Representing the Rwandan Genocide: A Photographic and Geographical Study.

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INTRODUCTION

On the 6th of April 1994, a plane carrying Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira —the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi — was shot down on its approach to Kigali Airport. Following the death of the presidents, an organised programme of extermination unfurled. With the greatest number of victims dying within the first three weeks of the massacre, the story of what happened in Rwanda is one of complicity and criminality (Holmes, 2014). Given the speed at which the massacres were conducted, and with an estimated one million lives lost, the genocide represented a deadly combination of single-minded execution and state-sponsored organisation. However, as a stark example of "social embeddedness" – in which ordinary people came to murder their neighbours (Fujii, 2008) —the genocide was also a unique example of community weaponisation.

Despite the plane's destruction operating as the catalyst for massacre, the genocide was not a spontaneous outbreak of decontextualised violence. The genocide was preceded by acts of mass violence reaching as far back as the 1950s. With growing opposition mounting pressure on the single-party government of President Habyarimana, the genocide occurred during a time of increasing political instability. In response to this pressure, the Habyarimana government incited a form of violent nationalism that sought to dismantle the opposition. From 1990, then, extremists within the Habyarimana government — self-identifying as "Hutu Power", or "Interahamwe"— began rousing efforts within the majority Hutu population to attack and target minority Tutsis.

While massacres were rolled out across the nation from April 1994, in the months prior, the "Hutu Ten Commandments" were published in Rwanda's state newspaper. With commandment eight reading "the Hutus should stop having mercy on the Tutsis", ethnic divisions were exacerbated and weaponised by the state (Straus, 2007). With Rwanda's ethnic minority depicted as the source of all the troubles, Radio Mille Collines began its infamous broadcasting of hateful propaganda. Reminding listeners that "Tutsi children must also be killed",

particular emphasis was placed on targeting children, for if any of them were spared, they would go on to tell the story (Straus, 2007).

With the term itself created in 1944, genocide obtained international recognition post-war. After lawyer and activist Raphäel Lemkin campaigned to have genocide recognised and codified as an international crime, the United Nations adopted the 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide' in 1948 (Gregory, 2009a: 272). With Lemkin's efforts situating mass murder as an international crime, "genocide" as a term — past or present — sustained enormous political and cultural weight. Largely due to its analytical, juridical, and political inflections, the use of the term is designed to sound the alarm and oblige action (Stein, 2005: 190 cited in Gregory, 2009a: 272).

While the term is relatively modern, the practice of genocide has a much longer history. Much like its kin ethnic cleansing, the role of genocide can be extended backwards in time — particularly within the biopolitical context of imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, as the 'deliberate systematic mass killing and physical liquidation of a group of human beings who are identified by their murderers as sharing national origin, ethnicity, race, gender or other social distinction' (Gregory, 2009a: 272), genocide is an important subject for contemporary geographical enquiry.

The Rwandan atrocity — meticulously planned and pre-organised by the state — was a form of postcolonial genocide. With modernity used as a symbolic weapon by colonial ideologists to 'separate the indigenous groups and create lasting antagonisms', the elevation of the local Tutsi elites to the position of superiority within indirect rule ensured that colonial authorities successfully prevented an emergence of 'cross-class anti-colonial nationalism' (Balorda, 2021: 12). However, the Hutu revolution — which roused the 'reversal of tables and places in the hierarchy of Rwandan groups' — facilitated the repetition of the traumatic scenario of imperial violence and oppression (Balorda, 2021: 12). Despite the Revolution's failure to resolve the colonial trauma, it did, however, 'provide the space for the colonised subject to renegotiate [their] identity: From the primitive and barbaric, the

Hutu became the progressive and modern, and per extension those who subjugate the 'other'' (Balorda, 2021: 13).

Crucially, the "Othering" of the Rwandan subject — namely, the minority Tutsis — was extended into Western reporting and other visual representations of violence. With the distinction between the resurgence of the civil war and the genocide improperly deciphered, the two became regularly (and problematically) conflated (Cieplak, 2017). As Susan Sontag contends, post-colonial Africa existed in the consciousness of the West mainly as a 'succession of unforgettable photographs of large-eyed victims, starting with figures in the famine lands of Biafra in the late 1960s to the survivors of the genocide of nearly a million Rwandan Tutsis in 1994' (2003: 63). The genocide was, therefore, frequently narrated as the result of 'inexplicable, uncontrollable primordial tribalism that drove Hutus and Tutsis to murder' (Fair and Parks, 2001: 36 cited in Cieplak, 2017). Despite operating as 'evidence of tremendous suffering', many photographs represented a stereotypical typology of atrocity imagery so often associated with "African conflict" (Cieplak, 2017: 25).

In stark contrast to the international disinterest during the violence, since 1994, the genocide has obtained significant public, political and academic interest. With the genocide widely 'depicted, discussed, and denounced across public, academic, popular cultural and political spheres' (McMillan, 2016: 303), a plethora of non-fiction texts have reflected on the genocide, including newspaper articles, non-government reports, investigative journalism and documentary films. Now regarded as an important lens through which the "truth" behind governmental and institutional inaction can be understood, the genocide has become firmly embedded within both mainstream journalism and academic research.

The central thesis of this study is that the Rwandan genocide offers a prism to think about the politics of representing/photographing atrocity. Despite conflating civil war with the systematic slaughter of civilians from a pre-identified group, a necessary distinction must be made between the record of individual photographers and journalists and the media more generally in 1994 (Cieplak, 2017).

Whilst a critique of the media output during the genocide is perhaps justifiable (Cieplak, 2017), this thesis avoids making polemic judgements on the media's engagement with the genocide. Instead, this thesis will assess visual representations of the genocide through the lens of photography.

To do this, three photographic styles — forensic, artistic and portraiture — will be critically examined. Whilst photography during and in the immediate aftermath was about 'evidence' and 'witnessing', visual representations post-genocide attempted to grapple with the 'unrepresentable' through the lens of art photography. However, as crime moves to reconciliation, again photography is being enlisted into the service of confronting the genocide. In this way, portraiture represents an attempt to recentre the agency of the victims and promote reconciliation.

With the genocide prompting varied photographic responses, this thesis allows us to grapple with both the promise and shortcomings of photography as a tool of representing genocide. This study will, therefore, ask a series of fundamental questions: Who is the photographer is and what is the agency of the photographed? What is the relationship between viewer and image, and how can ethical witnessing be nurtured? And, finally, with the images shaping those who took them, those who were photographed and the wider public response, this thesis asks how each photographic style attempts to grapple with the trauma and difficulty of genocide.

To begin, a review of relevant literature foregrounds this thesis. I will argue that while the spatial, political, and historical dimensions of the genocide have been explored within geographical scholarship, engagement with the photographic archive of the genocide is absent. Seeking to fill this gap, the literature review highlights the ways in which the subjects of genocide photography have become, in some instances, objects of sensationalism and degradation (Sontag, 2003). Operating within common rules and formative structures, the genocide is frequently narrated within an "African atrocity" model that situates the genocide within racialised/colonial frames of the African as barbaric or savage. This, in turn, obfuscates the violence by sustaining the genocide's exotic, anti-modern nature

(Butler, 2009). The literature review concludes by asking two critical questions. Firstly, what is produced when normative processes which typically structure photographic frames of representation are flouted? And, secondly, what spaces exist (if any at all) for the appropriate use of atrocity images representing direct depictions of death and suffering?

After an exploration of relevant literature, a consideration of methodology and research will follow. Detailing the process of formulating photographic categories through an engagement with the Rwandan genocide and its visual archive, conceptual links within and between photographic categories — forensic, artistic and portraiture — will be probed. As the methodology will detail, theorists have long appealed to theological language to describe photography's ability to 'cross boundaries, make the dead present, to allow viewers to visit the past and to make visible what would otherwise remain invisible' (Sentilles, 2010: 41). This theorisation of photography not only emphasises its cultural and political importance, but also the need to explore photographic categories as "ways of seeing". In this regard, the methodology will explore the sources and methods that ask one fundamental question: What happens when the formative structures of photography are challenged?

Differentiating between three distinct yet overlapping photographic styles, this thesis devotes a substantive chapter each to exploring forensic, artistic and portrait photography. In Chapter I – *Forensic Photography and the Documentation of Evidence* — the testimonial and evidential functions of aftermath photography will be explored. As contended by Zelizer, this style of photography has become 'instrumental in shaping the act of bearing witness' (1998: 11). With collective and personal memory of the genocide bound to the concept of witnessing – primarily due to the primacy of photography within cultural and political spheres – this chapter will examine the heterogeneity of witnessing and the ways in which atrocity photographs can be produced and viewed ethically. I argue that when photographers adopt a trauma-informed approach to visually representing atrocity, ethical witnessing is made possible.

However, as Chapter I will explore, the additional variables that may complicate our ability to "see" – such as prejudice and indifference towards atrocities in faraway places (Cieplak, 2017) – may also formulate an implicit response of "habituation" [read: desensitisation]. Often arising from engagement with forensic imagery, habituation has the potential to become the default reaction to graphic images depicting human suffering (Zelizer, 1998: 218). Upon this view, forensic photography that depicts brutality may contribute to a form of habituation that renders viewers into passive spectators. How, then, might photographers prevent habituation, and what kinds of images discourage passive spectatorship?

In Chapter II, artistic representation is explored as a potential response to the quandaries raised in Chapter I. Following from the discussion of 'ethical witnessing' in the previous chapter, I argue that viewing is often contingent not only on the geographical, personal, and factual, but also the emotional. As a representational form that is both reactive and self-conscious, art photography thus resembles an approach that acknowledges the impossibility of representation. However, with art photography representing (and producing) a way of seeing, landscapes of violence can be critically understood through a creative strategy which offers 'a way of connecting with landscape and those who shape it' (Lilley, 2000: 370). As Chapter II explores, art photography situates itself as a necessary lens through which the scale of the genocide can be comprehended. Through geographical imagination, and by working in tandem with images depicting brutality, landscapes of violence are both produced and reproduced through artistic representation.

Whilst this approach was successful post-genocide, it is important to consider if (and how) the genocide can be visually represented when the landscape no longer bares the weight and physical trace of violence. Can one still engage with the landscape to represent (and therefore comprehend) the nature and scale of violence, or is an alternative form of representation required? In other words, does photographing the landscape remain an important component of visual representation even if the genocide is no longer a visible constituent of it?

To explore this, Chapter III will introduce portraiture as a critical response to the disappearing landscape(s) of violence. As a response to shifts within Rwanda's post-genocide context, Chapter III will explore the departure from landscape, with portraiture situated as the primary way in which the genocide story can be told. Crucially, Chapter III will situate portraiture as the primary lens through which the intimacy of violence can be read and understood. With traumatic experience represented through the lens of the body, survival — both in memory and continued everyday experience — is understood as being renegotiated through portraiture. This form of representation, it will be argued, is conducive to reconciliation. To begin, geography and the Rwandan genocide will be considered.

LITERATURE REVIEW: GEOGRAPHY AND THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

'Is the image (eikon) a particular kind of medium through which the world is most persuasively relayed to our understanding? Or is the image a graphic language that 'invisibly' encodes whole systems of value – a history, geography, a morality, an epistemology? Whatever the case, to consider the image is to be aware of a trick of consciousness: an ability to see something as 'there' and as 'not there' at the same time; to appreciate that while the image might duplicate reality, it is itself not 'real''. (Dubow, 2009: 369)

Invented as a physio-chemical process by which 'natural objects may be made to delineate themselves without the aid of the artist's pencil' (Chang, 2008: 1), photography was initially understood as a way in which Nature could be awarded the ability to reproduce herself (Newhall, 1964). Representations of the world were read *through* photographs, with visual imagery understood as reproducing nature with 'fidelity equal to nature itself' (Chang, 2008: 1). It was contended that photography possessed an inherent "objective reality" in which the surface of the world could be faithfully copied onto the photographic image. For Sentilles, a 'religious desire' informed this conceptualisation. Photographs, it was argued, 'soothed the mummy complex' in their transcendence of death through the 'continued existence of the corporeal body' (2010: 41). This assessment of photography resulted in a widely held belief that photographic representation was unequivocally bound to truth and objectivity.

This objectivity was challenged in the 1970s, however. Encompassed by the theoretical application of 'indexicality'—defined as the visual likeness of photographic imagery to objective reality (Barthes, 1977) — the photographic image was reconceptualised. Many cultural geographers questioned the assumption that photographs simply work as descriptive illustrations, and their previous role was replaced by an understanding of photography as 'representations fraught with cultural meaning' (Rose, 2008: 152). In this way, photography was assigned with a distinct visual literacy (Rose, 2008). With popular lore and history situating photographs as unmediated transcriptions of the real world, it was thought that we ought to instead see them as 'coded symbolic artefacts whose form and content

transmit identifiable points of view' (Schwarz, 1992: 95 in Cronin, 1998: 74). This reconceptualisation challenged the objectivity, indifference and neutrality previously ascribed to photography.

From the 1970s, then, photographs were read as "traces" of the objects which they represent. As a trace of something brought before the lens, photographs as superior 'mementos of the vanished past and the dear departed' remain of primary thematic concern within photography (Sontag, 2003: 15). It is, as Sentilles contends, the unique ability of photographs to make possible 'the preservation of life by a representation of life' that informs the interconnectivity of mortality and photography (2010: 41). With visual representations of the Rwandan genocide attempting to grapple with the 'unrepresentable', this unique ability of photography provides a prism in which the politics of representing/photographing atrocity can be examined.

Functioning as 'objects of contemplation', Sontag (2003: 71) notes the assimilation of photography and death. Since cameras were invented in 1839, photography has 'kept company with death' and, in doing so, has 'deepened one's sense of reality' (Sontag, 2003: 87). Highlighted by one of the earliest systematic attempts to document atrocity through the medium of photography, British photographer Roger Fenton produced 360 photographs documenting the 1855 Crimean War[1]. Spending fewer than four months in Crimea, Fenton's photographs marked a new era in which the geographies of violence were no longer limited to imitations using painting or wood engraving. Despite an absence of scenes depicting combat or the devastating effects of war, Fenton's photographs offered a new kind of visual record, with the battlefield now visible to those outside of it. This assimilation – formulated almost as early as the invention of photography itself – created the conditions in which violence and visual media would become culturally and politically enveloped.

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[1] Woodis, W. *Fenton Crimean War Photographs.* https://www.loc.gov/collections/fenton-crimean-war-photographs/about-this-collection/

Whilst the history of war photography extends back over one hundred and fifty years, the widely held consensus is that the Spanish Civil War was the first conflict to be extensively photographed for a mass audience, thus marking the establishment of modern war photography as we know it.[2] Largely due to the conflict being conducted while picture magazines were rising to prominence in the media economy, photographs of the Spanish Civil War raised the visual expectations of the image and, in turn, established the 'visual vocabulary of war photography as a genre' (Brothers, 1997: 201).

Whilst the works of Fenton or those produced from the Spanish Civil War did not capture the objective reality of the battlefield, they did showcase a *likeness* to war that transcended written discourse and drawn/carved imitations (Butler, 2009). The ability of photographs to cross boundaries — to make the 'dead present', to allow viewers to 'visit the past' and to 'make visible what would otherwise remain invisible' – is, arguably, the most powerful function of photographic representation (Sentilles, 2010: 41). However, as contended by Errol Morris (2011), images derive much of their power from what they exclude. By representing a single moment in time and single point in space, what exists outside of frame, or what happened before or after, remain absent. These inherently geographical exclusions are of critical importance.

Whilst it is important to consider photography and its philosophical relation to objectivity and truth, it is equally (if not more) important to consider the cultural and political functions of photography. As contended by David Campbell (2015), too often the concept of truth, faith in objectivity and declarations about reality actually 'close down debate' about what photography does. By focusing on the ethical, cultural, and political dimensions of photographic practice, this thesis interrogates how the story of the genocide has been narrated *through* photography.

In what follows, academic literature concerning photography, geography and the Rwandan genocide will be considered. Whilst literature on these themes

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[2] Levitch, M. *Chim: David Seymour's Humanist Photography.* https://www.nga.gov/features/chim-david-seymour.html

exist within discrete academic fields, an explicitly geographical analysis of photographic representations of the Rwandan genocide is seemingly absent from academic research. Through a geographical lens, this thesis will address this gap by synthesising literature and research in ways that aid an interdisciplinary understanding of the photographic archive of the genocide. After a brief discussion of research gaps, a discussion of research methodology– namely, the ways in which these literatures interact and their potential for synthesisation – will follow. To begin, geographical and interdisplinary literature concerning the Rwandan genocide will be surveyed.

THE GENOCIDE

The Rwandan genocide has been the subject of significant scholarly interest for over two decades. Prior to 1994, Rwanda — a small, landlocked country with few natural resources and 'no strategic importance' — was little known (Longman, 2006: 29). With the genocide and its brutalities made salient by the television coverage of millions of refugees fleeing across the borders, Rwanda was brought to the consciousness of much of the world (Longman, 2006: 29). Bestowed with new notoriety, the Rwandan genocide was enacted during an age supposedly defined by a 'never again' international philosophy. For this reason, the 'how' and 'why' of the genocide has consumed research interests since the late 1990s.

Through an intellectual history of geographical theory, geographers have explored the ways in which identity and place became drawn into political objectives in Rwanda. As Fletcher (2007) contends, the ideological underpinning of the Rwanda genocide was uneven in form and application, with many Rwandans — both those in power and those not — were not ideologically committed Hutu Power. For many, intimidation and/or political opportunism meant participation was a means of following the path of least resistance (Fletcher, 2007). They "turned interahamwe" to get along. In this regard, social context and identity politics can be used to understand the processes through which 'ordinary people came to commit genocide against their neighbours (Fujii, 2008: 568). Genocide as "social

embeddedness" is, therefore, a frame through which social ties, identity, and perpetration has been critically examined within geographical literature.

Reading genocidal space relies on 'thick, context-specific knowledge of place' (Egbert and O'Lear, 2008: 2). With the genocide's social embeddedness imprinted upon the Rwandan landscape, the spatial, cultural, and epistemological legacies of violence exhibit an 'atlas of atrocity that remains the singular and indelible spatial signature of a regime gorged on human suffering and death' (Irlam, 2019: 93). Concerned with geographically rooted ideas of ethnicity and spaces of killing, the genocide directly relates to geography's central interest in humans and their environment (Dahlman, 2017). By reading landscapes and assessing specific processes of violent nationalism (Egbert and O'Lear, 2008), geographical perspectives 'galvanize a more decisive response' in policy development pertaining to genocide (Wood, 2001: 72). With the aim of developing methods that articulate space in ways that predict and prevent suffering, it remains the work of geography to determine spatial signifiers of violence.

This approach was championed by Area Studies scholar Mamdani (2001). In *When Victims Become Killers*, Mamdani (2001) utilises his own context-specific knowledge of place to untangle the genocide's webs of territory, identity, and power (Egbert and O'Lear, 2008). For Mamdani, this context-specific knowledge must extend *beyond* Rwanda's borders and into the wider Great Lakes region. In this regard, Mamdani (2001) explores the political geography of East Africa in order to contextualise Rwanda's social, cultural and political standing prior to the atrocities of 1994.

With Rwanda's colonial history cited as the genealogical root of the genocide, Mamdani (2001) also pays great attention to the cultural origins of the categories 'Tutsi' and 'Hutu'. By historising the genocide in this way, Mamdani (2001) points to the ways in which the early 1900s new "science" of race was used to explain Rwanda's political (in)balance of power (Pierce, 2001). Echoing this, anthropologist Eltringham (2006) explores the use of genocidal propaganda of a modified 'Hamitic Hypothesis'. As a central feature of commentary on the 1994

Rwandan genocide, the modified Hamitic Hypothesis asserts that African 'civilisation' was formed by racially distinct Caucasoid invaders from the north-east of Africa (Eltringham, 2006: 425). By historicising the Hypothesis, Eltringham traces the transformation by European anthropology of the 'Hamite' into a racial object and how the 'extraneous provenance of the Tutsi' was articulated in colonial Rwanda (2006, 435).

As both Mamdani (2001) and Eltringham (2006) illustrate, the logic of racial superiority was used by the colonial elite to explain political privilege, thus justifying Tutsis' near-monopoly on educational opportunities and jobs in the colonial government (Pierce, 2001). This resulted in a regime of "racial" disenfranchisement for Hutus throughout the colonial era. Using archival material, Eltringham (2006) illustrates how colonial writings were replete with variations on a theme of racial superiority. Whilst this rhetoric had lasting consequences, ethnic superiority proved to be unfixed, however. As independence neared, a Hutu revolution reversed the relative power of the colonial "racial" groups, with a redistribution of power to Hutus in the early years of post-colonial Rwanda (Pierce, 2001). What is clear, therefore, is that the social implications of being Hutu and Tutsi varied across time and space.

