Picasso, and The Scream by Munch. These images have left an indelible impact on human consciousness, transcending the power of words.

Historically, images in their various forms have played a crucial role in human civilization. From its earliest stages, the image has documented major historical events, reflected societal conditions, and conveyed diverse cultural and civilizational perspectives. A significant portion of our knowledge of human history is undoubtedly indebted to artistic representation. Religious thought, in particular, highlights the importance of images in human history.

Icons—images with Christian theological content—were instrumental in spreading Christianity. These icons conveyed religious teachings and beliefs, emphasizing values such as meekness, peace, piety, and reverence. They also depicted scenes of saints' martyrdom and ominous imagery, including skulls and bones, as well as imagined representations of Satan, often created by Byzantine and Greek artists (Habib, Raouf 2020).

Contrary to the claims of many Western scholars, Islamic civilization has a rich legacy of image production. In the past, Muslim artists—particularly Persians, Indians, and Turks—produced countless miniatures, which blended texts with illuminated illustrations, embodying the essence of Islamic civilization. Unlike Christianity and Buddhism, Islam did not rely on visual arts for proselytization. Thomas Arnold, in his book Painting in Islam, argues that of the three great religions—Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam—that sought to expand through various media, only Islam refrained from using graphic arts to disseminate its doctrines (Mernissi, Fatima 2000).

Islamic art, therefore, remained a secular rather than a theological pursuit. Photography and artistic representation were not employed to serve religious purposes, nor were they integrated into mosque decor or the embellishment of the Qur'an. Instead, Muslim artists mastered floral and geometric motifs, calligraphy, and other visual arts that reflected Islamic social and cultural values (Farghali, A. 2000).

Many Muslim caliphs and monarchs—both Arab and non-Arab—were great patrons of the arts. By the second century AH, Muslim rulers actively supported artistic endeavors. The art of miniatures reached its zenith in the seventh century AH during the Safavid dynasty, flourishing across regions from Iran to India. Muslim kings amassed large numbers of artists and craftsmen to create exquisite miniatures (Mernissi, Fatima 2000).

These artistic productions not only held aesthetic value but also reflected the political, social, and class structures of their time (7th century AH – 13th century AD). They also served as indicators of civilizational transitions—signifying the decline of one empire and the emergence of another. Unlike in Europe, where commissioned artwork was often displayed in museums for public enjoyment, Islamic miniatures were largely reserved for the ruling elite. The masses were typically excluded from access to these artworks, reinforcing class divisions. This exclusivity persisted until the advent of modern communication technologies, which democratized access to visual culture and ultimately empowered the public (Mernissi, Fatima 2000).

More recently, Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) and his colleagues published Un Art Moyen in 1965, later translated into English in 1990 as Photography: A Middle-Brow Art. This work represents a seminal sociological analysis of photography and visual culture, positioning photography as a social practice rather than merely an artistic medium. Bourdieu argues that photography should not be viewed as a simple visual representation of sociological phenomena but rather as a practice embedded in broader social contexts (Gonzalez, J. 1992).

At a broader level, Bourdieu identifies photography as an intermediate practice predominantly associated with the middle class. He suggests that participation in photographic activities can contribute to dissolving class boundaries (Nathanson, Rivig & Zweif, Dennis 2012). According to Bourdieu, the family plays a central role in this practice. He asserts that photography exists primarily to fulfill a familial function—documenting and preserving key moments of family life. Family photographs reinforce a sense of unity and identity, reflecting authority structures, as evidenced by the father's prominent position in many family portraits. The need for photographs intensifies as family cohesion strengthens (Bourdieu, Pierre 1990).

Another scholar who explored the power of images in shaping contemporary consciousness was French philosopher and sociologist Jean Baudrillard (1929–2007). Baudrillard argued that the modern world has undergone fundamental transformations due to technological advancements, particularly in visual media. The image has not only supplemented language but, in many ways, has replaced it entirely. Initially, images created a parallel world alongside reality; eventually, this visual realm expanded, overshadowing and consuming the real world. This shift signifies an ontological transformation in human perception,

necessitating a theoretical framework to analyze it. Furthermore, Baudrillard highlights the epistemological implications of images, emphasizing how they shape human cognition and guide responses to external reality (Mustafa, B. 2017).

Given the dominance of images in contemporary culture, the way individuals perceive the world is largely mediated by visual representation. Since human consciousness is largely constructed through media, the screen and news production techniques dictate reality. Consequently, most human perceptions and reactions are manifestations of the image-driven world (Mustafa, B. 2017).

Baudrillard underscores that images are never neutral or objective. They do not merely document events but are influenced by ideological frameworks and technological manipulation. With the proliferation of sophisticated image-making technologies and a lack of critical analytical tools to deconstruct visual discourse, human consciousness is increasingly shaped—and often manipulated—by ideologically charged images (Mustafa, B. 2017).

Indeed, images now reflect contemporary social transformations and crises. Until recently, the idea that an image could be fatal was understood metaphorically. Even Marie-José Mondzain, who titled one of her books The Image Can Be Fatal, does not definitively claim that images kill, but she argues that images have always been violent in essence. Television, for example, aestheticizes war, violence, and bloodshed, making them spectacles for mass consumption. This raises fundamental questions about the identity of images: they are ambiguous vessels that can be loaded with meaning, wielded for political and economic purposes, and manipulated to control viewers' perceptions. Advertising, for instance, exploits visual imagery to manipulate consumer desires, turning individuals into perpetual consumers. However, according to some scholars, the impact of violent images on youth is not necessarily negative. In The Virtues of the Image, French psychologist Serge Tisseron argues that images also offer positive developmental benefits, contributing to adolescents' psychological growth (Ezzahi, Farid 2019).

Conclusion

This study aimed to provide a comprehensive understanding of visual sociology, its historical development, and its current relevance in sociological research. Visual sociology offers unique methods for capturing and analyzing social phenomena, expanding the toolkit of sociologists beyond traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches. The historical analysis highlighted the intellectual shifts that led to the integration of visual methods, while the content analysis demonstrated how visual media continue to shape public consciousness and reflect social realities.

In conclusion, we emphasize the potential for visual sociology to expand further in the digital age, where visual media are increasingly central to social interactions, identities, and cultural narratives.

Our recommendations for future research focus on addressing the limitations of visual sociology, including issues of subjectivity in interpreting visual data and ethical concerns related to the representation of marginalized groups. Additionally, refining visual research methods and exploring new forms of visual media remain crucial in contemporary sociological inquiry.

Ultimately, the search for the symbolic meanings of images and an in-depth exploration of their philosophical, social, and cultural dimensions represent an inexhaustible intellectual resource. This approach opens new horizons for contemporary sociological studies and reaffirms the importance of integrating visual sociology into the Arab academic and cultural landscape. Keeping pace with Western intellectual advancements, which continually explore new fields of knowledge, is essential to bridging the growing knowledge gap between the Arab world and the West.

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