Between 1894 to 1918, Rwanda was part of German East Africa. However, after the German empire's defeat in World War I, Belgium became the administering authority under the mandates system of the League of Nations (Lemarchand, 2002). Despite forming a single administrative entity from 1918, Rwanda and Burundi were jointly administered as the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi until the end of the Belgian trusteeship in 1962 (Lemarchand, 2002). Despite this, the contours of colonialism remained firmly imprinted upon Rwanda's social fabric post-independence (Irlam, 2019).

As foreseen by Franz Fanon, Rwanda's first-generation post-colonial state was controlled by a corrupt nationalist bourgeoisie. Perpetuated by an 'essentially colonial spatial logic and political organisation', a quasi-colonial security apparatus was retained in the hands of a 'small power elite' (Irlam, 2019: 94). The colonial

system of Indirect Rule —in which indigenous rulers were enlisted to the cause of colonial governance — formulated a bifurcated state. With ethnically based chiefs ruling rural areas despotically, the urban areas were governed by the organs of a modernist state (Pierce, 2001). This not only resulted in despotism and unaccountability, but also the consolidation and politicisation of ethnic boundaries (Mamdani, 2001). This had devastating consequences for the radicalisation of Hutu nationalism.

By mapping shifts in power and national identity, Mamdani's (2001) historisation was able to debunk popular conceptions of the genocide as arising from 'intractable tribalism or African primitivism', instead highlighting the role of European colonialism and Western (non)intervention during the genocide (Pierce, 2002). As Melvern (2000) outlays in *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*, there were a plethora of "early warnings" of the Rwandan genocide that were systematically ignored. This is echoed throughout Samantha Power's *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, which utilises extensive research and interviews with US policymakers to conclude that 'the U.S. government knew enough about the genocide early on to save lives but passed up countless opportunities to intervene' (2002, 84).

Whilst post-colonial scholars have problematised interventionism, it is widely contended that the colonial genealogies of the genocide warranted a strong international response (Stanton, 2004). As Mamdani (2001) reiterates, all Rwandan's – regardless of ethnicity – paid the price for European colonialism, which saw the destruction of indigenous culture, religion, language, and space. This responsibility to prevent Tutsi extermination was not exercised, however, and the massacre ensued whilst much of the world watched (Kalsia, 2006). As a result, Rwanda is often read as a case study of the ramifications of 'inaction' (Stanton, 2004).

As Mamdani suggests, in all explorations of the 1994 genocide — including considerations of photography — it is important to consider the wider context in which the violence occurred. In a similar way, whilst the biopolitical dimensions of genocide ought to remain central within geographical literature, it is crucial that

micro-level spatial analysis is not marginalised or omitted. The variation in local responses once the killings began suggests that factors other than national identity and ethnicity may have been at work, including the nature of the link between 'central political leaders and localities', the 'decisions made by prominent local individuals' and 'differing local histories of Hutu-Tutsi relations' (Herbst, 2001). As developed by McDoom, a theoretical model for conceptualising a locality's vulnerability to violence comprises two constructs: extremist elite control and social segregation at the local level (2014: 43). Whilst neither factor explains the 'why' of genocide, they do help predict when and where violence may occur within genocide (McDoom, 2014: 43).

Similarly, in a paper exploring the role of mainstream media in times of state-sponsored mass violence against civilians, Yanagizawa-Drott (2014) estimates the impact of a popular radio station that 'encouraged violence' against the Tutsi minority population. Using village-level data from the Rwandan genocide, the results indicated that the broadcasts had a 'significant effect on participation in killings by both militia groups and ordinary civilians' (2014: 1947). An estimated 51,000 perpetrators — approximately 10% of the overall violence — were attributed to the station directly (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014: 1947). The broadcasts not only increased militia violence by directly influencing behaviour in villages with radio reception, but also had indirect influence by increasing participation in neighbouring villages (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). These "spillovers" are estimated to have caused more militia violence than the direct effects, thus illustrating the socio-political power of community-level activity.

This approach was developed further by Bonnier et al (2020) in their exploration of village-level meetings held on 'Umuganda'. This day (always the last Saturday of every month) required citizens to participate in political meetings and community work in the years leading up to the genocide (Bonnier et al, 2020). Here, the deployment of top-down political propaganda relied upon the public meetings held during Umuganda, which provided space – both physical and epistemological — for the 'communication of information and propaganda to community members' (Bonnier et al, 2020: 5). Aligning with official state policy during the last years before

the genocide, the rhetoric used during Umuganda became more patriotic and focused on marginalising the Tutsi (Lawrence and Uwimbabazi, 2013). Therefore, whilst the outcomes of genocide can be photographed, the unique nature of genocide — such as the build-up of propaganda – sits outside the frame.

Like Yanagizawa-Drott (2014), Bonnier et al (2020) contend that the interconnecting forces of local and state power aided the propulsion of Rwanda into genocide. In their analysis of the community program, Bonnier et al illustrate how state-controlled community meetings facilitated 'large-scale mobilisation of civilians into violence' (2020: 1). The Saturday meetings provided an 'arena for local elites to spread propaganda and bring people together' in ways that subverted universally held conceptions of community building projects (Bonnier et al, 2020: 1). With their effects dependent on the 'political intention of the leaders', Bonnier et al challenge (and ultimately displace) the synonymity of 'community' with 'unity' by highlighting the potential for negative outcomes (2020: 1).

In a similar way, Bowler (2008) explores the spatial transformation of churches during the genocide. Since the beginning of the 1900s, European missionaries established a long-term focus on 'converting political authorities' in ways that yielded trickle-down conversions, making the country 'one of the most Catholic societies in Africa' (Longman, 2001: 141 in Bowler, 2008: 176). Despite the exclusion of Tutsi believers within Rwanda's post-colonial state, the majority 'still trusted in the independent power of the church and sought despairingly to take refuge in its walls once the genocide began' (Bowler, 2008: 177). But, tragically, in most communities, 'members of a church parish killed their fellow parishioners and even in a number of cases, their own pastor or priest' (Longman, 2001: 140). With more people killed in church buildings than anywhere else, and in a country where almost eighty per cent professed to be Christians, 'the church itself stands tainted, not by passive indifference, but by errors of commission as well' (Bowler, 2008: 177).

The Rwandan genocide has, therefore, been the subject of scholarly interest within cultural and historical, political and development geography for over two decades. Crucially, geographical contributions have specified the need to identify

spatial arrangements that reflect power dynamics and inform identity formation at multiple scales. With patterns of differentiation operating *within* state boundaries, geographical literature has established a theoretical stance that dispels assumptions that states represent a container of homogeneous identity or evenly distributed access to power and resources (Egbert and O'Lear, 2008). In this regard, the complexity and heterogeneity of the genocide enshrines the notion that 'identity varies across scale' (Herb, 1999) and the 'meaning of boundaries varies over time' (Newman, 2004).

Through engagement with this literature, the central tension of this thesis is probed: Can existing geographical contributions and themes be extended into the realm of photography? Our media-driven culture is, as Sontag (2003) contends, oversaturated by depictions of atrocity. However, do photographs of violence and suffering merely reflect a culture in which shock has become a 'leading stimulus of consumption and source of value' (Sontag, 2003: 15)? Or do atrocity photographs accurately and helpfully depict the nature and scale of violence they purport to represent? To explore this, visual representations of atrocity – namely, photographs of the Rwandan genocide – will now be considered.

PHOTOGRAPHING ATROCITY

In the era of the witness, photography has contributed a great deal to the internationalisation and delocalisation of the memory of war and genocide (Möller, 2010). However, as illustrated by the Rwandan genocide, photography bears witness to different atrocities to varying degrees (Norridge, 2019). During the 1994 genocide, the number of reporters never rose above a maximum of fifteen and, after the 14th of April, eight days after the killings started, only five journalists remained in Kigali (Möller, 2010: 115). Given the absence of "real time" genocide imagery, literature tends to orbit around post-genocide witnessing and the archive of aftermath photography (Möller, 2010: 115).

Within photography, witnessing is understood as the act of moving beyond spectatorship. Rather than 'spectator[s] to crisis', witnesses represent the more ambitious position of being a 'responsible, ethical, participant' (Möller, 2010: 114). In this regard, witnesses are individuals capable of self-critically reflecting upon their own subject positions in relation to the conditions depicted in the image (Möller, 2010). As Möller explains, this self-critical reflection necessitates the 'acknowledgement of one's own involvement in the conditions depicted, acknowledgement of one's own responsibility for the conditions depicted, and acknowledgement of the impossibility individually to respond adequately to the conditions depicted' (2010: 114). Therefore, whilst visual representations of violence and suffering have the unwavering ability to shape public perception, this does not guarantee that consumption is always that of witnessing.

The difficulty in witnessing is ultimately shaped by the notion that trauma is, by definition, 'anti-archival' (Taylor, 2003: 193). Whilst the transmission of traumatic memory does not happen only in the live encounter, there ought to be a distinction made between 'different, though intertwined, systems of knowledge— the archival and the embodied—that participate in the transmission and politicisation of traumatic memory' (Taylor, 2003: 298). It is anti-archival in the sense that even if photographs of the killings were taken at the moment they were committed – something that is absent from the visual record of the genocide – it would have still only been killings shown, not the genocide. The embodied experience and ideological basis of genocide —which have been so central to the geographical accounts examined in the section above — are, therefore, difficult (if not impossible) to visually represent (Taylor, 2003). Other than illustrating a 'dance of death', images of killings make 'nothing more explicit to people who did not experience the genocide' (Möller, 2010: 115).

Despite the difficulties in witnessing and the anti-archival nature of trauma, the potential of aftermath imagery remains. The way in which 'we' (read: the West) collectively remember the Rwandan genocide is largely informed by photography (Möller, 2010). However, as maintained by Sontag (2003), an ethical double standard may apply to such images. As Sontag contends, 'the more remote

the place, the more likely we are to have full frontal views of the dead and dying, and these sights carry a double message; they show a suffering that is outrageous, unjust, and should be repaired, whilst also confirming that this is the sort of thing which happens in "that place"' (2003: 71).

As Sontag's last published work, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) follows her collection of essays *On Photography* (1977), published 26 years earlier. Revising much of what was argued in *On Photography*, Sontag explores visual representations of war and violence through the lens of specific conflicts, such as photographs of the American Civil War and contemporary horrific images of Rwanda, Israel, and Palestine, to highlight important changes in ideology, style, and technology. With staged war photographs dominating the archive prior to the Vietnam War, an emergence of independent war photographers – those supposedly unbound by censorship or authoritative control – marked a shift in photographic representation. Despite this shift, Sontag asks: 'How does the spectacle of the sufferings of others in the media affect us? Are we inured to violence by the depiction of cruelty? What is the purpose of showing the atrocities of war?' (Garage, 2013).

Our media-driven culture is, according to Sontag, oversaturated with depictions of atrocity. Best-selling photographs of violence and suffering reflect a culture in which 'shock has become a leading stimulus of consumption and source of value' (Sontag, 2003: 15). As Sontag contends, in a world in which photography is 'at the service of consumerist manipulations', photographic impact can be taken for granted (2003: 58). Therefore, while objectivity remains an intrinsic property of photography, Sontag argues that images are always produced with a point of view. In this regard, subjective vantage point, narrative and framing systematically ensure there are absences. If photographs are without caption or context, interpretations could vary innumerably. Consequently, morally alert photographers and ideologues of photography have become 'increasingly concerned with the issues of exploitation of sentiment (pity, compassion, indignation) in war photography and of rote ways of provoking feeling' (Sontag, 2003: 58).

Upon this view, it becomes the responsibility of viewers to reflect on how their privileges may be linked to the suffering of other people. Even within the problematic context of consumer driven photography — in which a marketplace for sensationalism pervades — shocking photographs will always possess an inherently ethical value. Whilst having the ability to serve as important tokens of a nation's collective memory, this value largely resides in the ability of atrocity photographs to challenge authorities (Garage, 2013). Such images are, as Sontag contends, an 'invitation to pay attention, to reflect, to learn, to examine the rationalizations for mass suffering offered by established powers. Who caused what the picture shows? Who is responsible?' (Garage, 2013).

Photography, and the image more broadly, is a cultural encoding that involves the intervention of language and the reliance on arbitrary yet conventionalised signs to be 'accessed and read correctly' (Dubow, 2009: 369). In this sense, the image 'displays itself most and hides itself best' (Dubow, 2009: 369). As argued by Butler (2009), photography of atrocity can both clarify and complicate the problem of war's in/visibility. How, then, do photographs root themselves in the apparent obviousness of the visible and yet still effectively conceal the practices of its making?

This paradigmatic function of photography — namely, an enshrinement of that which is both visible *and* hidden — has resulted in a body of work within contemporary geography that focuses on the ideological function and force of the image (Dubow, 2009). However, the power of the image does not just exist in 'interpreting the relationship between expressed visual content and external or referential context', or even being a vehicle for 'interrogating what it occludes' (Dubow, 2009: 369): Crucially, the image also interprets us.

Photographs of atrocity indicate a universal paradox operating with every latent image recorded on film. They are, on one level, documents of the visual spectrum and yet, on another, constructed illusions woven within cultural frames of reference and point of view (Butler, 2009). Therefore, through attempts to understand practices and precepts, our political, critical, and epistemological

choices are organised by 'tacit images, by a panoply of visual structures through which we create our orders of time, space and subjectivity' (Dubow, 2009: 369). In this regard, the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide is as much about self-reflectivity as it is about representing atrocity. This tension contributes to the 'magical illusion' of photography, which both enshrines truth whilst being simultaneously bound by fiction.

With the medium of photography possessing the potential for 'truth in the presence of both fact and fiction', rather than creating empathy among viewers, aftermath photographs can create distancing (Lischer, 2019: 811). To dissipate (or eliminate entirely) the distancing created by this ethical double standard, Möller (2010) contends that the tendency of photography to depoliticise viewers must be resisted. For photographs to bring us close to experiences of suffering as opposed to 'illuminating the unbridgeable chasm that separates ordinary life from extraordinary experiences of political trauma', we must seek to understand the wider context of production (Linfield, 2010: 15). In this way, ethical witnessing involves self-critical reflection and the ability to ask: 'who is the photographer and who or what is the subject? Who or what is in the frame and who or what is outside it? What are the power relations generated by this field of vision' (Lischer, 2019: 811)? Or, in other words, it requires geographical imagination.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATION AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The geographical imagination, as described by Gregory, encompasses the representation of other places – of landscapes, peoples, cultures and 'natures' – that 'articulate the desires, fantasies and fears of their authors and the grids of power between them and their 'Others'' (2009: 282-3). The social circulation and cultural sedimentation of imaginative geographies produces a sense of 'facticity' which, in turn, solidifies a normative authority. With repeated motifs becoming a 'taken-for-granted citation of Truth', imaginative geographies thus act to both legitimise and produce 'worlds' (Gregory, 2009b: 371). In this way, even the most 'formal,

geometric lattices of spatial science or the most up-to-date and accurate maps' are, as Gregory explains, at once 'abstractions and cultural constructions, and as such open to critical readings' (2009b: 370). This makes imaginative geographies, therefore, unconfined to the works of fiction.

The geographical imagination was first proposed by the Palestinian/American literary critic Edward Said (1935–2003) (Secor, 2009: 513). In his highly influential critique of orientalism, Said sought to problematise normative structures of power. Within this critique, Said mapped the ways in which (some) contributions made by European and American authors chart the 'asymmetric grid of power' by constructing a dynamic in which the West watches, and the East is watched (Secor, 2009: 513). Whilst Said's field was in comparative literature, making his focus the textuality of high culture, the focus has since shifted to encompass other modes of representation, such as art and photography. Subsequently, human geographers have been drawn to both the visual *and* textual image and have thus sought to draw attention to viewing as an 'embodied, vitally sensuous practice' (Gregory, 2009b: 370).

Said's emphasis on observing, watching, and viewing – on visuality and vision – invited attention to the cultural construction of the gaze. Functioning as the force that propels (and maintains) the subject/object relationship, the postcolonial gaze produces a binarised concept of us/them. Geographers, such as Gregory (2004), have developed Said's work to illustrate how 'everyday cultural practices work to produce spaces of 'the same' and spaces of 'the other' at a global scale (Secor, 2009: 515). In occupying a space 'beyond the pale of the modern', Gregory notes how the dignity and rights associated with Western modernity and humanism have been forfeited in spaces constructed through the gaze (2004, 28). Characterised by reductionist and objectifying qualities – resulting in a problematic construction of "the Other" – the Western media circuit visually and textually constructed Rwanda, during and post-genocide, as a space "beyond the pale".

The colonial experience was a major influence on the development of Hutu power. As Balorda contends, this development is an obvious example of 'violence

as a dialogue with the internalised colonial authority' (2021: 13). This internalisation reflects the values and ideologies of the coloniser that were appropriated by the oppressed as an attempt to 'abolish the existence of self as 'other'' (Balorda, 2021: 13). By successfully manipulating the foreign press by 'intentionally evoking the images of tribal killings in order to portray the genocide as a consequence of ancient hatreds and uncontrollable rage', Hutu nationalism became an aggressive form of mimicry (Balorda, 2021: 13). Through this appropriation, a conscious process in which the coloniser's production of knowledge was mobilised.

In this regard, mimicry is not simply a mindless imitation of the coloniser that seeks to displace colonial norms. It is a conscious and explicit rejection of colonial values that reflects the attempts made by the subject to free itself from the 'internalised postcolonial hegemony' (Balorda, 2021: 13). With delegations sent abroad to justify the killings, the Western construction of "tribal Africa" proved an ideal justification for Hutu extremists. By reinforcing the dichotomy of Western superiority and African barbarity, Hutu nationalists mimicked colonialism through a conscious effort to enshrine the symbolism of the colonial dichotomy.

As deliberate attempts to 'displace, subvert and contest the imaginative geographies installed by dominant regimes of power, practice, and representation' (Gregory, 2009b: 371), imaginative counter-geographies have emerged as an influential response to hegemonic constructions of "the West and the Rest". Produced using a range of representational forms, imaginative counter-geographies seek to 'give voice and vision to their subjects and to undo the separations between 'our space' and 'their space'' (Gregory, 2009b: 370). Often enshrining constructions of 'the empire writes back' or the 'subaltern speaks', imperialism and subalternity are (re)framed in ways that produce a 'new media' that, in turn, produces new publics.

Within recent decades, a rapid rise of 'culture' and its study has gained prominence across the humanities and social sciences. Conceptualised as the 'cultural turn', this study – no less so in geography than in other disciplines – has emerged as a 'reflection of, and timely response to, deep-rooted transformations that

have taken place since the Second World War' (Scott, 2004: 24). Despite being eclipsed by concerns with issues of space and social construction in early studies, since the 1990s, the production of prominent research on landscapes has materialised and, as Matless (1996) contends, has resulted in a diverse range of topics being examined through the prism of landscape (Scott, 2004). These transformations have situated culture in the spotlight, thus making it a central focus of contentions over belonging, identity, and justice in the contemporary world. The world's political and social landscapes are, therefore, a central concern within cultural and historical geography.

Done rather than possessed, growing emphasis was placed on "the doing" of cultural geography from the turn of the millennia (Scott, 2004). As contended in Shurmer-Smith's seminal work *Doing Cultural Geography* (2002), theoretical perspectives and methods in the practice of cultural geography are highly contested within the sub-discipline. Operating within a range of approaches, research within cultural geography now embraces a broader, more engaged method that goes beyond traditional ethnographies and textual analysis (Scott, 2004).

Previously (pre)occupied with isolated, local scales, research within cultural geography epistemologically expanded and sought to explore transgressions of traditional boundaries, both temporal and spatial. In the context of California's contemporary landscapes, Mitchell argued that landscape does not merely reflect but also incorporates and reifies social processes operating at a range of scales and therefore 'cannot be understood in isolation from other landscapes, other regions, and other places' (2002: 383 in Scott, 2004). It is thus the work of cultural geographers to trace global processes that work across *and* within borders and, in doing so, forge connections between geography and other disciplines.

This interdisplinary insight has enabled cultural and historical geography to adopt a multi-faceted insight into visual representations of violence. Whilst fruitful borrowings and exchanges have always operated within geography, it is now possible to detect, as Scott contends, the forging of 'stronger, more deliberate alliances that seek – actively and often with political intent – to weave connections

across boundaries that have long maintained the existence of discrete disciplinary realms' (2004: 31).

With photography of atrocity representing a way of seeing, cultural and historical geography therefore emerges as a necessary lens through which landscapes of violence can be critically understood. The recuperation of visual representation within cultural geography as a creative strategy which offers 'a way of connecting with landscape and those who shape it' (Lilley, 2000: 370) offers an approach that navigates the complexities and nuances of atrocity photography that cannot be 'studied or comprehended through separate disciplines' (Featherstone and Lash, 1999: 2). To understand this, methodology will now be discussed.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methods have shifted from the periphery. Becoming the dominant way of 'doing human geographic research', the hegemony of qualitative research within much of contemporary human geography encompasses interviews, ethnography, and discourse analysis (Latham, 2020: 666). Throughout the long and transient history of qualitive methods, photography has always represented a key lens through which space and place is seen and understood. Therefore, since its invention in the 1830s, photography has been frequently situated as the answer to the eminently geographical question, 'what is this place like?' (Rose, 2008: 151).

Using photographs within geographical studies requires critical thought, examination, and reflection, however. Whilst often thought to present unproblematic pictures of how place appears, some geographers have begun to treat photographs rather differently. As Rose contends, instead of using photographs as descriptive illustrations that merely show what a 'location looked like when the shutter snapped', contemporary cultural and historical geographers think about the ways in which photographs can be 'active players in the construction of a range of different kinds of geographical knowledge' (2008: 151). Therefore, rather than thinking of photos as 'transparent windows that allow us to peer into places we would never otherwise see', many geographers now think of photos as 'prisms that refract what can be seen in quite particular ways' (2008: 151).

Philosophically rooted by interpretivism, this thesis will utilise a qualitative methodology that ascribes to a framework and practice that invests in ways of understanding socio-political and cultural processes of representation. With geographers now emphasising the particularities of context in how photographs are seen and used by viewers, the use of the visual within human geography requires careful methodological thought. Considered alongside the biographies of photographers, this thesis seeks to situate visual representations of the genocide within the remit of cultural production.

As an interdisplinary, overarching term for an assembly of loosely related, variously titled activities, biographical methods are widely used within the social sciences and beyond. With the aim of understanding individual action and societal engagement, biography enables a systematic use of personal histories in geographical research and analysis. By using a range of data types, such as websites, videos and written personal narratives, methods of collection within this thesis attempt to encourage 'understanding and interpretation of experience across national, cultural and traditional boundaries' (Bornat, 2008: 344). This method emphasises the placement of the individual within the context of historical events, social connections, and life experiences.

Crucially, this biographical approach extends beyond the histories and experiences of the selected photographers by also focusing on photography-as-narrative. Identifying representation as 'telling, relating and recounting', narrative will be understood as a central feature within the photographic archive of the Rwandan genocide. If, as Bornat argues, a 'story is never a pure ideal, detached from real life', we may reinterpret life and story not as two separate phenomena, but as 'part of the same fabric, in that life informs and is formed by stories' (2008: 348). With lives (or lives not lived) constructed and presented in storied forms, this approach situates photography as an example of cultural production and social interaction. Therefore, by foregrounding the 'subjectivity, expressed feelings and meanings of the respondent, interviewee or subject' biography is not only used to understand the photographer, but also the constructed narrative of the photographic subject (Bornat, 2008: 348).

It is important to note, however, that through their allowance of 'several different discourses', the photographic image—like all image forms— are both polysemic and ambiguous (Rodrigues, 2013). This is largely a result of photography possessing both denotative and connotative meaning. As Rodrigues notes, in denotative meanings, 'there is little room for interpretations; what the receptor sees and assimilates is a literal, objective and practical copy and, most often, faithful to a particular referent' (2013: 415). Denotations are thus formulated through cognition and mental image, meaning that a photograph is always about 'something'.

Attempts to convey information about determined knowledge within photographic images – through both context and expression – will, therefore, always produce various interpretations (Rodrigues, 2013).

Whilst every photograph may be about something, there are also multiple meanings and numerous interpretations. As a result of variation within individual perceptive and interpretative capacities, the polysemic nature of photography refers to the 'diverse interpretations the same photo may hold, depending on the context in which it is inserted, on the function it performs and, on the user's, mental image and cognition' (Rodrigues, 2013: 416). With photography theorised within contemporary academic discourse as a trace of reality, we might consider denotations as the "first reality" in which its 'referent is situated in the perception domain' (Rodrigues, 2013: 416). Conversely situated in the 'interpretative domain', connotations represent a photograph's "second reality". With the denotative domain referring to pictorial accuracy, and the connotative characterised by contextual specificity — in both a figurative and/or symbolic sense — photographic representation is layered with complex meaning.

The complexity of photographic representation requires careful consideration within geographical study. In formulating a qualitative methodology that both interrogates the photographic image and honours its complexity, representations of the Rwandan genocide will be categorised throughout this paper. In generating new ideas for geographical research, trauma — as an experience and informed practice — will form the qualitative and conceptual petametres of each chapter. Through this methodological framework, this thesis develops an understanding and appreciation for the experiences of photographers, subjects and viewers that have contributed to the photographic archive of the Rwandan genocide. In the pursuit of developing this context specific understanding, several research methods are implemented throughout. These will now be considered in turn.

Throughout Chapter I, the forensic turn will be used as a conceptual framework to analyse attempts made by selected photographers to represent the genocide. In determining which photographers adhere to this categorisation, a set

of visual criteria was loosely conceived. Firstly, forensic stylisations require the viewer to decipher the meaning of the image through a 'detailed exploration of the surface of the photograph, and a simultaneous imaginative reading of its topography' (Lowe, 2018: 6). Through this considered interaction, the viewer is invited into an 'active process of scanning the photograph, positioning them in a dialog with the image, and necessitating an investigative mode of engagement' (Lowe, 2018: 6). In other words, by carefully reading a photograph, the viewer is able to engage critically with its topography.

Secondly, photographs are presented with minimal (or completely omitted) context. With the provision of minimal or totally absent captions, the viewer is thus 'presented with the visual evidence of the image, and then invited to enter into a discussion with it' (Lowe, 2018: 6). This situates forensic photography as a form of representation that is akin to crime scene imagery, with photographs possessing high levels of detail that are seemingly disenthralled by aesthetics or beautification. However, as it will be argued, this apparent objectivity is an aesthetic within itself.

Lastly, photographers explored within the remits of this chapter are those situated within the "the forensic turn". Often relying on the use of a large format camera, the forensic turn within photojournalism is defined by an aesthetic of distancing, observation, and stillness (Lowe, 2018). This style of photography — with some of its roots in the experiences of photojournalists in the wars that devastated the former Yugoslavia (Lowe, 2018: 6) — utilises high levels of detail. Encouraging viewers to contemplate the image, forensic imagery requires participatory viewership, thus eliciting a 'different mode of viewing from the audience' (Lowe, 2018: 6). In other words, through active engagement with the image, the trauma hidden beneath is unveiled.

Three photographers — Jack Picone, Giles Peress and Corrine Dufka — have been selected as professional witnesses that ascribed to forensic stylisation and form. Despite not explicitly defining themselves as forensic photographers, their method(s) of representation fit neatly with the criteria of forensic photography. It is important to note, however, that while this categorisation possesses a productive

neatness, it is not linear nor self-descriptive and variations exist within and between representational forms. Despite this, the professional witnesses in Chapter I represent a body of work within the photographic archive that reflects an interpretation of geographical landscape that contrasts from other representational forms.

It is important to note, however, that professional witnessing is always in a state of tension. This tension — pertaining to questions of how photography can 'represent tragedy without exploitation', how to counter the now conventionalised scenes of brutality 'promulgated by the mass media' and, crucially, how to adequately convey the 'enormity of injustice' — is central to the ethical parameters of the genocide's visual archive (Feinstein, 2005: 36). As Dauphinee notes, in photographs depicting genocide, bodies remain exposed to the gaze in ways that render them 'abject, nameless and humiliated — even when our goal in the use of that imagery is to oppose their condition' (2007: 145). Imagery of suffering is, therefore, read '*by and for us*' (2007:145). To understand this, the methodological parameters of Chapter II will now be considered.

Attempts to redirect the gaze, or represent the genocide without exploiting atrocity, has been to artistically represent suffering. Seminally discussed in *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain* (2007), the complexities of art photography and atrocity are explored. As a companion volume of five substantial essays to the 2006 exhibition of the same name held at the Williams College Museum of Art, the conventional critique of the aestheticisation of suffering and its pursuit of providing 'alternatives to mainstream photojournalistic ways of representing suffering' is explored (Strauss, 2007). With the aim of fostering 'a more reflective awareness of how we represent and address the rampant suffering and the corollary spectatorships that characterise our time', Dugganne, Edwards and Reinhardt conclude that 'without scenes of death, destruction, misery, and trauma […] the contemporary image environment would be nearly unrecognisable' (Strauss, 2007).

As Reinhardt (2007) notes, however, a quandary arises when photographers capture violence and suffering in ways that make them seem "beautiful". Indicated

in *Beautiful Suffering*, the aesthetics of representation has received sustained criticism, with some scholars — such Solomon-Godeau (2017) — insisting that beautiful images distract from the suffering and hardship they portray, or even reify the subject of the image, thus universalising pain and suffering as the "human condition". Others, however, regard the aestheticisation of trauma and atrocity as 'crucial to the formation of the social bond and the shaping of national identity' (Strauss, 2007).

To explore this tension, two artistic works have been selected for this study: Sebastião Salgado's 'Migrations' and Alfredo Jaar's 'The Rwandan Project'. As leading contributors to the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide, Salgado and Jaar were selected due to the depth and breadth of their works and contrasting stylisations. The contrasting approaches will be used to problematise the assumption that artistic representation is synonymous with the beautification of atrocity. As it will be argued, some attempts at (re)visualising the genocide have utilised an artistic approach that seeks to re-represent the genocide in trauma-informed ways. This is particularly the case with the works of Jaar, who will be explored in the latter part of Chapter II. Utilising a comparative framework that considers whole projects rather than individual photographs, the trauma of witnessing will be interrogated through the remit of artistic expression.

In Chapter III, portraiture will be situated as the representational form that dominates the visual archive within the era of reconciliation. Communicating a way of seeing, personal narratives can be told through the portraiture. Enabling intimacy, portraiture will be methodologically situated as a response to forensic and artistic forms. With selected works by Jonathan Torgovnik, James Nachtwey, Pieter Hugo, Robert Lyons, as well as a consideration of non-professional portraiture at the Kigali's Genocide Memorial, portraits will be devised into categories of "victimhood" and/or "perpetration". However, as Chapter III will explore, the binarisation of "victim" and "perpetrator" is often problematic. The lived experience of genocide was often fluid and without fixed categorisation. This complicates the dichotomies that shape much of the work within portraiture.

Despite this, an experimental engagement with the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide will underpin this paper. With all photographers selected as those that represent a self-conscious attempt to represent the genocide, the way in which violence is visually represented is understood within the remit of experimental photography. The reason that the genocide warrants such experimenting is because, arguably, no form of photography is sufficient to capture the scale and horror of what happened in Rwanda in 1994. The tension this paper seeks to grapple with is, therefore, how photographers' experiment and what experiments are successful in representing the genocide.

Despite visual representations of the genocide extending beyond photographic works, the scope of this thesis is concerned exclusively with photography. Piotr Cieplak's 2017 book *Death, Image, Memory* and Frank Möller's (2010) article in 'Alternatives' — *Rwanda Revisualized: Genocide, Photography, and the Era of the Witness* —represent the theoretical underpinning of this thesis. Alongside these sources, a range of (mostly digital) material has been used to situate fifteen photographs within the three substantive chapters. With themes such as mortality, religion, home-life and spaces of killing explored throughout the thesis, the selected photographs were chosen based on their engagement (or disengagement) with these themes.

With the creators of the fifteen photographs considered alongside the images, a range of sources were consulted in order to develop an understanding of the photographers and their works. These include, but are not limited to, official websites, online archives, self-published and/or biographical photography books, magazines, and exhibitions. With many of the selected photographs displayed in a range of spaces, this thesis will narrow its focus to publications and exhibitions. To begin, the experimental nature of forensic photography will be considered.

CHAPTER I: FORENSIC PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE DOCUMENTATION OF EVIDENCE

You're right. I'm a photojournalist. I collect images of wars, of hunger and its ghosts, of natural disasters and terrible misfortunes. You can think of me as a witness. (Agualusa, 2008: 17)

As a way of visually representing the Rwandan genocide, a forensic photographic archive has emerged. Photojournalists utilising this form of representation solidify their approach through a photographic style that encapsulates a "no frills" aesthetic. As a genre, forensic photography pays particular attention to 'landscapes of violence and trauma and the hidden memories they can trigger' (Lowe, 2018: 76). Exploring forensic stylisations and themes, this chapter will critically examine how forensic imagery attempts to represent the genocide. Before exploring the works of Jack Picone, Giles Peress and Corrine Dufka, it is first important to consider the forensic turn within photography. To do this, Paul Lowe's (2018) seminal article 'Traces of Traces: Time, Space, Objects, and the Forensic Turn in Photography' will be considered first.

Often relying on the use of a large format camera, the forensic turn within photojournalism creates an aesthetic of distancing, observation, and stillness (Lowe, 2018). With the focus often on deciphering image meaning through a detailed exploration of the surface of the photograph, this style of photography invites the viewer into an 'active process of scanning the photograph, positioning them in a dialog with the image, and necessitating an investigative mode of engagement' (Lowe, 2018: 76). With the provision of minimal (or totally absent) captions or complementary written discourse, viewers are encouraged to contemplate the image, thus emphasising the role of the physical world that surrounds human activity. Eliciting a participatory mode of viewing, the forensic turn marks attempts made to challenge the 'state monopoly on the apparatus of investigation and evidence gathering and the description of violence' (Lowe, 2018: 76).

In what proceeds, the forensic turn will be used as a conceptual framework to analyse attempts made by selected photojournalists to represent the genocide. After considering the biographies of each photojournalist, a selection of images will be analysed. It will be argued that, despite their stylistic linkage, some of the selected photographers adopt an aesthetic of detachment and observation, whilst others deploy an aesthetic that demonstrates the contradiction that the locations of atrocity are often 'simultaneously locations of striking visual quality' (Lowe, 2018: 76). With each photojournalist contributing to the aftermath archive in particular ways, the effectives of their approach and ability to represent the genocide will be critically assessed. To begin, the work of Jack Picone will be considered.

JACK PICONE

Jack Picone is an Australian-born documentary photographer, photojournalist, author and academic. Specialising in social-documentary photography, Picone has covered wars and major social issues across the globe for over three decades. Renowned within photojournalist spheres, Picone's work is housed in several renowned institutions, such as the Guggenheim Museum New York, Musée de l'Homme in Paris and Museum aim de Stroom, Amsterdam. [3] His work is also displayed in collections at State Library of N.S.W, The Australian War Memorial and National Portrait Gallery in Australia. As a recipient of several of photography's most prestigious international awards – including the World Press Awards, the U.S. Photographer of The Year Awards and the Mother Jones/IFDP Grant for Social Documentary Photography [4] – Picone's work is institutionally recognised.

In 1994, after covering the Bosnian War in the former Yugoslavia, Picone reported the Rwandan genocide. Despite his status as an experienced conflict photographer, when illegally entering Rwanda through the neighbouring Uganda,

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[3] Jack Picone Official Website. *About*. https://www.jackpicone.com/bio
[4] Ibid.

Picone recalls experiencing that 'mixture of emotions so familiar to photojournalists entering a country from which others are fleeing en masse: disbelief, curiosity and an undeniable dose of trepidation'. [5] With machine gun fire forming the soundscape of the journey, and black clouds of heavy artillery rising unnervingly in the sky, Picone asked himself: 'what am I doing running towards and not from a country where people were frenetically murdering one another by lopping off heads and limbs?'[6]

As Picone journeyed through Rwanda, he witnessed continuous streams of people heading in the opposite direction. Those that were not fleeing peppered the roads, their bodies frozen in time and in 'various states of decomposition, rotting in the heat, unclaimed and anonymous'. [7] This geographical contention – the living moving and the dead frozen in space – enshrines the experience of professional witnessing in 1994 Rwanda. When eventually arriving in what used to be a small, bustling rural town, Picone recalled how Rukara was now clogged with hundreds of corpses, many with 'expressions of terror etched on to their decaying faces'. [8] Inside Rukara church, amid a discarded crucifix, overturned pews, and an alter caked in blood, bodies – 'some limbless, others headless' – were piled on top of one another. [9] Outside, a mass of corpses, all in various states of decomposition. In this space of promised sanctuary, Picone witnessed the incomprehensible horror of the genocide's aftermath (Figure 1).

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[5] Picone, J (2016). Rwanda: 'Capturing a vision of hell. *Aljazeera*.
https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2016/4/7/rwanda-capturing-a-vision-of-hell
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

Figure 1- Jack Picone. *Corpses of Tutsi massacre victims lay outside a Belgian Catholic Church in Rukara.* Rwanda, 1994.

The Rukara church photograph encapsulates Picone's deployment of a forensic stylisation. Using traditional darkroom printmaking with black and white film, the subtlety and drama of Picone's photography relays the effect of the gouged, broken and scarred Rwandan landscape. However, with the omission of context, the viewer is forced to decipher the meaning of the image. From the photograph's water-droplet covered lens to the haunting presence of the cross, a detailed exploration of the photograph relays the genocide's brutality (Lowe, 2018). Through a visual representation of suffering, Picone asks the viewer to contemplate the image. With the photograph presented as evidence, an interrogative process occurs in which Picone's photograph can be read as a comment on the role of the Church in the orchestration and execution of the genocide (Prunier, 2008: 256). To explore this, the church and the genocide will now be discussed.

In the spring of 1994, when violence ignited in the country following the death of the President, thousands of members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group

sought refuge in Catholic and Protestant parishes, such as Rukara (Longman, 2001). However, death squads surrounded churches, and began their systematic slaughter. Firing into crowds with rifles, tossing grenades through church windows, then finishing off the survivors with machetes and other framing implements, church massacres epitomised the genocide's brutality (Longman, 2001).

With the Church 'participating fully' in establishing the colonial ideology that constructed ethnic divisions, the Christian Churches of Rwanda served as the country's killing fields (Longman, 2001). Becoming 'too close to those in power', the Church solidified itself as both the epistemological legitimiser *and* geographical facilitator of the genocide (Carney, 2015: 792). It was this solidification that resulted in more Rwandan citizens dying in churches and parishes than anywhere else (African Rights, 1995: 865). In this regard, it only requires very basic awareness of the genocide to read Picone's photograph as a comment (or even accusation) on some of the 'technical aspect of the killings' (Prunier, 2008: 256).

From the ambit of killing to the methods of violence, the decomposing corpses at Rukara's church yard function as a microcosm of the genocide at large (Keane, 1995; Gourevitch, 1998). Demonstrating the state-sponsored quest for complete annihilation of the Tutsi, Rukara illustrates the ways in which Hutu Power renegotiated socio-cultural understandings of space (Gourevitch, 1998). With the sanctity of the Church mythologised, spaces of sanctuary and safety transformed into those of bloodshed and brutality overnight (Rutazibwa and Rutayisire, 2007: 92).

Taken from a functionally high angle, Picone conveys the mass of victims at Rukara. Enshrined within the photograph is, therefore, a 'relentless evidentiary priority', with the deliberateness of framing and vantage point representing Picone's commitment to a forensic stylisation. This claustrophobic onslaught of graphic photographs is not without criticism, however. As theorised by Barthes, traumatic photographs – such as those taken by Picone – are 'about which there is nothing to say' (1977: 30). Echoing this, Luckhurst (2008) notes that the viewer is stripped of all interpretative sophistication when encountered with images of atrocity.

Overwhelmed by the 'index of violence, by what is denoted', Luckhurst contends that 'all the symbolic, aesthetic or ideological connotations of the image fall away' (2008: 166). The 'relentless excess of horrific images' (Durden, 2000: 125) creates the conditions in which the images 'confirm rather than challenge certain media stereotypes' (2000, 126). This is especially true when a lack of context is provided which, as Mirzoeff argues, forms the problematic impression that 'the dead, the living and the wounded are intermingled in utter chaos' (2005: 88).

One frequently drawn upon justification for the overloading of corpse imagery is that such images are captivating. It is argued that the 'exceptional quality of the corpse' holds the viewer's interest through much more ordinary photographs (Norridge, 2019: 51). To make a call for action to support survivor needs, and to prevent further genocides, it is argued that the extent of brutality and suffering must be captured. However, as Mȍller (2010: 116) contends, neither images of actual killings nor images of dead bodies explain the genocide. Often leaving their audiences 'momentarily horrified but largely ignorant', the idea and politics of genocide — 'to make a people extinct' — is not represented through the corpse (Mȍller: 2010, 116).

Despite this, corpses are used by Picone to relay the horror of the genocide. This configuration, in which the corpse is not only exposed as evidence of a fact but is 'presented as a mode of expression of family or collective pathos', responds to traditions relating to collective suffering (Benavente Burian et al, 2021: 435). Images taken by Picone illustrating the scale of violence are conveyed through the depiction of mostly uncovered corpses, all next to each other, often piled and intermingled (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Jack Picone, *"The Altar"*. *Corpses of Tutsi massacre victims inside a Belgian Catholic Church in Rukara.* Rwanda, 1994.

When discussing the politics of the corpse, Burian et al approach the dead as a 'point of intersection between the materiality of the body and its representational status' (2021: 442). Asking what kind of visual politics determines the fact that some bodies are more visible than others, Burian et al reflect on the 'place of the image in relation to the experience of death' (2021: 442). In Picone's Rwanda photographs, the depiction of corpses enshrines a tension between the anonymous individual transformed into iconic victim. This begs the questions: if these photographs have the ability to become signifiers of a politics of the marginalised body, does the social identity of the deceased then becomes less significant?

The centrality of the corpse as a mark of violence and as a political body has become a frequently used activist tactic (Burian et al, 2021). From frame of reference, the corpsed body — an object of supremacist violence, humiliated and displaced from public space — is situated as a political body that resists erasure (Burian et al, 2021). Prefigured in the process of its production, representations of the corpse raise important questions regarding its iconography within the media, thus pointing to the tension between the 'singularity of the individual and the generality of the species' (2021: 436).

Despite the use of the corpse as a political body in activism, there remains a problematic relationship between white photojournalists creating images, targeted at white, Western audiences, that depict black corpsed bodies. Becoming powerless and objectified when deprived of its own eyes and its own gaze' (Niedźwiedź, 2011: 728), there remains a division between the power of the "white gaze" and the powerlessness of the "black body". Layers of hidden meaning in the asymmetrical power dynamic between 'white viewers (gazing, painting, and photographing) and the black objects of their gaze (being watched, gazed at, painted, and photographed)', the power the white gaze ought to be considered when viewing Picone's Rukara church photographs (Niedźwiedź, 2011: 728). Enshrining relations between depicted "objects" and those who look at them, we must ask: If it is acceptable to depict dead African bodies for Western media consumption, would this also be the case in attacks against white people that occur on Western soil?

As maintained by Sontag (2003), an ethical double standard may apply to images such as those taken by Picone at Rukara church. As Sontag contends, 'the more remote the place, the more likely we are to have full frontal views of the dead and dying, and these sights carry a double message; they show a suffering that is outrageous, unjust, and should be repaired. They confirm that this is the sort of thing which happens in "that place"' (2003: 71). Upon this view, rather than creating empathy among viewers, corpse imagery has the potential to create distancing. It is argued that to dissipate (or eliminate entirely) the distancing created by this ethical double standard, the tendency of photography to depoliticise viewers must be resisted (Möller, 2010). To understand this further, it is important to consider ethical witnessing.

ETHICAL WITNESSING

In the era of the witness, photojournalism has contributed significantly to the internationalisation and delocalisation of the memory of war and genocide (Möller, 2010). Within photography, witnessing is understood as the act of moving beyond spectatorship. In this regard, witnesses are those individuals capable of self-critically reflecting upon their own subject positions in relation to the conditions depicted in the image (Möller, 2010). Involving self-critical reflection, rather than being 'spectator[s] to crisis', witnesses represent the more ambitious position of the 'responsible, ethical, participant' (Möller, 2010: 114). Whilst visual representations of violence and suffering have the unwavering ability to shape public perception, this does not guarantee that consumption is always that of witnessing.

With motivations for the production and consumption of images varying vastly, witnessing is neither normative nor prescriptive. As a process, witnessing necessitates the 'acknowledgement of one's own involvement in the conditions depicted, acknowledgement of one's own responsibility for the conditions depicted, and acknowledgement of the impossibility individually to respond adequately to the conditions depicted' (Möller, 2010: 114). The difficulties associated with this

process are shaped by the notion that trauma is, by definition, 'anti-archival' (Taylor, 2003: 193). Whilst the transmission of traumatic memory does not happen only in the live encounter, there ought to be a distinction made between 'different, though intertwined, systems of knowledge— the archival and the embodied—that participate in the transmission and politicisation of traumatic memory' (Taylor, 2003: 298). Upon this view, corpse imagery depicts the consequence of killing rather than the genocide (Taylor, 2003). Other than illustrating a 'dance of death', images of killings (and corpses) make nothing more explicit to people who did not experience the genocide (Möller, 2010: 115).

Despite the difficulties in witnessing and the anti-archival nature of trauma, the potentialities of forensic imagery remain. With visual representations of genocide dominating a political space which is nowadays constituted by means of images, the way in which 'we' (read: the West) collectively remember the genocide is largely informed by aftermath photography (Möller, 2010). For photographs to bring us close to experiences of suffering as opposed to 'illuminating the unbridgeable chasm that separates ordinary life from extraordinary experiences of political trauma', we must seek to understand the wider context of production (Lischer, 2019: 811). In this way, ethical witnessing involves self-critical reflection and the ability to ask: 'who is the photographer and who or what is the subject? Who or what is in the frame and who or what is outside it? What are the power relations generated by this field of vision' (Lischer, 2019: 811)?

In a Western media culture in which corpse imagery is assigned to far-away spaces (and faces), the foundations of ethical witnessing are thwarted when viewing Picone's Rukara church photographs. Whilst they contribute to the visual archive of post-violent space in Rwanda, they also problematically reproduce Western stereotypes of the racialised corpsed body. This begs the question: Does gruesome imagery require the visual buffers of "other kinds" of atrocity photographs to discourage distancing and dissonance? Do forensic photographs of a graphic nature encourage ethical witnessing when carefully curated in books, rather than existing as stand-alone images on websites and in periodicals? To explore this, the work of Giles Peress will now be analysed.

GILLES PERESS

Gilles Peress - Senior Research Fellow at the Human Rights Center, UC Berkeley and Professor of Human Rights and Photography at Bard College – embarked on a career in photography in the early seventies.[10] Having previously read political science and philosophy at university, by 1971, Peress had established a career as a freelance photographer. Peress' first project was an intimate portrayal of life in a French coal mining village as it 'emerged from the ashes of a crippling labour dispute'.[11] Since this project, Peress has documented events in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Palestine, Iran, the Balkans, Rwanda, the U.S., Afghanistan, and Iraq. Peresess' ongoing project *Hate Thy Brother* is a photographic exploration of 'seemingly inescapable cycles of violence and hatred'. [12]

In 1972, Peress joined the international cooperative photography agency Magnum Photos. Initially based in Paris and New York, what is now widely regarded as the most prestigious photographic agency was formed in the shadows of World War II.[13] Motivated by a sense of relief that the world had somehow survived, alongside a curiosity to see what was still there, Magnum was conceptualised by four photographers – Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, George Rodger and David "Chim" Seymour.[14]

With the agency and its members departing from conventional practice, Magnum operated outside the formalities of magazine journalism. Peress'

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[10] Gourevitch, P. 2019. The Silence: 25 Years Since the Rwandan Genocide. *Magnum Photos.* https://www.magnumphotos.com/newsroom/conflict/gilles-peress-silence-25-years-since-rwandan-genocide/
[11] Office of Public Affairs & Communications, Yale University. *Gilles Peress.* https://communications.yale.edu/poynter/gilles-peress
[12] Gourevitch, P. 2019. The Silence: 25 Years Since the Rwandan Genocide. *Magnum Photos.* https://www.magnumphotos.com/newsroom/conflict/gilles-peress-silence-25-years-since-rwandan-genocide/
[13] Ritchin, F. 1997. 'History'. *Magnum Photos.* https://www.magnumphotos.com/about-magnum/history/#:~:text=The%20world's%20most%20prestigious%20photographic,the%20curiosity%20to%20see%20what
[14] Ibid.

photography mirrors this departure and demonstrates an uncommon ability to 'navigate and communicate the atmosphere and urgency of volatile political environments'. [15] While his early work — including aftermath images of the Rwandan genocide — situated Peress as a "concerned photographer", his more recent work suggests an 'increasing concern with form and a more obvious sense of subjectivity'.[16] In this regard, Peress' work echoes the photojournalism of Magnum co-founder Henri Cartier-Bresson, whose 'conflation of aesthetics and reportage set the precedent for artistic photojournalism earlier in the century'.[17] To explore this, Peress' published work '*The Silence: Rwanda*'[18] will now be considered.

Published in 1995, *The Silence* became one of the earliest photography collections on the Rwandan genocide. Published by Scalo Verlag – renowned for printing high-quality books on the work of internationally known contemporary artists and photographers – The Silence reproduces eighty black and white photographs taken by Peress during his time in Rwanda. All without commentary, and only described collectively, the photographs are equally distributed throughout the book's three chapters. The Silence also includes an insert — separate from the collection itself — with a detailed chronology of events leading up to the genocide and a list of major episodes during and after the violence (Cieplak, 2017). With an excerpt from 'The Preliminary Report of the United Nations Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 935', the insert was compiled by Alison Des Forges.

Representing Human Rights Watch, Africa, Des Forges was a renowned scholar and human rights activist of Central Africa (Newbury and Reyntjens, 2010). Before her death in 2009, Des Forges modelled what it means to conjoin human rights activism and scholarship. Best known for her work on Rwanda, in the months leading up to the genocide, Des Forges 'foresaw the dangers of planned violence,

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[15] International Centre of Photography. *Artist: Gilles Peress.*
https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/constituents/gilles-peress?all/all/all/all/0
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Peress, G. 1995. *The Silence*. Scalo: Zurich.

alerted the world, and urged action'.[19] Post-genocide, Des Forges appeared as an expert witness in eleven trials for genocide at the ICTR, three trials in Belgium, and at trials in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Canada. [20]

With her scholarship enriching her human rights work, Newbury and Reyntjens (2010) note how Des Forges was driven by a profound sense of social justice. In this way, Des Forges' life and work 'exemplified the mutually reinforcing nature of these two forms of commitment—scholarship and work towards human rights and social justice' (Newbury and Reyntjens, 2010: 35). Like Des Forges, Peress travelled to Rwanda during the genocide and was motivated by the social injustices permeating the small African nation. During each visit to Rwanda, Peress captured jarring and intrepid photographs of the atrocity with a particular focus on the aftermath.

The Silence is not simply a book of news photographs, however. In arranging the photographs into sub-sections and bookended with 'Two Moments in the Life of a Killer'. Peress creates a structure that attempts to make sense out of the chaos. With The Silence embodying Peress' attempt to provide a visual literacy of the violence, the photojournalistic desire to give life meaning and structure through storytelling is enshrined throughout the book. As expressed by Peress, 'the events in Rwanda raise the question about a fundamental choice of what human nature is, of what human beings are. The question raised here is whether man is fundamentally good or bad, whether there is a possibility of redemption, whether there can be compassion and solidarity'. In this way, Peress poses a challenge to conceptions about the deceptive stability of civil society.

The Silence is divided into three parts. The first section— 'The Sin'— introduces and names and places of massacres in Rwanda. It is dominated by traces of the genocide, with piles of machetes, corpses and buildings forming the thematic core of the section. The images show what Peress encountered in the country in the aftermath and are (arguably) the most graphic in the book. The proceeding section,

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[19] Sawyer, I. 2019. 'Remembering Alison De Forges, 10 Years Later'. *Human Rights Watch.*
[20] Human Rights Watch. 2019. 'Human Rights Watch Mourns Loss of Alison Des Forges'.

'The Purgatory', is sparsely described, with names of the refugee camps formed after the exodus of the Rwandan population forming the contextual basis. Despite the images of bleached corpses floating in the river, most of the images in this section portray everyday life in the refugee camps. The last segment — 'The Judgment' — features photos of bodies moved by bulldozers and cholera victims, thus representing the more graphically shocking aspect of life (and death) in the Goma's refugee camp (Cieplak, 2017).

The title of the book – '*The Silence*' – owes itself to Peress' positionality as a professional witness. Discussing the title, Peress expressed that when travelling through Rwanda, 'there was not a single sound […] not only were all the people dead, but all the animals too, everything' (Hossli, 2007 in Cieplak, 2017: 65). Evidently, the book is emblematic of the silence that 'manifests itself in the stillness, the composition and the lack of movement of its referents' within (no-audio) photographs (Cieplak, 2017: 65). However, metaphorically, Peress' photographs – particularly those taken in Rwanda rather than spaces beyond its borders – also represent a form of silence, best described as emptiness or bareness, that permeated the Rwandan landscape. In this regard, Peress constructs the act of seeing as a multi-sensory experience.

This metaphor also enshrines Peress' belief that the international community arrived too late. The genocide, as synopsised by Magnum, represents 'one of the most brutal and inhumane occurrences of the twentieth century [that] went virtually unnoticed by the Western world' [21] absence of Western intervention is read by Peress as a form of silence. In this way, The Silence also represents Peress' desire to challenge previous photo-documentation through the creation of 'one of the most harrowing collections of photographs ever published' that, as Magnum describe, make it 'impossible to experience it with the detachment of a historian'. [22]

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[21] Peress, G. 'Conflict: The Silence'. *Magnum Photos*.
https://www.magnumphotos.com/newsroom/conflict/gilles-peress-the-silence/

[22] Ibid.

Illustrating multiple temporal and contextual layers of meaning, 'silence' has both metaphorical and literal weight.

Refusing to self-classify as a war photographer, Peress' photographic style can be read as a response to silence. Countering the stylistic choices that pervade "classic photojournalism", Peress describes his photographic style:

> I work much more like a forensic photographer in a certain way, collecting evidence. I've started to take more still lives, like a police photographer, collecting evidence as a witness. I've started to borrow a different strategy than that of the classic photojournalist. The work is much more factual and much less about good photography. I don't care that much anymore about 'good photography'. I'm gathering evidence for history, so that we remember. (Peress, 1997 in Cieplak 2017: 61).

Underpinned by 'gathering evidence for history', The Silence embodies the ways in which Peress' photography became a pursuit of evidencing atrocity. This style of aftermath photography emphasises the landscapes of violence and trauma and the hidden (yet embedded) memories they can trigger (Lowe, 2018). Adopting a forensic approach — first developed during his time in Bosnia — Peress' photographs invite the viewer into an 'active process of scanning the photograph, positioning them in a dialog with the image, and necessitating an investigative mode of engagement' (Lowe, 2018: 6). Arguably, the absence of discursive or contextual detail within The Silence requires the viewer to consider the photograph in a more considered manner.

Taken on a large high-definition camera, the photographs in The Silence are reproduced in black and white. Forming a melancholic aesthetic, Peress' monochromatic photographs encapsulate the claustrophobic feel of the book (Cieplak, 2017). This claustrophobia– reinforced by the relentlessness of the images – constructs a sense of discomfort. As Cieplak (2017: 64) contends, the photographs in The Silence are 'not allowed to breathe' and, as a result, the viewer also finds it difficult to do so. By providing a 'thesaurus of destruction' that guides the viewer to develop an understanding for the ways in which human beings can be 'beaten, hacked, and carved to death' (Linfield, 2012: 247), The Silence presents 'physical

defilement without respite', testifying to a kind of 'unalloyed cruelty that makes us feel stupid' (Linfield, 2012: 249). Therefore, whilst also creating a neatness and uniformity to the book, the absence of colour reflects Peress' contention that images of post-genocide space must take us to the limits of life by confronting us with the darkest sides of life.

Despite the integration of non-graphic images, The Silence is largely dominated by graphic images. The brutality of the images in The Silence are not decontextualised, however; they exist in a book that enshrines their brutality, but not meaninglessly or thoughtlessly so. Whilst representations of death, pain and atrocity will always be problematic — even if what we see is not as graphic as some of the images in The Silence — the brutality captured by Peress possess a kind of self-reflectivity required to enable ethical witnessing. As Cieplak (2017: 65) contends, whilst The Silence is 'plagued by issues of spectacle, voyeurism, anonymity and permission', equally, there remains a brutal honesty in proposing to the viewer: 'we're either doing it or not'.

Like any narrative structure, The Silence also develops several themes. The collation of images and their organisation throughout the book develop a series of thematic prompts. With ethical witnessing requiring viewers to self-critically engage with photographs, acknowledging the themes within The Silence requires knowledge of the genocide's politics and geography. In this regard, The Silence represents one form of knowledge production that requires engagement with other sources of information. To illustrate, representations of 'the home' will now be analysed (Figure 3).

In 'the photo-album found at a massacre site', four of the photographs in the album's six sleeves can be made out. On the upper left, a smiling boy in a striped shirt stands in a scarcely lit interior. To the lower left, a small house is overshadowed by a large tree in its front garden. Next to that, in what appears to be the same garden, a little boy stands smiling at the camera. Lastly, on the lower right, two boys in white shorts stand in front of a house. In the context of Peress' 'disturbingly funereal book', capturing the young boys who pose comfortably, playing and

smiling, can be read as an ode to life before genocide: a time of living. However, whilst depicting the living, the album – engulfed by lost or abandoned memories — is transformed into a symbol of death. In this way, Peress captures the memorialising function of the photograph.

 Figure 3 – Gilles Peress, The Silence. *Photo-album found at a massacre site.* Nyamata, Rwanda, 1994. *'The camera, trained at the ground, produces a sensation of vertigo, a feeling of falling. The object it spies there is an old photo album, its acetate pages torn, splayed out, and peeled away, its remaining photographs stained by water and covered in dirt'. (Blocker, 2009: 58)*

The album, like the many dead bodies Peress photographed, seem to lie somewhere between 'memory and oblivion, between burial and exhumation' (Blocker, 2009: 59). With the photo-album left out in the sun with the decomposing bodies, it becomes a memorial to the lost innocence (and presumed lives) of these children (Cieplak, 2017). As a symbol of the past, the melancholic photograph of the album also does something different: By having the effect of 'strategically shovelling under, burying, and putting to rest the technologies of witness that, through the camera's gaze, routinely obscure the presence and responsibility of witness itself',

Peress probes how (and why) the West conceives of itself as an omniscient god who 'sees but is not responsible' for human suffering (Blocker, 2009: 60).

The photographs and their placement in albums also capture the implicit narratives — both personal and national — of family and home (Blocker, 2009). Prior to the civil war and genocide, social understandings of 'home' in Rwanda were unbounded by sedentary life and geographical fixity (Eramian, 2021). Instead, 'home' represented the spatial and social loci of relationships and was defined through intimate social networks and relations (Eramian, 2021). Centred on close-knit neighbourhoods, community cohesion, and the principle of mutual aid, families cooperated with each other in 'cultivating crops, maintaining infrastructure, and sharing resources' (Adler et al, 2007: 216). In this way, pre-colonial homes were not predicated upon a Westernised vision of "house-as-home", but on social relations and community cohesion.

Public life became strongly demarcated through colonialisation, however. For the local évolué, the home became a space in which resources could be concealed from low-income people who 'routinely approached the more affluent to request money for school fees or basic needs' (Eramian, 2018: 65). By having the means to conceal – 'like rooms with locking doors or tall brick security walls' – houses became highly visible status markers that revealed resources and symbolised wealth (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995: 2). It was, therefore, from these smaller objects that Rwandans were able to form 'imagined socialities' (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995: 2). In this way, the architecturalisation of the home and the objects therein became 'inseparable from Rwandan ideas of status, privacy, generosity, and greed' (Eramian, 2021: 871). Inevitably, these ideas were violently mobilised during the genocide.

Despite demarcation and the splintering of neighbourhoods, legacies of communitarianism shaped the nature and intimacy of mobilisation in 1994. In a study of 3,426 residents, McDoom (2011) determined that participants often lived in the same neighbourhood or household as other participants, thus situating intra-Hutu social influence as the driving mechanism for murder. In this way, micro-

spatial patterns of participation reveal the centrality of "the home" in the genocide. As illustrated within Peress' 'HUTU' photograph (Figure 4), ethnicity was imprinted on homes as a way to spatially certify who was exempt from extermination. Peress' HUTU photograph thus encapsulates the way in which participation was often the result of face-to-face mobilisation, with 'individuals, leaders, or groups directly solicited at commercial centres, on roads and pathways, or at their homes (Straus, 2006: 136).

Figure 4 - *Gilles Peress. Hutus living in this house scrawled their ethnicity on the wall to prevent looting. The advance of the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Army caused the Hutus to flee in turn.* Rwanda, 1994. | Magnum Photos

Whilst the home was not a significant site of massacre (McDoom, 2013), it remained an important sociological and epistemological space. The geographies of violence and the sociological make-up of perpetration were, therefore, underpinned by micro-level community dynamics and webs of social relations. Uneasy relationships with 'home'—relationships that shift from comfort to distress in the very same day—persist in Rwanda (Eramian, 2021). As house and home are part of everyday life in all societies, this disunity of 'home' provides rich insights into

concepts of public and private, settlement and unsettlement, violence, and peace in post-genocide Rwanda (Eramian, 2021).

As the theme of home and family illustrate, unveiling the layers of meaning inherent within each photograph requires historical, cultural, and geographical understandings of the genocide. Witnessing the indescribable violence, Peress claims that the Rwandan atrocity has caused in him an "urgency to look at reality as it is. And more." In this regard, The Silence is a starting point of discovery and understanding. Ethical witnessing, as defined in this paper, requires developing greater understandings of trauma through the engagement with wider material. Therefore, through the suggestive nature of Peress' engagement with themes – such as home and family – the collation of images is not intended to function as a whistle-stop-tour of the genocide. The Silence represents a visual record of suffering that requires further contextualisation and self-reflection.

If, as Peress claims, forensic stylisations are used as a means of 'gathering evidence for history', this begs the question: does witnessing extend beyond the realm of photography and obtain legalistic qualities? Can forensic photography transgress the realm of the visual and enter legal spaces and spheres of understanding? While the latter cannot be said for either Picone or Peress, there are examples of photojournalists who have used photographs to testify within legal spaces. To explore this, the work of Corrine Dufka will now be considered.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE: CORRINE DUFKA

Corrine Dufka is an American human rights researcher, photojournalist, criminal investigator, and social worker. In 1989, after obtaining a master's in social work from the University of California at Berkeley, Dufka began working as a photojournalist for Reuters News Agency. After reporting in Latin America and Bosnia, Dufka was assigned Africa in 1994. Given the title "Chief Photographer for East, West, and Central Africa", Dufka reflected on the extraordinary pressure associated with this role. In an interview, she asked 'can you imagine a major news

organisation having one photographer responsible for covering East, West, and Central Europe?. . . Do I cover the war in Sudan, or do I cover the war in Sierra Leone?'[23] The geographical, political, and cultural differences between (and within) East, West and Central Africa made this role untenable.

In 1999, Dufka joined Human Rights Watch, becoming West Africa team leader and Sierra Leone and Liberia researcher. During this time, Human Rights Watch described the situation in Africa as veering "once again" towards the precipice.[24] As described in the 1999 summative report, 'the much-vaunted "African renaissance" — a three-way equation of a flowering of democracy, culture, and economic growth — appeared to be in tatters'.[25] During this time, Dufka's work centred on minimising the destructive power of the rebel forces in Sierra Leone, who 'systematically murdered, mutilated, and raped civilians during their January offensive'.[26] Entire families were 'gunned down in the street, children and adults had their limbs hacked off with machetes, and girls and young women were taken to rebel bases and sexually abused' in 1999 Sierra Leon.[27] After this, Dufka served as an investigator for the UN-sponsored Special Court for Sierra Leone. With years of work dedicated to the nation, in 2003, Dufka received a MacArthur "genius" award for her work.

In 1994, Dufka reported the Rwandan genocide. Speaking of her time in Rwanda in a talk at the Kerckhoff Grand Salon at UCLA to memorialise the tenth anniversary of the genocide, Dufka reflected on the difficulties associated with reporting Rwanda [28] During her talk, Dufka explained the difficulties she experienced in getting her editors to agree to send her to Rwanda, 'partly due to their belief that the public had little appetite for seeing dead bodies in their morning

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[23] Musselman, A. 2004. *Remembering Rwanda: Ten Years after the Massacres.* UCLA African Studies Centre.

[24] Human Rights Watch. 1999. 'Shocking War Crimes in Sierra Leone'.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Human Rights Watch. 1999. *Shocking War Crimes in Sierra Leone*.
https://www.hrw.org/news/1999/06/24/shocking-war-crimes-sierra-leone

[28] Musselman, A. 2004. *Remembering Rwanda: Ten Years after the Massacres.* UCLA African Studies Centre.

newspaper'. [29] Refuting these claims, Dufka told editors at Reuters that news is not entertainment; it is the provision of a service, and it is their job to 'provide a menu of the day's news based on common elements of humanity, of suffering, of violence'.[30]

One photograph released from Rwanda shifted the editors' perspectives, however. The photograph was not of the genocide, but of a mass exodus of refugees from Rwanda into neighbouring Tanzania.[31] With Dufka's editors finally allowing her to travel to Rwanda after seeing this refugee imagery, Dufka and her team chose a route to Rwanda from the southeast, passing through Tanzania and Burundi.[32] Due to the specific interest of the editors, the assignment was to cover the refugee story. However, when entering Rwanda, what Dufka and her team witnessed was incomprehensible. As Dufka recalls:

> There was a river that flowed between Tanzania and Rwanda. There was a large waterfall and there were bodies flowing over it. On the one hand there were refugees going into Tanzania and on the other hand we had these bloated bodies every couple of minutes flowing over this waterfall. It was horrific. [33]

When journeying through Burundi, Dufka and her team encountered numerous checkpoints guarded by people with machine guns. Each checkpoint had two empty milk cans and a string across them and were manned by militiamen with machetes and nail studded clubs.[34] With the implements of massacre for all to see, is became evident that the checkpoints were outposts of the slaughter.

When finally arriving in Rwanda, Dufka and her team stayed with the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) in Kigali. Waging a 'somewhat ineffectual armed struggle against the repressive Hutu-dominated government since 1990', the RPF represented a small armed agency of the minority Tutsis.[35] By spring 1994 — as the

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

massacres swept over majority-Hutu areas — the RPF were advancing through Rwanda, thus enabling Dufka and her team to access massacre sites.

Visiting churches and schools – formerly spaces of refuge – Dufka was met with the aftermath of a slaughter. Reflecting on her experience, Dufka recalls the following:

> You could see the story of the chase in the ways the bodies fell. Some of the churches were blanketed with bodies from one side to the next, several people high. In one of them I remember seeing a dead mother and her two dead children. You could see she was trying to protect her children and you could see she was huddled over these children - they'd been dead for a number of weeks, and you could see the machete marks on her body where the bone was shattered. [36]

Despite capturing this brutal aftermath, Dufka recounted her frustration as her editors maintained a disinterest in printing gruesome images:

> The flight of refugees and the subsequent cholera epidemic were publicised, and they deserved to be, but they needed to be contextualised. These people were refugees because they were being slaughtered'. [37]

Despite Reuters exclusive publication of refugee imagery, Dufka's photographs taken during her time with the RPF found a new purpose. As an expert witness in the ICTR case The Prosecutor v. Tharcisse Renzaho[38], and a significant part of the Charles Taylor prosecution, Dufka's photographs were utilised within legal space as evidentiary documents (Duffy, 2018). In The Prosecutor v. Tharcisse Renzaho, the case concerned crimes perpetrated at Saint Famille Church and the establishment of roadblocks and distribution of weapons to Interahamwe and other militia groups in Kigali for the purpose of "fighting the enemy".[39]

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] The Prosecutor v. Tharcisse Renzaho: Judgment. *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2011.* https://cld.irmct.org/assets/filings/ICTR-97-31-0364-1-RENZAHO-APPEALS-JUDGEMENT.pdf

[39] Ibid, p 1.

Using photographs taken by Dufka at Sainte Famille church, the order stated the following:

> Dufka's] first visit to Sainte Famille was between 18 and 20 May. It was not easy to reach the church, as she had to pass through a checkpoint manned by persons in civilian attire. The witness met with Father Wenceslas, who gave her permission to take photos inside the church. She also spoke briefly to some of the more than 900 refugees. They seemed tense and subdued or afraid of talking. Most of them were in the courtyard behind the church. [40]

Visiting Rwanda three times in May 1994, Dufka's photographs showed heavily armed militia at a roadblock and were seen by the jury as decisively corroborating the oral testimony of a witness who had survived the genocide. Falling under the rubric of 'documentary evidence', Dufka's photographs thus provided a form of visual contextualisation. As established within the ICTR during the Musema trial:

> For the purposes of this case, the term "document" is interpreted broadly, being understood to mean anything in which information of any description is recorded. This interpretation is wide enough to cover not only documents in writing, but also maps, sketches, plans, calendars, graphs, drawings, computerised records, mechanical records, electro-magnetic records, digital records, databases, soundtracks, audiotapes, video-tapes, photographs, slides and negatives.[41]

Although photographs do not convey a representation of objective reality, Dufka's photographs were used as supporting evidence. Whilst the rubric for documentary evidence varies between court and tribunal governing procedures, in the ICTR, visual materials were consistently used as documentary evidence (Duffy, 2018). With Dufka's previously unpublished photographs now used within the courtroom, the ability of photographs to obtain new meanings is plainly illustrated. Bearing witness to the atrocity, and capturing crimes on camera, Dufka's

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[40] Ibid, p 162.

[41] The Prosecutor v. Alfred Musema. *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2000.* https://unictr.irmct.org/sites/unictr.org/files/case-documents/ictr-96-13/trial-judgements/en/000127.pdf

photographs became 'documentary evidence with "probative value" testifying to genocide' (Duffy, 2018: 798).

Dufka's documentation of roadblocks represents an instrumental part of the genocide's implementation. During the period immediately following the death of President Habyarimana, a successful strategy of sowing confusion throughout Rwandan society was implemented. With a nation-wide curfew, the disruption of telephone lines and the establishment of roadblocks, Rwanda's infrastructural developments were exploited by the genocider. [42] As captured by Dufka, roadblocks became spaces of violent nationalism that intensified genocidal efforts logistically *and* ideologically.

In 1990, with the development of a road network considered 'among the best in Africa', the main roads branching from Kigali to the country's frontiers were asphalted with the assistance of foreign aid (Mamdani, 2002). This included the road to the Uganda border (World Bank aid), to the Burundi border (European Development Fund aid), to the Zaire border (West German aid) and to the Tanzania border (Chinese aid) (Mamdani, 2002). However, while infrastructural development in Rwanda aided economic prosperity and bolstered foreign aid investment, it also formed the foundations of genocidal strategy and perpetration.

A variety of credible sources situate roadblocks as playing an important role in the planning and implementation of strategies to detain and murder Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda between April and July of 1994. [43] An independent inquiry into the actions of the UN during the genocide concluded that 'within an hour of the plane crash, roadblocks were set up at many streets in Kigali and the killings started'. [44] In rural communities where people knew each other well, identifying the Tutsi was easy; 'the Hutu and Tutsi lived side by side in similar huts

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[42] Sellström, T and Wohlgemuth L. 1995. 'Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors'. *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwandan Experience.* https://www.oecd.org/countries/rwanda/50189653.pdf

[43] United States Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services. 2001. 'Rwanda: Information on the role of the Interhamwe [also Interahamwe] militia and the use of roadblocks during the 1994 Rwandan genocide'. https://www.refworld.org/docid/3decf4b24.html.

[44] Ibid.

[and the] identities of the villagers were public knowledge'.[45] However, where people did not know each other – namely, in Kigali and other urban spaces — the Interhamwe formed roadblocks and asked people for their identity cards systematically (Figure 5).

Figure 5 – Corrine Dufka. Photograph 7 of Sainte Famille Church, Kigali. Rwanda, 1994. https://ucr.irmct.org/LegalRef/CMSDocStore/Public/Other/Exhibit/NotIndexable/ICTR-97-31/ACE140981R0000573731.PDF

Detailing the purpose of the roadblocks and their systematic and coordinated nature, a 1994 Amnesty International report describes their powerful exterminatory force. As detailed in the report, during the first day of the genocide, 'militia set up roadblocks in Kigali and its suburbs. Each individual passing through these roadblocks had to produce an identity card which indicates the ethnic origin of its bearer. Being identified as or mistaken for a Tutsi meant immediate and summary execution. The killers made no attempt to conceal the killings or hide the

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[45] Ibid.

bodies after the fact'[46]. This corroborates with Dufka's visual and verbal testimony of the genocide:

> During Dufka's second trip, from 18 to either 20 or 21 May, an individual at the first major checkpoint in Kigali immediately placed a large pistol to her head and asked if she were Belgian. Dufka also recalled seeing a militiaman in a white doctor's coat splattered with blood and others carrying nail studded clubs still bearing flesh and hair. On this trip, Dufka facilitated her passage through roadblocks by noting that she was reporting on the shelling of a hospital by the RPF. [47]

In the preceding weeks, tens of thousands of Tutsis spent their last moments of life at roadblocks (Keane, 1995). While ethnicity cards were used to identify Tutsi for massacre, if unavailable, anthropological judgements were made on physical attributes (Bains, 2003). As Keane reflects, this process incited a 'stomach-churning fear' and, upon card inspection, 'the certainty of death' (1995: 78). Tutsi were singled out, beaten, humiliated, and then killed. Some bodies were dumped into latrines — an obvious message that the Tutsi and Hutu traitors were excrement — or left for wild dogs (Keane, 1995). And, somewhere near each roadblock, a mass grave, where the bodies of the local Tutsi population were held (Keane, 1995).

The Organisation of African Unity panel's investigation details the role of roadblocks in apprehending victims.[48] The report states that, in the first few days following the death of Habyarimana, attackers 'systematically killed Tutsi and Hutu political opponents in their own neighbourhoods using curfews, barriers, and patrols to control the population'.[49] The roadblocks were heavily staffed and, together, they 'successfully stemmed the flight of victims who tried to escape the genocide'.[50] For those who attempted to escape Interhamwe forces, they would be

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Organization of African Unity. 2001. 'The Preventable Genocide'. *International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events*. http://www.oau-oua.org/Document/ipep/report/rwanda-e/EN-14-CH.htm.

[49] Ibid, p 147.

[50] Ibid, p 58.

'tracked down by search patrols that scoured the neighbourhoods, checking in ceilings, cupboards, latrines, fields, under beds, in car trunks, under dead bodies, in bushes, swamps, forests, rivers, and islands. [51] By using these methods of extermination, by April 11 — after just five days — the Rwandan army, Interahamwe, and party militias had killed 20,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu. As detailed in the Dufka's prosecution witness statement:

> On her second trip, Dufka also visited the Sainte Famille church to take pictures of Tutsi refugees inside. Access to the church was guarded by a roadblock manned by eight to 10 men in civilian clothes. When she asked if she could photograph the checkpoint, Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka demurred and took her to a different, larger one in Kigali, which was manned by around 30 persons and approximately 10 to 15 minutes away but within Kigali. En route, Munyeshyaka easily facilitated their passage through several different roadblocks. Dufka took a number of pictures at the large roadblock, the only one she photographed during her visits, and spoke with Robert Kajuga, whom Munyeshyaka identified as the militia leader. [52]

The strategy of setting up thousands of roadblocks across the country was a seemingly redundant and unsophisticated decision from a military–strategic perspective, however (Bains, 2003). Instead of, for example, concentrating military forces to combat the urgently advancing RPF, 'man- power' was dispersed throughout the country to guard roadblocks. However, it was the political utility of roadblocks that ensured both the systematic regulation of people fleeing and the creation of 'rites of passage' into the 'imagined Hutu nation' (Bains, 2003: 480).

Local men — those who were not members of the Interhamwe — were forced to "man" the roadblocks and kill to prove their loyalty (Bains, 2003: 486). This, as suggested by Bains (2003), points to the ways in which the politics of the body operated during the genocide. In the many thousands of pages of documentation on the genocide — covering its strategy, patterns, perpetrators, and victims — the

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[51] Ibid.

[52] The Prosecutor v. Tharcisse Renzaho: Judgment. *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2011.* https://cld.irmct.org/assets/filings/ICTR-97-31-0364-1-RENZAHO-APPEALS-JUDGEMENT.pdf

intention to 'fuse the national body politic' is clear (Bains, 2003: 486). To re-imagine the nation, the 'limits and foundations of the old order'—including moral codes—were violently transgressed (Bains, 2003: 487). In this way, roadblock killings were both a means of 'passing guilt from executioners to the populace as a whole' — a macabre strategy responsible for the unfathomable number of perpetrators — and a way of cementing Hutu nationalism (2003: 487).

The repositioning of Dufka's photographs as documentary evidence illustrates the transitive function of photography. Whilst Picone and Peress' forensic stylisation can be used to interrogate the capacity of photographs to shock or to haunt, Dufka instead provides an insight into the kinds of photographs that can provide evidence of the most serious crimes in international law (Duffy, 2018). With the transitive function of forensic photography realised through Dufka's position as a judicial witness, the evidentiary quality of "this kind" of photography encompasses their potential to operate in legal spaces.

Despite fulfilling a crime scene aesthetic, forensic photography is not exempt from the 'constitutive ambivalence of all photography [that] ensures no final meaning will ever prevail' (Duffy, 2018: 814). Whilst the visual may present an insurmountable challenge to defence arguments by disrupting or contradicting oral testimony and hearsay evidence, there remains the inherent subjective function installed within every photograph. In this way, visual records, such as Dufka's photographs, provide an authoritative account of reality — proving that which is depicted in the image – when used with other forms of evidence. Therefore, while jurisprudence will 'construct a legal narrative of events around visual artifacts at a particular moment in time' (Duffy, 2018: 814), the photograph fails to become a representative document within its own right.

CONCLUSION

Through the lens of the forensic turn, this chapter has focused on what it means for the viewer to decipher the meaning of photographs. With the provision of minimal (or totally absent) captions or complementary written discourse, viewers of forensic representations of the genocide are 'presented with the visual evidence of the image, and then invited to enter into a discussion with it' (Lowe, 2018: 6). However, as it has been argued, it is only through active engagement with the image that the viewer is able to comprehend the trauma hidden beneath (Lowe, 2018). Through a detailed exploration of photographs and a simultaneous imaginative reading of their topography, this chapter has sought to (re)situate forensic photography as images not only defined by their often-excessive depictions of brutality, but as photographs that enshrine what it means to witness atrocity

By exploring the repositioning Dufka's photographs as documentary evidence, this chapter has illustrated the transitive function of forensic photography. Whilst Picone and Peress' stylisation can be used to interrogate the capacity of photographs to shock or to haunt, Dufka highlights the kind of photographs that are used as evidence in trials concerning the most serious crimes in international law (Duffy, 2018). With the transitive function of forensic photography realised through Dufka's position as a judicial witness, the evidentiary quality of "this kind" of photography encompasses their potential to operate in legal spaces. While the professional witnessing of Picone and Peress never obtained the legal weight of Dufka's photographs, they remain firmly situated within a stylistic form that reads: "*This is what happened.*"

CHAPTER II: ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION

Professional witnessing is always in a state of tension. This tension pertains to questions of how photography can represent tragedy without exploitation, how to counter the now conventionalised scenes of brutality promulgated by the mass media and, crucially, how to adequately convey the enormous injustice of mass killing (Feinstein, 2005). Central to the ethical parameters of the visual archive, in photographs depicting genocide, the bodies in the photographs remain exposed to the gaze in ways that 'render them abject, nameless and humiliated – even when our goal in the use of that imagery is to oppose their condition' (Dauphinee, 2007: 7). How, then, do we overcome these tensions? Are we able to redirect the gaze in ways that encourage ethical witnessing?

One response to this tension has been to represent suffering artistically. Seminally discussed in *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain*, the complexities of art photography and atrocity are explored (2006). As a companion volume of five substantial essays to the 2006 exhibition of the same name held at the Williams College Museum of Art, the conventional critique of the aestheticisation of suffering and its pursuit of providing 'alternatives to mainstream photojournalistic ways of representing suffering' is explored.[53] With the aim of fostering 'a more reflective awareness of how we represent and address the rampant suffering and the corollary spectatorships that characterise our time', the editors in Beautiful Suffering — Mark Reinhardt, Erina Duganne and Holly Edwards — conclude that 'without scenes of death, destruction, misery, and trauma […] the contemporary image environment would be nearly unrecognisable'.[54]

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[53] Strauss, D. L. 2007. 'Nikons and Icons: Is the aestheticization-of-suffering critique still valid?' *Book Forum.*
[54] Ibid.

As Reinhardt notes, however, a quandary arises when photographers capture violence and suffering in ways that make them seem "beautiful". Indicated by the editors of Beautiful Suffering, the aesthetics of representation has received sustained criticism, with some scholars – such as Solomon-Godeau (2017) - insisting that beautiful images 'distract attention from the suffering and hardship they portray', or even 'reify the subject of the image', thus universalising pain and suffering as the "human condition" (Johnson, 2007: 882). Others, however, regard the aestheticisation of trauma and atrocity as central to the 'formation of the social bond and the shaping of national identity' (2007: 882). This chapter therefore seeks to unpack an underpinning contention: do images reinforce the very act violence they purport to critique?

As this chapter will show, artistic representation is not synonymous with the beautification of atrocity, however. Some attempts at revisualising the genocide have utilised an artistic approach that seeks to re-represent the genocide in trauma-informed ways. In what proceeds, the tensions explored within Beautiful Suffering will be discussed in relation to photographic representations of the genocide. The works of two art photographers – namely, Sebastião Salgado and Alfredo Jaar – will be used to explore contrasting methods of artistic representation. As leading contributors to the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide, the approaches of Salgado and Jaar will be considered in turn.

SEBASTIÃO SALGADO

Sebastião Ribeiro Salgado Júnior is a Brazilian social documentary photographer and photojournalist.[55] Born in Aimorés in 1944, Salgado trained as an economist and obtained a master's degree from the University of São Paulo and PhD from the University of Paris. Beginning his work as an economist for the International Coffee Organization, Salgado often travelled to Africa for the World Bank.[56] Salgado's early

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[55] Mia. 'Sebastião Salgado'. https://collections.artsmia.org/people/7209/sebastiao-salgado
[56] Ibid.

career as an economist was highly formative and marked the beginning of his engagement with professional photography. By 1973, Salgado abandoned a career as an economist and ventured into photography full time.[57]

Salgado began working for photo agency Sygma and the Paris-based Gamma.[58] Starting his career photographing for news assignments, Salgado veered more towards documentary-style work after joining Magnum Photos in 1979.[59] However, in 1994, Salgado and his wife Lélia Wanick formed their own agency: Amazonas Images.[60] Based in Paris, Amazonas Images represents Salgado's long term, self-assigned projects, many of which have been published. These publications include The Other Americas, Sahel, Workers, *Migrations*, and *Genesis* (Figure 6). The latter three are large collections with images from all around the world, with the Rwandan genocide notably featuring in *Migrations*.

Salgado's most recent work, *Genesis*, was collated between 2004 and 2011 and consists of landscape and wildlife photographs, as well as images of human communities that continue to live in accordance with their ancestral traditions and culture [61] (Figure 6). Seeking out the most perspective-shifting images of life on Earth, Salgado documented the 'last corners of undamaged nature and unmodernised peoples' and, in doing so, unveiled Earths most remote places.[62] Smaller than Salgado's famous photographs of Serra Pelada gold miners jammed together in a misery of mud, *Genesis* is 'conspicuously the size and shape of easel paintings and with a full emphasis on photography as art'.[63]

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[57] Handy et al. (1999). *Reflections in a Glass Eye: Works from the International Center of Photography Collection.* Bulfinch Press in association with the International Center of Photography: New York. p. 226.

[58] Mia. 'Sebastião Salgado'
[59] Handy et al. (1999).

[60] Prabook. 'Sebastião Salgado'. https://prabook.com/web/sebastiao.salgado/3755100
[61] International Centre of Photography. 'Sebastião Salgado: Genesis'
https://www.icp.org/exhibitions/sebasti%C3%A3o-salgado-genesis
[62] Jones, J. 2015. Interview: Sebastião Salgado: my adventures at the ends of the Earth. The Guardian.
[63]Ibid.

Figure 6 – Sebastião Salgado, *Genesis*. 2013

Accompanied by Salgado's characteristically spectacular lighting, and with a wealth of backlighting and operatic contrasts, a habitual monochromatic style runs throughout *Genesis*. As with most of Salgado's work – including his photography covering the Rwandan genocide – a monochromatic stylisation ensures nothing leaps out 'simply by virtue of its colour'.[64] Without an absolute or accidental priority, Salgado's black and white photography 'puts everything on equal footing, on the same planet'.[65] Extending beyond a loyalty to monochromatic stylisations, Salgado has also demonstrated an unwavering commitment to photographing subject matters with social and political currency. To explore this further, themes within Salgado's photography will now be discussed.

Renowned as the doyen of socially concerned photography, Salgado has covered the very worst of human experience.[66] With many of his photographs among the most recognisable of our times, issues of exploitation, labour, poverty,

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Cumming, L. 2013. Sebastião Salgado: Genesis – review. *The Guardian*

[66] Sage, A. (2007). Taking the Espresso Train. *The Times*. 5 September.

social inequality, migration, globalisation, suffering and the environment represent the thematic heart of Salgado's work (Cieplak, 2017). As noted by Nair, alterity and the global south are consistent preoccupations of Salgado's photography, which offers 'a global vision that implicates viewers, however momentarily, in a web of humanity framed in the act of survival' (2011: 1).

Reflecting these commitments, when invited to address a university-sponsored forum devoted to his work, rather than commenting on his aesthetic vision, Salgado spoke of the 'human costs of globalisation and supported his assertions with statistics documenting social inequality' (Gold, 2011: 421). Echoing this, Salgado asserted the following in an interview with Ken Lassiter:

> What I want is the world to remember the problems and the people I photograph. What I want is to create a discussion about what is happening around the world and to provoke some debate with these pictures. Nothing more than this. I don't want people to look at them and appreciate the light and the palate of tones. [67]

Salgado's socially concerned photography derives, Wolford argues, from his ability to 'personalise human suffering' (2011: 444). Using a combination of 'distance and intimacy', Salgado forces viewers to 'see the people, the wrinkled skin of poverty, the bent shapes of hard labour' (2011: 444). By offering a humanised representation, the power of Salgado's work is rooted in his ability to both personalise suffering and convey its banality, as 'isolation, poverty, exploitation, marginalisation, and even genocide represent part of everyday life in most of the modern world' (Wolford, 2011: 444). This form of witnessing – namely, viewing atrocity with a purpose and political position – epitomises Salgado's socialist worldview. By photographing (and personalising) suffering, Salgado challenges the (Western) norm of dissociation.

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[67] Lassiter, K. 2004. 'Notes from an Interview with Sebastião Salgado'.
https://www.scribd.com/document/486857919/Lassiter-K-2004-Notes-from-an-Interview-with-Sebastiao-Salgado

The thematic shift that occurred between Salgado's creation of *Migrations* and *Genesis* is of critical importance, however. As the catalyst for Salgado's transition from documenting social atrocity to non-human life and the environment, the Rwandan genocide became a career defining moment for the photographer. The scale of the atrocity and the proximity to death and disease left Salgado with little hope for humanity. In Salt of the Earth — a documentary tracing Sebastião's career with his eldest son Julian — Salgado discusses his temporary abandonment of photography. Questioning his work as a social photographer, Salgado reflected the following: 'I did not believe in anything. I did not believe in the salvation of humanity. I had seen so much brutality. I didn't trust any more in anything. I just felt that we humans are terrible animals'. [68]

As a body of work, *Genesis* was, therefore, a response to the trauma Salgado endured as a professional witness in 1994 (Cieplak, 2017). Seeking to explore the relationship between environment and humanity, *Genesis* marks Salgado's departure from representing atrocity and human suffering in favour of non-human experience and existence. Despite this thematic shift post-*Migrations*, the significance of Salgado's work within the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide remains. To explore this further, Salgado's 2000 collection '*Migrations: Humanity in Transition*' will now be considered.

MIGRATIONS: HUMANITY IN TRANSITION

Salgado's 'Rwandan photographs' featured in *Migrations (2000).*[69] Shot in over forty countries across Africa, Europe, the Americas, and Asia, the collection took six years to complete. The project arose from Salgado's desire to tell the visual stories of migrants and refugees who all endured difficult journeys as they left their homes for places and lives unknown to them. Telling a story of our times, *Migrations*

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[68] Gerry in Film, Photography. 'The Salt of the Earth: Sebastião Salgado's own way of seeing'. https://gerryco23.wordpress.com/2015/08/01/the-salt-of-the-earth-sebastiao-salgados-own-way-of-seeing/

[69] Salgado, S. 2000. *Migrations: Humanity in Transition*. Amazonas Images: Paris.

captures the 'tragic, dramatic and heroic moments in individual lives' and, taken together, forms a 'troubling image of our world'.[70]

In Section II of *Migrations*, the Rwandan genocide's aftermath is represented in the form of post-conflict space. With photographs predominantly taken from refugee camps in Zaire and Tanzania - although some were also taken in Rwanda - Salgado reflects on his interactions with those he photographed:

> Many were going through the worst periods of their lives […] they were frightened, uncomfortable and humiliated. Yet they allowed themselves to be photographed, I believe, because they wanted their plight to be made known. When I could, I explained to them that this was my purpose. Many just stood before my camera and addressed it as they might a microphone.[71]

As contended by Pauline Juckes, Salgado's approach, both 'intuitive and highly emotional', originates in 'respectful empathy, personal warmth, and an extraordinary reverence for his subjects' essential dignity' (2001: 8). With the ability to converse in in four languages — French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish — Salgado's ability to identify and connect with those he photographs is clear. However, as noted by Sontag, Salgado has also been the 'principal target of the new campaign against the inauthenticity of the beautiful' (2003: 55). After the publication of *Migrations*, Salgado came under steady attack for producing 'spectacular, beautifully composed big pictures' (2003: 56). This begs the question, however: Is the problem the photographs themselves, or how they are exhibited? To explore this, one of Salgado's Rwandan photographs will be explored through the geographical lens of landscape.

The most striking images in *Migrations* are Salgado's cinematic photographs of the refugee camps. With light flooding the images, Salgado's work possesses 'an almost biblical evocation' (Nair, 2011). As depicted in the Benako Camp photograph (Figure 7) subjects stand amongst the tents and other makeshift

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[70] Nieman Reports. Fall, 2006. 'Migrations: The Story of Humanity on the Move. An Essay in Words and Photographs'. *Nieman Foundation.*
[71] Ibid.

dwellings erected in a grass field beneath a striking sky. The camera's vantage point is unobstructed, with Salgado confronting the scene straight on (Cieplak, 2017: 79). The texture and varied tones of the clouds, which appear to 'visually merge with the multitude of shades, shadows and shapes in the camp on the ground', create a painterly feel (Cieplak, 2017: 79). In this way, the scene seems visually contrived, and perhaps purposefully beautified.

Figure 7 – Sebastião Salgado, *Migrations: Humanity in Transition.* 2000

The beauty of the camp, covered by morning mist, creates a peculiar peacefulness, thus providing no indication of the suffering taking place within the improvised shelters. This landscape is, however, ultimately produced by Salgado. As contended by several cultural and historical geographers, the juxtaposition of the contrived landscape and lived experience of the photographs (unknowing) subjects is a consequence of landscape production. Previously (pre)occupied with isolated, local scales, research within cultural geography epistemologically expanded and sought to explore transgressions of traditional boundaries, both temporal and spatial. In doing so, global landscape production became of central importance. Through this engagement, it comes clear that the complexity of the lives lived within

Salgado's landscape – including the cohabitation of génocidaires and genuine refugees – remains hidden from view (Cieplak, 2017).

Representing a long-standing and unresolved debate between those who 'critique the aesthetics in documentary photography and those who are compelled by it', Salgado's beautification of suffering is read by some scholars as problematic (Nair, 2011: 126). As argued by Sontag (1977), the danger of the aestheticising tendency of photography is that it risks naturalising the distress it conveys. As Sontag reiterates in *Regarding the Pain of Others*, the main point of contention regarding *Migrations* pertains to the images 'focus on the powerless, reduced to their powerlessness' (2003: 70). This is exacerbated further by the absence (or omittance) of individualisation. With no subjects named within the project, Sontag regards this universalised anonymity as reductive, arguing that 'to grant only the famous their name' demotes the rest to 'representative instances of their occupations, their ethnicities, their plights' (2003: 70).

The photographs in *Migrations* are also without immediate context and are only linked through their thematisation of post-conflict space and crisis migration. In this way, Salgado implements a non-geographically specific theme, with the locations of the portrayed scenes only deduced from the images and their subjects (Cieplak, 2017). Section II, for example, is devoted to Africa, with the viewer deducing this only from the scenes that evoke 'previous representations of the continent's conflicts and humanitarian disasters' (Cieplak, 2017: 74). Salgado omits captions and descriptions from the photographs, resulting in no text-based indication as to where one geographical locale stops and another begins.

With descriptions provided exclusively within a separate booklet attached to the last page of the collection, all the viewer initially sees are the photographs. Without geography, Salgado's Rwandan photographs are lost within a sea of atrocity. The spaceless and timeless condition of *Migrations* may represent Salgado's desire to enable ethical witnessing, however. As Mitchell argues, landscapes do not merely reflect but also 'incorporate and reify social processes working at a range of scales' and thereby 'cannot be understood in isolation from

other landscapes, other regions, and other places' (Mitchell 2002: 383). It is thus the work of cultural geographers to trace global processes that work across *and* within borders and, in doing so, forge connections between geography and other disciplines. In this regard, the a-geographical nature of *Migrations* is perhaps an attempt to encourage viewers to engage in the geographical work that would form a wider and more enriched political and historical understanding of the landscape.

Salgado has defended both the beauty of his photographs and the 'thematic, non-geographically or contextually specific organising principles' underpinning so many of his projects (Cieplak, 2017: 76). Responding to criticism regarding the stylisation and composition of his photographs, Salgado argues:

> This is the only way a photograph brings something to you, if it's well-composed. You look at it again, you hold it in. The language that photography has is a formal language. Any photographer is doing something formal. If it's formal, then it must be an aesthetic way to communicate (Baker, 2004 in Cieplak 2017: 76).

Echoing this, Stallybrass asks: 'should one show such events using an anti-aesthetic form of photography, one which strove to be as ugly as [genocide] itself?' (1997: 143 in Cieplak, 2017: 75). If aestheticism is a necessary condition to ensure the attention of viewers, Salgado's photography is perhaps best understood as 'an allegory of displacement and despair, of struggle and survival' (Nair, 2011: 254). By adopting a formal language of photography that enables viewers to experience the images in detail, Salgado intends for the viewer to ponder. With ethical witnessing requiring self-reflection and an understanding of context, perhaps aestheticism is the mechanism that enables spectatorship, thus representing a progressive step beyond dissociation. However, spectatorship of this kind still runs a risk of reproducing problematic (and deeply racist) stereotypes that read: this is the sort of thing which happens in "that place" (Sontag, 2003: 71).

Salgado's Rwanda photographs ascribe to a representative form that showcases Africa in a particular way. With Africa represented as a largely undefined geographical space, photographs of the continent throughout *Migrations* reproduce ideas of it being 'remote, exotic, and full of violence and disease' (Keim, 2008: 25).

Afro-pessimism – the notion that 'nothing good ever happens in Africa' – is often the lens through which the continent is viewed within Western narrative forms (Enwezor, 2006). Whilst Salgado's work captures the scale of Rwanda's landscape and refugee camps, the absences operating throughout the collection feed the notion of afro-pessimism.

In Said's (1978) influential critique of orientalism, Western narrative forms are problematised. As Said contends, normative structures of (colonial) power have dominated cultural understandings of space and place. With European and American authors too often charting the 'asymmetric grid of power' by constructing a dynamic in which the West watches, and the East is watched, the production of afro-pessimism within *Migrations* mimics, in many ways, the force that propels (and maintains) the subject/object relationship. Through the postcolonial gaze that operates within the a-geographical African landscape in *Migrations*, a binarised concept of us/them is both constructed and reproduced.

With afro-pessimism and the "Dark Continent Myth" a historic construction, Western depictions of the continent are often laced with problematic tropes (Keim, 2008). As Haney contends, 'modernist and contemporary artists have long been wrestling with the received wisdoms of monolithic 'Africanness' as it is currently posed within the remit of world history and present-day creativity' (2010: 7). Whilst the geographic expanse of the continent ought to 'deter any attempts towards a cohesive "African" narrative', there remains a pervading sense of homogeneity within photojournalism pertaining to Africa. Geographers, such as Gregory (2004), have reiterated this point by developing Said's work to illustrate how 'everyday cultural practices work to produce spaces of 'the same' and spaces of 'the other' at the global scale' (Secor, 2009: 515).

In occupying a space 'beyond the pale of the modern', Gregory notes how the dignity and rights associated with Western modernity and humanism have been forfeited in spaces constructed as 'the other' (2004, 28). Characterised by reductionist and objectifying qualities – resulting in a problematic construction of "the Other" – the Western media circuit visually and textually constructed Rwanda, during and

post-genocide, as a space "beyond the pale". How, then, might photography overcome this problematic history and (re)centre geography? To explore this, the work of Alfredo Jaar will now be considered.

ALFREDO JAAR

Alfredo Jaar, born 1956, is a Chilean-born artist, architect, photographer, and filmmaker. For over four decades, Jaar has used photographs, film, installation, and new media to create works that examine the limits and ethics of representation.[72] After reading architecture and filmmaking, Jaar graduated from the Instituto Chileno-Norteamericano de Cultura in 1979 and Universidad de Chile in 1981.[73] Informed by his multidisciplinary background, Jaar's practice often circulates around the unequal power relations and sociopolitical divisions formed by globalisation. His best-known work, A Logo for America, 1987, used an electronic billboard in New York's Times Square to display the statement "This is not America" imposed upon an outline map of the United States.[74] Through juxtaposing image and word, Jaar highlighted the way in which "America" is 'routinely but erroneously applied to just one part of the two American continents'.[75]

Throughout his career, Jaar has used a mixture of photography and installation rooms as a means of suggesting understanding and non-understanding. Stemming from a long-standing commitment to human rights issues, Jaar's work pivots around the ability of art to communicate (Feinstein, 2005). In this way, Jaar's installations 'fuse the aesthetic and the ethical to focus on injustices around the world such as poverty, exploitation and genocide'.[76]

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[72] Galerie Lelong & Co. 'Alfredo Jaar: Biography'. https://www.galerielelong.com/artists/alfredo-jaar/slideshow?view=slider
[73] Guggenheim. 'Alfredo Jaar'. *Artpil*. https://artpil.com/alfredo-jaar/
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] MacArthur Foundation. 2006. 'Alfredo Jaar'. https://www.macfound.org/fellows/class-of-2000/alfredo-jaar#searchresults

While not relinquishing art's aesthetic power, by using a hybrid form of artmaking, Jaar's works have consistently provoked and searched for ways to 'heighten our consciousness about issues often forgotten or suppressed in the international sphere'.[77] Subjects addressed in Jaar's work include the gold mining in Brazil, toxic pollution in Nigeria, and tensions at the Mexico/United States border. Jaar is therefore renowned for exploring difficult socio-political issues and continues to probe and problematise the balance of power between "the West and the rest".

Jaar's work, both widely displayed and highly recognisable, is considered complex and introspective. Conscious of the one-dimensional nature of mass media, Jaar's artistic expression is a response to the stories within global politics that 'cheapened the power of the image' (Feinstein, 2005: 34). Having reached a point where we have too many images, Jaar warns that 'if images lose their power to affect us, we have lost our humanity' (Feinstein 2005: 34). By understanding photographs, we are informed about the world and, in turn, form ideas about ourselves. Upon this view, the focus of artistic investigations ought to pivot around the nature of representation and seek to answer how, as Jaar contends, '[to] elicit an emotional response from a viewer in a culture inured to widespread imagery of violence and cruelty' (Feinstein, 2005: 36).

Conceptually, Jaar's work ascribes to what Rothberg calls "traumatic realism" (2000: 49). This theory situates artistic reflections on atrocity, such as the Rwandan genocide, not as an exact rendition of a horrible event, but as a 'response to the demand for documentation than an extreme historical event poses to those who would seek to understand it'. As Rothberg notes:

> Traumatic realism is an attempt to produce the traumatic event as an object of knowledge and to program and thus transform its readers so that they are forced to acknowledge their relationship to post-traumatic culture. Because it seeks both to construct access to a previously unknowable object and to instruct an audience in how

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[77] Galerie Lelong & Co. 'Alfredo Jaar: Biography'. https://www.galerielelong.com/artists/alfredo-jaar/slideshow?view=slider

to approach the object, the stakes of traumatic realism are epistemological and pedagogical. (2000: 80-81).[78]

Jaar achieves this "traumatic realism" through references to absences. In his exclusion of what has become the well-repeated tropes of death and suffering, the absence of mutilated corpses from Jaar's work does not mean they are not present. As Balken contends, Jaar's work on the suffering of others, particularly from 1993 onwards, 'spurn the culturally alienated position of art, its status as an object, and suggest that if photography is to be empowered with meaning, the viewer's interaction must become an integrated feature'.[79] With the tensions between absence and presence probed throughout Jaar's work, it is also worth considering how the artist thinks about the limits of artistic representation, especially within photography. To explore this, Jaar's 'Rwanda Project' will now be considered.

THE RWANDA PROJECT

In the case of Rwanda, Jaar followed the tragedy from the beginning. Outraged at how the Western media circuit were transmitting information, Jaar visited Rwanda to, as he claims, 'gather evidence'.[80] Reminiscent of the approach adopted by forensic photographers, such as Peress and Picone, Jaar accumulated around thirty-five hundred images. However, upon his return to New York, Jaar was unable to review them. When he eventually did so, Jaar realised that he could not use them. As he reflects:

> It didn't make sense to use them; people did not react to these kinds of images. Why would they react now? I was starting to think that there must be another way to talk about violence without recurring to violence. There must be a way to talk

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[78] Rothberg, M. (2000). *Traumatic Realism.* University of Minnesota Pres: Minneapolis. pp 80-81.

[79] Balken, D. B. 1999. Alfredo Jaar: *Lament of the Images*. Lisa Visual Arts Center: Cambridge, MA. p 17.

[80] Art21. Interview "The Rwanda Project". https://art21.org/read/alfredo-jaar-the-rwanda-project/

about suffering without making the victim suffer again. How do you represent this, while respecting the dignity of the people you are focusing on? [81]

From this came Jaar's best known work: *The Rwanda Project*. Deriving from his own investigations and field research in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide as a photojournalist, Jaar's six-year-long exhibition sought to represent how one can engage with 'trauma as an outsider' whilst also serving as a critique to the 'world's indifference and a lack of global visibility' to the atrocities in Rwanda. [82] Jaar completed twenty-one pieces in the six-year period, each being an 'exercise of representation'. [83]

Through this project, Jaar sought to highlight the voyeuristic gaze that marked much of the genocide's photo-reporting. As a direct critique of the act of looking and seeing, *The Rwanda Project* became an attempt to translate photographs into experiences that highlight the 'complexity of trauma and the memory that extends beyond that captured within a visual'. [84] Believing in the responsibility of art to transmit political messages, Jaar explored several representational forms in the pursuit to (re)visualise the genocide. The inability to encapsulate trauma through photographs alone led Jaar to experiment with different ways of portraying genocide. By refusing to settle on one form of representation, Jaar navigated the aestheticisation of suffering and the ethics of representation by defying the conventions of documentary photography. In this way, to "see" the genocide, people were required not to look.

Through the experimental nature of Jaar's work, *The Rwanda Project* became, as Möller (2010) contends, a work of scepticism. Based on photographs taken in Rwanda in the autumn of 1994, Jaar's work represents scepticism about the 'representability of genocide in the arts; scepticism about the ability of photography

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Zeitz Mocaa. 'Alfredo Jaar: The Rwanda Project'.
https://zeitzmocaa.museum/exhibition/exhibitions/alfredo-jaar-the-rwanda-project/
[83] Art21. Interview "The Rwanda Project". https://art21.org/read/alfredo-jaar-the-rwanda-project/
[84] Zeitz Mocaa. 'Alfredo Jaar: The Rwanda Project'.
https://zeitzmocaa.museum/exhibition/exhibitions/alfredo-jaar-the-rwanda-project/

to represent experience; and, ultimately, scepticism about the human condition'
(2010: 123). In Jaar's pursuit to 'talk about suffering without making the victim suffer
again', representational forms that respected the dignity of the project's subjects
were of central importance. To explore this, four works within *The Rwanda Project* –
"Signs of Life", "Rwanda Rwanda", "Real Pictures" and "The Silence of
Nduwayezu" – will be considered in turn.

In 'Signs of Life' – the first exercise within *The Rwanda Project* - Jaar collected
the names of survivors he met in Kigali. With no postal service left in Rwanda, Jaar
wrote the names on the back of postcards he found in a looted post office[85]. Using a
striking format – "*JYAMIYA MUHAWENIMAWA IS STILL ALIVE!*" – Jaar mailed
the cards from neighbouring Uganda, addressing them to his friends and colleagues
across the globe. With twenty-five to thirty people receiving over 200 postcards, this
piece – later termed Signs of Life – adhered to Jaar's intellectual philosophy that for
an image to communicate a story, words are required to strike the balance between
'information and spectacle, content and the visuals'.[86]

Direct and yet layered with meaning, the simple statement "X is still alive"
recalled the time when the 'appearance of one's name on the genocidaire's lists
meant instant death' (Strauss, 1998: 45). And, with the postcard representing a
communicative intimacy between himself and the recipient, Jaar's initial
contribution reflects his ultimate objective: To situate the genocide within the
consciousness of the international community. In this way, Jaar both reversed and
reclaimed the effect of naming.

After creating 'Signs of Life', in November 1994, Jaar was approached to
participate in a public art project in Malmö, Sweden.[87] Jaar was given the use of fifty
lightboxes across the city to display any image he desired.[88] However, Jaar did not
wish to display an image. Instead, he filled the lightboxes with the name "Rwanda,"

[86] Art21. Interview "The Rwanda Project". https://art21.org/read/alfredo-jaar-the-rwanda-project/
[87] Ibid.
[88] Imaginary Museum. The Rwanda Project.
https://imaginarymuseum.org/MHV/PZImhv/JaarRwandaProject.html

repeated over and over, filling the entirety of the frame (Strauss, 1998: 41). These monochromatic posters, scattered around the streets and squares of Malmö, 'reduced the rhetoric of advertising to a cry of grief' (Strauss, 1998: 41). The lightboxes served notice on a complacent public, reading 'you—in your tidy parks, on your bicycles, walking your dogs—look at this name, listen to this name, at least hear it, now: Rwanda, Rwanda, Rwanda'.[89]

The geographical specificity of this piece, and the emphasis on place, offers an alternative style of representation. If the images of slaughter and piled corpses that permeated newspapers and photo-reportage did so little, perhaps a simple sign, in the form of an insistent cry, would gain the attention of the international community. [90] Unlike "real photographs" of real violence, there is nothing generalisable nor geographically ambiguous about this piece. It is a raw gesture produced out of frustration and anger.[91] It is a desperate cry to liberate the silenced.

Signs of Life and Rwanda Rwanda aside, the remaining works within The Rwanda Project are installation pieces. Typically, installation artworks — also described as 'environments' — occupy an entire gallery space or room, thus requiring the viewer to experience the work spatially.[92] As Ilya Kabakov notes, 'the main actor in the total installation, the main centre toward which everything is addressed, for which everything is intended, is the viewer'. [93] Jaar's photo installations spurn the 'culturally alienated position of art, its status as an object, and suggest that if photography is to be empowered with meaning, the viewer's interaction must become an integrated feature'.[94] Rather than a display of separate, individual artwork – as is the case in sculpture or other traditional art forms – Jaar's

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[89] Strauss, D. L. 2010. *A Sea of Griefs Is Not a Proscenium: On The Rwanda Projects of Alfredo Jaar.* https://alfredojaar.net/projects/2019/the-rwanda-project/a-sea-of-griefs-is-not-a-proscenium-on-the-rwanda-projects-of-alfredo-jaar/

[90] Imaginary Museum. The Rwanda Project. https://imaginarymuseum.org/MHV/PZImhv/JaarRwandaProject.html

[91] Strauss, D. L 2010. *A Sea of Griefs Is Not a Proscenium.*

[92] Tate. 'Art Term: Installation Art' https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/i/installation-art

[93] Ibid.

[94] Rothberg, M. (2000). *Traumatic Realism.* p 17.

installation art was a complete unified experience. To explore this, two of Jaar's installation works, 'Real Pictures' and 'The Silence of Nduwayezu', will be discussed in turn.

First exhibited in January 1995, 'Real Pictures' debuted at the Museum of Contemporary Photography in Chicago (Figure 8). Out of the thousands of photographs taken in Rwanda, Jaar carefully selected sixty images that showed different aspects of the genocide: the massacres, the refugee camps, the destruction of cities.[95] The photographs were taken in late August 1994, in Nyagazambu Camp and Ntarama Church in Rwanda, and the Kashusha and Katale refugee camps and Pont Ruzizi II in Zaire.[96]

Gesturing to the aesthetic of sculptural minimalism, Jaar filled the installation space with well-ordered blocks of black boxes stacked upon each other, all equally aglow with a halo of light. Inside each box held a photograph depicting various aspects of the Rwandan genocide. With the photographs hidden from view, on top of each box, Jaar described their content. This anti-visual approach formed an installation that became part graveyard, part archive, with the text that replaced the images both describing and inscribing them. On the Ntarama Church box, for example, the text reads:

> Gutete Emerita, 30 years old, is standing in front of the church. Dressed in modest, worn clothing, her hair is hidden in a faded pink cotton kerchief. She was attending mass in the church when the massacre began. Killed with machetes in front of her eyes were her husband Tito Kahinamura (40), and her two sons Muhoza (10) and Matirigari (7). Somehow, she managed to escape with her daughter Marie-Louise Unumararunga (12), and hid in a swamp for 3 weeks, only coming out at night for food. When she speaks about her lost family, she gestures to corpses on the ground, rotting in the African sun.[97]

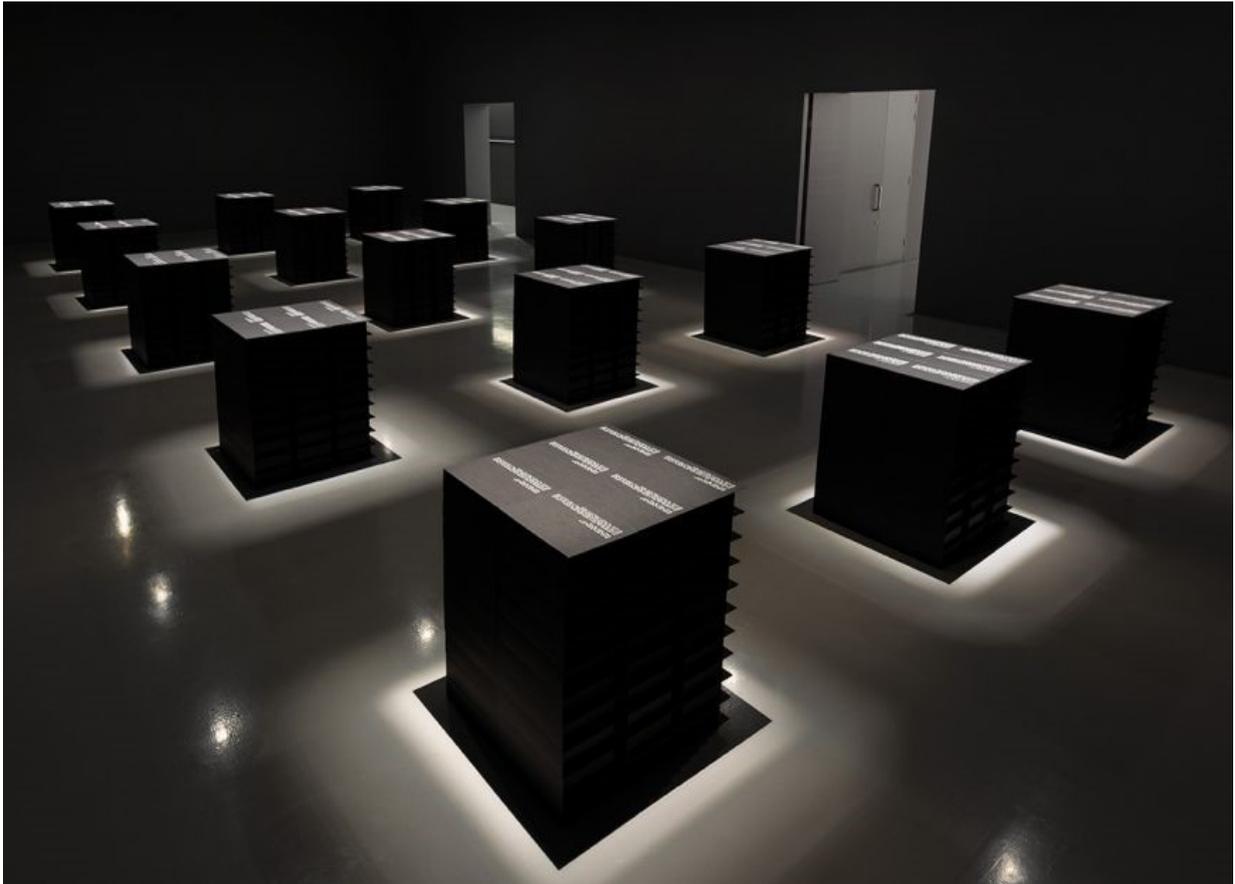[95] Strauss, D. L (2010).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Strauss, D. 2003.

Figure 8 - Alfredo Jaar. *The Rwanda Project, 1995. Dark Boxes.* Courtesy of Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg/Cape Town and the artist, New York, Photo credit: Dillon Marsh, Zeitz MOCAA

Crucially, these silk-screened descriptions detail what the viewer cannot see. With the text describing the experience of the photograph's subject, the viewer is forced to consider the impact of both the written work and the imagined image. In this regard, Real Pictures does not claim to capture "reality"; instead, it requires viewers to visualise violence through the engagement with written word. By hiding the photographs and creating space in which the genocide can be contemplated, Jaar probes at the impossibility of representing trauma through photography. It offers, as Jaar contends, 'an absence that could perhaps provoke a presence' (Feinstein, 2005: 37).

Besetting a crisis of representation, the omittance of the image within Real Pictures represents both the incomprehensibility and unrepresentability of the genocide. The inscriptions on the boxes can be read, therefore, as statements 'in

memory of images, and of the power that images once had'.[98] With images imagined as if in memory, photographs are buried in order that history might again be made 'visible and legible' (Strauss, 1998: 41). This neatly characterises Jaar's methodology, with Real Pictures saying 'no' to the image. Describing Real Pictures as a "cemetery of images" (Strauss, 1998: 41), through the rejection of "real photographs" of real violence, Jaar forms tombs — literally and figuratively — in which victims can dignifiedly rest.

With the linen boxes fashioned architecturally, the audience 'wanders among these dark monuments as if through a graveyard, reading epitaphs' (Strauss, 1998: 41). As an elegy to the image and to the power it has lost to a world of simulation and spectacle, Real Pictures represents Jaar's artistic philosophy that 'to merely show images of the carnage and destruction is exploitive, and worse, a pointless mimicry of the news media' (Blocker, 2009: 55). The value of Real Pictures therefore resides in its ability to 'disrupt the habits of the pictures that dominate our capacity to imagine horror' (2009: 55). Jaar's personally stated goal of the piece was made clear by his inscription of the poet Vincenç Altaió at the entrance to Real Pictures: "Images have an advanced religion; they bury history".[99]

In another installation, "The Silence of Nduwayezu" (1997), Jaar experiments with scale. Based on the story of Nduwayezu, a five-year-old boy who lost both parents during the genocide and responded to this trauma by maintaining silence for four weeks, the piece seeks to resist the generalisability that permeated much of the media coverage of the genocide (Möller, 2010). In an interview with Art21, Jaar recalled his encounter with Nduwayezu:

> I visited a refugee camp and Nduwayezu was seated on the stairs of a door. I discovered very quickly that all these kids were orphans that had witnessed how their parents were killed. Nduwayezu actually saw his mother and father killed with machetes. His reaction was to remain silent for approximately four weeks. He couldn't speak. His eyes were the saddest eyes I had ever seen, so I wanted to

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[98] Ibid, p 93.
[99] Ibid.

represent that and speak about his silence—because his silence refers to the silence of the world community that let this happen.[100]

In The Silence of Nduwayezu, Jaar covered a light table with one million identical slides of Nduwayezu's eyes (Figure 9). With each slide representing a murdered individual, viewers were invited to examine the slides with a magnifying glass provided along the installation's perimeter. Jaar's visual proclamation — "these eyes are not silent" — enable the tropes of silence and eyes to become powerfully connected within The Silence of Nduwayezu. Despite the native language of Nduwayezu being Kinyarwanda, the text of the installation is printed in English. Therefore, while The Silence of Nduwayezu (re)visualises human suffering 'only by implication', it also largely operates within a 'conventional framework of meaning assigned to images by language' (Möller, 2010: 124). Despite this, Jaar responds to a form of generic suffering that permeates much of the visual archive by redirecting the viewer from the aesthetics to ethics.

Foregrounding the installation with contextual information that specifies 'a country, a continent, criminal indifference from the world community', the text functions as the intellectual reinforcement that ensures the piece is not just reproducing a problematic form of 'generic suffering'.[101] In this regard, the text provides the viewer with the assurance they are looking for. As Jaar notes when observing people engage with The Silence of Nduwayezu:

> I've seen people coming in and ignoring the text because they're impatient. They just want to see what's in here. And it's with pleasure that I see them going back and reading the text, saying, "What is this?" I think I've managed to create an emotional charge, but I'm really interested in going deeper than that.[102]

Jaar explores the ways in which words and images interact to create meaning. However, while The Silence of Nduwayezu engages the 'limits of representation in situations of extremity, it also represents the limits of engagement'

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[100] Art21. Interview "The Rwanda Project".

[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.

(Mőller, 2010: 123). Despite involving the viewer, the text limits the extent to which they are implicated as it has already been decided for them how The Silence of Nduwayezu should be understood (Mőller, 2010). Therefore, by providing viewers with false assurance that text and image tell the same story, the 'text already gives the answers to the questions the viewers might have, and might, by so doing, depoliticise the viewers' (Mőller, 2010: 124).

Figure 9 - Alfredo Jaar. *The Silence of Nduwayezu, 1997*. 1 million slides, light table, magnifiers, and illuminated wall text. Table: 36 inches × 217 3/4 inches × 143 inches. Text: 6 inches × 188 inches. Courtesy of Galerie Lelong, New York.

The potential to depoliticise also extends into the subject position of Nduwayezu. As Mőller astutely notes, the text 'infringes upon the boy's inability or unwillingness to speak about his experience' (2010: 124). Whilst it remains part of the post-colonial agenda to give voices to marginalised people, in The Silence of Nduwayezu, it is not the boy's voice that speaks to the viewers, it is Jaars (Mőller, 2010: 124). It therefore reflects, rather than challenges, 'that we are living in societies where individuals are spoken for, much more than they speak in their own name' (Mőller, 2010: 124).

Despite its shortcomings, The Silence of Nduwayezu is a powerful visual and spatial reference to the one million lives lost during the genocide. As a central motif throughout *The Rwanda Project*, the way(s) of seeing the installation represent a key function of Jaar's artistic expression. Commonly interpreted as a body or the Rwandan landscape, Jaar's placement of the slides did not follow any predetermined underlying form. [103] The sheer accumulation of slides forms the appearance of an organised shape, thus making it the viewers prerogative to interpret what shape they see and what meaning this may have. This engagement with the installation represents the intensifying power of art that, as Jaar contends, is needed in order to begin to understand of the gravity of the Rwandan genocide. As Jaar reflects:

> I think this is a work where we can clearly see the ethics and the aesthetics. And it has a very strong emotional charge, no doubt about it. I've shown this piece quite a few times, and I've become aware of its power and impact.[104]

The Rwanda Project is, therefore, an example of how to increase the audience's awareness of its own responsibility. Photography haunts the viewer throughout the project: Not because the photographs depict brutality, but because they 'allude visually to brutality only by implication' (Möller, 2009: 791). In this regard, by withholding images of atrocity, Jaar challenges the tendency in art photography to 'aestheticise its subjects through framing and composition' which, in turn, ensures viewers are not complicit in the subjects suffering through the consumption of those images.[105] By examining the collective indifference to human suffering, Jaar reserves falling into the trap of what media did or did not do.

CONCLUSION

Art photography characterised many notable contributions to the archive in the years preceding the genocide. As a representational form that is both reactive

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[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Warscapes. 2014. 'Genocdie in Absentia'.

and self-conscious, art photography resembles an approach that acknowledges the impossibility of representation. However, through geographical imagination, landscapes of violence are both produced and reproduced. From the effacement of geography within Salgado's work to the distinctly "anti-visual" approach of Jaar, both photographers rely on the active engagement of viewers.

With art photography representing (and producing) a way of seeing, landscapes of violence can be critically understood through the recuperation of visual representation. Through a creative strategy which offers 'a way of connecting with landscape and those who shape it' (Lilley, 2000: 370), art photography situates itself as a necessary lens through which the scale of the genocide can be comprehended. Working in tandem with images depicting butchering and brutality, both the formality of Salgado and informality of Jaar require viewers to engage (and critically assess) their own pre-existing understanding of the genocide. What is read in the landscape or installation space is, therefore, largely defined by what has come before.

What is produced when the landscape no longer bares the weight and physical trace of genocide, however? Does photographing the landscape remain an important component of visual representation even if the genocide is no longer a visible constituent of it? Can one still engage with the landscape to represent (and therefore comprehend) the nature and scale of violence, or is an alternative form of representation required? To explore this, portraiture and the intimacy of representation will now be explored.

CHAPTER III: PORTRAITURE AND THE INTIMACY OF REPRESENTATION

'Photographs state the innocence, the vulnerability of lives heading toward their own destruction, and this link between photography and death haunts all photographs of people' (Sontag, 1977: 64).

As a vehicle for representing a person's story, portrait photography has a wide range of applications. With photojournalism thought to capture a story and 'convey something of the truth about a larger situation, tragedy or setting'[106], portraiture is commonly understood as a contrasting representational form. However, much like forensic and artistic stylisations, portraiture is, ultimately, a social story. With surrounding objects, material, content, location, body language, facial expression and the colours in the image combining to create a narrative form, the general atmosphere captures the story of the portraiture's subject. By communicating the complexity of an issue through the visual narration of a person, idea, or experience, portraiture enables a particular way of seeing.

Within the archive of the Rwandan genocide, portrait photographers often sought to represent the embodied experience of "victimhood" and/or "perpetration". This way of seeing is, in many ways, distinct from other forms of representation. By interrogating who lived, who died, and who killed, portrait photographers (re)centre the intimacy of killing (Bourke, 1999). In this regard, the aesthetics and ethics of portraiture encompasses a form of representation that (re)visualises the genocide through an approach that is distinctly "anti-landscape". Enabling a return to the body, portraiture thus responds to some of the difficulties associated with forensic photography and artistic representation.

As this chapter will argue, however, the binarisation of "victim" and "perpetrator" is not without tension. With dichotomisations operating within a Western frame of understanding, the lived experience of genocide was often fluid

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[106] Lensculture. 'Interview: Intended Consequences: Rwandan Children Born of Rape'. https://www.lensculture.com/articles/jonathan-torgovnik-intended-consequences-rwandan-children-born-of-rape

and without fixed categorisation. This complicates the dichotomies that shape much of the work within portraiture. To reflect the dichotomisation that has informed the production and consumption of portraiture within the photographic archive, this chapter will be organised in two parts. First, "Portraits of Victimhood — namely, works by Jonathan Torgovnik, James Nachtwey, and the non-professional photography at Kigali's Genocide Memorial — will be critically examined. "Portraits of Perpetration?" will follow, with the works of Pieter Hugo and Robert Lyons considered in the final section. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of the potential for portraiture to operate in socially productive and reconciliatory ways.

PORTRAITS OF VICTIMHOOD

JAMES NACHTWEY

James Nachtwey is an American photojournalist, war photographer and fellow of the Royal Photographic Society. After studying Political Science and Art History from 1966-1970 at Dartmouth College, images from the American Civil Rights movement and Vietnam War became instrumental in Nachtwey's decision to become a photographer.[107] As Nachtwey expressed in an interview, the images produced from this time changed his opinion about 'what was going on in reality', with politicians and military leaders telling the public one thing, and photographers showing another.[108] Deeming the latter to be tellers of truth, Nachtwey began his career as a newspaper photographer in 1976 at the Albuquerque Journal, New Mexico. Four years later, Nachtwey moved to New York City and started freelance photography.[109]

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[107] Hamilton, R. 2020. "I believe in the power of information": James Nachtwey in conversation with Hilary Roberts. *Canon*. https://www.canon-europe.com/pro/stories/james-nachtwey-memoria-interview/
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

Nachtwey's first foreign assignment was in Northern Ireland. Assigned to capture civil strife in 1981 Belfast, Nachtwey was exposed to a conflict no longer isolated to battlefields. With the front lines of war piercing through civilian homes, the violence in Belfast was happening right inside residential neighbourhoods and, as Nachtewy reflects, that's 'all I've seen ever since'. With warring factions destroying civilian space with the aim of creating terror and establishing power, entire cities have been reduced to rubble, and civilians have become targets.[110] War and conflict are not abstract events happening in the void; they are spatially ubiquitous.

Having spent extensive periods of time in South Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Russia, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, Nachtwey's works portray the depths of human suffering from a variety of places.[111] Devoting himself to the documentation of wars, conflicts and critical social issues, Nachtwey's work consistently probes at the experiences of violence and suffering. Having also worked on extensive photographic essays in, for example, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza, Israel, Thailand, India, Afghanistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Somalia, Sudan, South Africa, Russia, Kosovo, Romania, Brazil and the United States, Nachtwey is widely regarded as the world's most famous war photographer.[112] Solidifying this is the Oscar nominated documentary 'War Photographer', in which Nachtwey is the subject.

In 1984, Nachtwey worked as a contract photographer with Time Magazine. Also associated with Black Star between 1980 – 1985, Nachtwey became a member of Magnum from 1986 until 2001. After his time with Magnum, Nachtwey co-founded the photo agency 'VII'. [113] Largely formed in response to large corporations acquiring small photo agencies in the industry, VII was conceptualised

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Witness: Photography by James Nachtewy. http://www.jamesnachtwey.com/
[112] Ibid.
[113] Hughes, H. Nachtwey Has Left VII Photo; Agency Prepares for Expansion. PDNPULSE. https://pdnpulse.pdnonline.com/2011/08/nachtwey-has-left-vii-photo-agency-prepares-for-expansion.html

as a means of digital image distribution and representation wholly controlled and owned by the photographers it represents. VII's focus is on 'the power of the image to manifest change, and its ethos is to address the complex political, environmental, and social questions facing people globally'.[114] Emboldened by the new freedom granted by digital photography and believing in the 'dynamism of the collective', VII vowed to be a 'disruptive and challenging business'.[115]

In 1994, Nachtwey was assigned the Rwandan genocide by his contractor, TIME magazine. Having spent extensive periods in South Africa witnessing the hopeful politics of Mandela, the Rwanda genocide represented a stark contrast to this experience. Reflecting on the genocide, Nachtwey described the situation in Rwanda as 'killing by Hutu interahamwe [that] was committed face-to-face, neighbour-against-neighbour, and sometimes even brother-against-brother'. [116] Whilst Nachtwey was under no illusion that contemporary conflict was both spatially ubiquitous and civilian-centric, the Rwandan genocide represented a form of violence like no other.

As an experience that challenged Nachtwey's understanding of human nature, the genocide's brutality was beyond comprehension. If, as Nachtwey contends[117], one witnesses the aftermath of the genocide and is *still* unable to understand how 'that many people' can commit 'that kind of atrocity' at such close range, photographs can only provide a selective frame of understanding (Butler, 2009). With the photographs later published in *Inferno* (2003)[118], the Rwandan photographs represented selective (and constructed) frames which aids viewers with the ability to interpret what is depicted. Therefore, whilst not representing the genocide, the photograph may, through interpretative engagement, relay affect

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[114] Torres, R. 2019. 'A brief history of VII Photo Agency'. *The Independent Photographer.* https://independent-photo.com/news/a-brief-history-of-vii-photo-agency/
[115] Ibid.
[116] Nachtwey, J. 2011. When the World Turned Its Back: James Nachtwey's Reflections on the Rwandan Genocide. *Time.* https://time.com/3449593/when-the-world-turned-its-back-james-nachtweys-reflections-on-the-rwandan-genocide/
[117] Ibid.
[118] Nachtwey, J. (2003). *Inferno.* Phaidon Press: Paris and London.

(Sontag, 2003). To understand this, Nachtwey's 'Hutu man' portrait will now be analysed (Figure 10).

Figure 10 – James Nachtwey. *A Hutu man who did not support the genocide has been imprisoned in the concentration camp, starved and attacked with machetes. He managed to survive after he was freed and was placed in the care of the Red Cross.* Rwanda, 1994.

Taken in a Red Cross hospital in Nyanza, the subject sits with his face turned. Enabling Nachtwey to capture the extent of his injuries, four deep scars stretch across the surface of the victim's face. With the man unable to verbally communicate, Nachtwey recalls the man's implicit agreement, detailing that, at one moment, he even turned his face towards the light.[119] This moment of implicit agreement, in which the man turned his face, was when the photograph was made.

Liberated from a nearby Hutu camp, where primarily Tutsis were incarcerated, starved, beaten, and killed, this man did not support the genocidal regime and was thus subjected to the same treatment[120]. Starved and attacked with

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[119] Hamilton, R. 2020. "I believe in the power of information": James Nachtwey in conversation with Hilary Roberts. *Canon*.
[120] Ibid.

machetes, the Hutu man survived, though was unable to speak and could barely walk or swallow.[121] His mutilated face, inflicted by the Interahamwe who suspected him of sympathising with the Tutsi rebels, depicts a 'badly scarred, and clearly traumatised' individual.[122] Believing the man understood what his scars would say to the rest of the world, through the portrait, Nachtewy was designated as messenger.[123]

The focal point of the image – namely, the machete scaring – encapsulates the genocide's methodology of massacre. As Nachtwey reflects, 'trying to imagine 800,000 people with their heads bashed in by rocks and clubs, impaled on spears, hacked to death with hoes and machetes – in just three months – stuns the mind, and we struggle to wring meaning out of words like "biblical" or "apocalyptic"'.[124] As articulated within the same interview, the widespread use of farming implements as weaponry represents Nachtwey's greatest discomfort with the nature and scale of violence in Rwanda:

> Essentially, the genocide in Rwanda was committed with farm implements. Machetes. Clubs. Axes. Spears. Face- to-face. Killing a lot of helpless people. Children. Neighbours. I don't understand it. I know it happened. I witnessed the aftermath, and I realise it was based on fear and hatred. But I don't understand how you could get that many people to commit that kind of atrocity at such close range. Dropping a bomb can kill a lot of people, but it's very impersonal […] using those kinds of weapons against defenceless people is just beyond my understanding. I think I'm a different person now than when I started. I can't even remember who I was anymore.[125]

While Nachtewy's experience reflects the traumatic nature of professional witnessing, the extent to which his portrait represents the intimacy of the genocide is questionable. Although the scaring showcases the methodology of massacre –

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[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Nachtwey, J. 2011. When the World Turned Its Back: James Nachtwey's Reflections on the Rwandan Genocide. *Time*.
[125] Fussman, C. 2005. What I've Learned: James Nachtwey. *Esquire Classic*.
https://classic.esquire.com/article/2005/10/1/james-nachtwey

namely, the use of farming implements – the photograph depicts a solitary victim, voiceless and without identification. Framed only through ethnicity and victimhood, the positionality and embodied experience of the Hutu man is unfulfilled. Unnamed and unknown, the subject's administration of "implicit consent" is only assured by Nachtewy. In other words, the subjects voice remains unheard.

Nachtewy's portrait was, however, a sign of the times. Contracted under the remit of "war photographer", Nachtwey's contributions to the archive represented a range of photographic formats. In many ways, Nachtwey's portrait is fashioned forensically, with the photograph reminiscent of crime scene imagery. Despite becoming an iconographic photograph of the genocide and representing Nachtwey's most notable contribution to the archive, the portrait represents a form of intimacy that is distinctly impersonal. As a photograph produced in response to live events, Nachtwey's portrait opposes those considered throughout this chapter. It is, therefore, useful to contrast Nachtwey's Hutu man photograph to the considered portraits produced post-genocide. To understand this temporal shift and the ways in which portraiture can individualise embodied experience in meaningful ways, the life and works of Jonathan Torgovnik will now be considered.

JONATHAN TORGOVNIK

Jonathan Torgovnik is an educator, award winning photographer and Emmy nominated filmmaker. Working as a contract photographer for Newsweek magazine since 2005, Torgovnik's personal documentary projects dealing with underreported social issues have been recognised with numerous honours, including the 2007 UK National Portrait Gallery Photographic Portrait Prize.[126] With work published by The New Yorker, The New York Times Magazine, Time, MSNBC.com, Newsweek, GEO, The London Sunday Times Magazine, Stern, Paris Match, Mother Jones, and Aperture, among many others, Torgovnik's photography

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[126] Pulitzer Centre. Jonathan Torgovnik: Grantee. https://pulitzercenter.org/people/jonathan-torgovnik

has been featured widely.[127] Also featuring in numerous solo and group exhibitions, Torgovnik's photographs from various projects have made him the recipient of awards from World Press Photo Foundation, Picture of the Year International, American Photography Awards, Communication Arts, and Photo District News.[128]

Torgovnik's initial exposure to Rwanda was during his time shooting for a Newsweek magazine assignment on the twenty fifth anniversary of HIV. With the intention of investigating how HIV/AIDS was used as a weapon of war during the 1994 genocide, the writer accompanying Torgovnik was very interested in interviewing rape survivors who had contracted HIV.[129] In the 1990s, rape was used as an instrument of ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia and as a means of genocide in Rwanda. In the latter case, Tutsi women were systematically raped by HIV-infected men recruited and organised by the Hutu-led government.[130]

In Rwanda, ethnic rape was an official policy of war. Echoing Catharine MacKinnon's arguments made against rape during the Bosnian genocide, the policy in Rwanda was not only a policy 'of the pleasure of male power unleashed; not only a policy to defile, torture, humiliate, degrade, and demoralise the other side', but a policy that was 'under orders: not out of control, under control' (1993: 65). This policy of rape — also a spectacle, seen and heard by others — was as an instrument of forced exile. It was rape to drive a wedge through communities and shatter lives. It was 'rape unto death, rape as massacre, rape to kill and make the victims wish they were dead' (1993, 66).

Largely due to its prevalence in the Balkan and Rwandan conflicts, rape was recognised by the international community as a weapon and strategy of war. In 1993, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights — replaced by the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2006 — declared systematic rape and military

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[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Strecker, A and Temkin, E. Interview: Intended Consequences: Rwandan Children Born of Rape. Lensculture. https://www.lensculture.com/articles/jonathan-torgovnik-intended-consequences-rwandan-children-born-of-rape
[130] Barstow, 2009. 'Rape'. *Britannica*. https://kids.britannica.com/scholars/article/rape/62702#

sexual slavery to be 'crimes against humanity punishable as violations of women's human rights'.[131] Two years later, and one year after the Rwandan genocide, the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women defined rape by armed groups during wartime is a war crime. Later, in September 1998, the Rwandan Tribunal rendered an historic judgment in Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu by becoming the first international criminal tribunal to define rape as 'an act of genocide and to find an individual guilty of genocide on the basis, inter alia, of acts of rape and sexual violence' (Russell-Brown, 2003: 351).

Notwithstanding the gendered nature of the crime, Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu also highlighted the importance of acknowledging the intersectionality of genocidal rape. The Rwandan Tribunal recognised that genocidal rape during the 1994 Rwandan genocide happened specifically to Tutsi women or Hutu women married to Tutsi men. Therefore, as Russell-Brown contends, it is important to understand that 'certain women [were] being raped by certain men for particular reasons', making genocidal rape a crime that 'implicates both gender and ethnicity' (2003: 352). Advancing the destruction of the entire Tutsi group, The Rwandan Tribunal situated genocidal rape as possibly 'the most effective and serious way of inflicting injury and harm on individual Tutsi women' (Russell-Brown, 2003: 532).

Despite hundreds of thousands of women raped during the Rwandan genocide, there had yet to be any story covering a specific issue: the children born out of rape.[132] With people still greatly affected by genocidal rape, portraiture offered a powerful way to communicate the continuing consequences of the past. In 2007, Torgovnik spent two years tracking down and interviewing forty women across Rwanda, each of whom had children of 10 years old or older.[133] Alongside each interview, Torgovnik took portraits of women with their children, often in or around their homes.[134] Calling the series Intended Consequences, Torgovnik heard

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[131] Ibid.

[132] Strecker, A and Temkin, E. Interview: Intended Consequences: Rwandan Children Born of Rape. *Lensculture*.

[133] Seymour, T. 2019. 'Intended Consequences: The Rwandan children of genocide'. *1854*. https://www.1854.photography/2019/05/intended-consequences-jonathan-torgovnik/

[134] Ibid.

stories of unimaginable tragedy. Alongside the offering of intensely personal accounts of the survivors' experiences of the genocide, the portraits and testimonials provide an insight into the conflicted feelings associated with raising a child who is a reminder of horrors endured (Kaufman, 2009).

As a self-funded project, Intended Consequences arose from Torgovnik's communications with local NGOs who were supporting women with HIV.[135] Soon discovering that the issue of the children born of rape had become a crippling social taboo in Rwanda, many of the women Torgovnik met were ostracised by their communities for having had a "child of the enemy" (Möller, 2010: 129). Alongside interlocking levels of complex and enduring trauma, mothers of children born of rape faced social, economic, and political exclusion from their communities and even their own families. This was due to both the stigma associated with a child born of rape and the patriarchal social structures that prevailed in Rwanda, meaning children were identified with the 'lineage of their fathers' and, thus, with the (former) enemy (Möller, 2010: 129). This is, of course, the fulfilment of the génocidaires' most odious intentions.

As a series of environmental portraits, shooting Intended Consequences left a deep emotional impression on Torgovnik. Invited into the homes and lives of the women, the portraits were taken directly after the interviews. With women disclosing their most intimate and painful experiences, the spatial intimacy of Intended Consequences is testament to the trust placed in both the project *and* creator. Torgovnik reported 'an unspoken language' when taking the photographs: 'You're standing in front of them, you're looking at each other in the eye, the camera is there and you start shooting, and a dialogue at some point starts to take place. You let it unfold, and a gesture or a look they share with you suddenly assumes this incredible power'[136]. In this way, to view the portraits is to experience the survivors'

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[135] Mukagendo, M and Jonathan Torgovnik, J. 2009. *Intended Consequences: Rwandan Children Born of Rape.* Aperture: New York.
[136] Ibid.

eyes locked into one's own.[137] To explore this, Torgovnik's portrait of Joseline Ingabire will now be considered (Figure 11)

Figure 11 - Jonathan Torgovnik. *Valentine with her daughters, Amelie and Inez.* Intended Consequences, 2009. Getty Images.

As with all the portraits in *Intended Consequences*, the photograph of Joseline Ingabire and her two children was taken after Torgovnik's interview. In the portrait, Ingabire embraces her second daughter, Leah Batamuliza. Leaning against the mud wall of their home, Ingabire's first daughter, Hossiana, watches in the

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137 Ibid.

background.[138] However, as the interview details, the experiences of Ingabire inscribe the portrait with new meaning. Pregnant with Hossiana when the militia came to her village, Ingabire witnessed the brutal murder of her husband. Ingabire was then subjected to months of repeated rapes, which continued into her ninth month of pregnancy with Hossiana. With the rape quickly resuming after the birth, Ingabire became HIV positive and pregnant with her second daughter, Leah.[139]

The portrait is, at first, a strikingly beautiful image of a woman and her children. However, when one looks into the mother's eyes, a different story is told. With both children born at the height of the genocide, the portrait explores the unimaginable impact of the genocide and aims to raise awareness of the plight of thousands of women ethnically raped and abused in Rwanda. As Torgovnik reflects: "I didn't anticipate how deep and long-lasting the impact would be. It is in some ways similar to the Holocaust. It was such a severe trauma. It was so fast-moving and so extreme. And the women were left carrying it, without being able to share it, for so many years and afterwards. When I got there, I found people who really wanted the world to know".[140]

Torgovnik's environmental portraits are astonishingly beautiful and unbearably sad (Möller, 2010). However, as beautiful images, they sustain similar criticism articulated in connection with the work of Salgado, according to which 'aestheticisation and depoliticisation go hand in hand' (Möller, 2010: 129). Such aesthetically pleasing images are accused of depoliticising the viewers by 'diverting their attention from the depicted conditions of suffering to the quality of the image and the beauty of what it depicts' (Möller, 2010: 129). As discussed in relation to Salgado's aftermath photography of the Rwandan genocide, it is frequently assumed that there is a 'causal nexus between the formal structure and beauty of an

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[138] Lovell, J. 2007. 'Rwandan rape victim portrait wins photo prize'. *Reuters*.
https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-portraits-rape-idINL0637109220071107
[139] Ibid.
[140] Seymour, T. 2019. 'Intended Consequences: The Rwandan children of genocide'. *1854*.

image and the lack of political engagement with its subject on the part of the viewer' (Möller, 2010: 129).

While these arguments raise important points around the ethics of aesthetics, they pale against the fact that, in Torgovnik's project, the women depicted wished to 'represent themselves and their experiences by talking about them' (Möller, 2010: 130). Remaining silent and *not* being represented would mean becoming 'invisible and inaudible and thus falling completely into oblivion' (Möller, 2010: 130). This would imply the ultimate success of the génocidaires. In this way, the portraits proclaim that "they, the victims, are still alive, and are empowered to share their stories".

Problems arise, however, when attempts are made to summarise the interviews and translate the survivor's voices into academic language. To use them as a point of departure for academic theory-building cannot but trivialise the voices into a form of secondary exploitation (Möller, 2010: 130). Despite prolonged experiences of trauma, subjugation and ostracisation, the greatest strength of *Intended Consequences* is its ability to ensure these women are finally heard. The voices should, therefore, be respected for what they are: 'personal, intimate truths' (Möller, 2010: 130).

Beyond an enshrinement of intimacy and truth, *Intended Consequences* also possesses a socially productive and reconciliatory function. After the initial production of the portraits in 2007, Torgovnik agreed to run the story in The Telegraph's Saturday magazine with the stipulation that the newspaper set up a fund for the women. Within the first month, reader donations exceeded $130,000. [141] With these donations, Torgovnik founded the charity 'Foundation Rwanda', which helps to provide counselling and psychiatric care to the survivors of the genocide, alongside secondary school education for children born from rape.[142] Foundation Rwanda has gone on to support eight hundred and fifty families across Rwanda and has raised over $2,500,000. In collaboration with the Open Society Institute, Amnesty

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.

International, and Foundation Rwanda, Aperture also launched an international traveling exhibition of this work in the spring of 2009.[143]

Self-identifying as a humanist photographer, Torgovnik believes in the power of portraiture to stimulate action. Therefore, despite being frequently conceptualised as a separate photographic genre from documentary & photoreportage — the latter telling a story and convey something of the truth, the former focused on the individual and what is expressed in their solitary gaze (Cieplak, 2017) — portraits and documentary reports are both, fundamentally, social stories. In this regard, *Intended Consequences* contributes to the visual archive of the genocide in ways that transform the meaning of what it means to witness atrocity. In doing so, Torgovnik transforms the meaning of professional witnessing.

Whilst there remains significant scepticism about whether socially engaged photography really makes a difference, Torgovnik contends that it is the responsibility of the photographer to 'attach a call of action' to their stories.[144] For Torgovnik, then, professional witnessing is enshrined not only by storytelling, but — perhaps most importantly — by activism. Through the communication — both visual and testimonial — Torgovnik's portraits represent an approach that empowers marginalised women. Enshrined by Foundation Rwanda, the ability of product (and creator) to play a part in reconciliation is powerfully illustrated.

By honouring the experiences of the women, Torgovnik gives voices to those normally silenced. In doing so, *Intended Consequences* disrupts, and (re)directs the attention of the viewer to the political, cultural and social processes through which some are marginalised by others (Möller, 2010). In this way, Torgovnik's portraits affect the viewer by virtue of their ability to challenge the convention that representations of experiences of horror are, of necessity, horrific. It is, therefore, the contrast between the horror of the experiences of the subjects and the beauty of the images that fundamentally disrupts expectations and "connects the dots" between lived experience and visual representation (Möller, 2010). As Strauss contends, for

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.

photography to be compelling, 'there must be tension in the work; if everything has been decided beforehand, there will be no tension and no compulsion to the work' (2003: 10). To explore the success of this tension further, memorial portraits and non-professional archives will now be considered.

MEMORIAL PORTRAITS AND NON-PROFESSIONAL ARCHIVES

As an expression of public remembrance used by the Rwandan Patriotic Front to 'construct political legitimacy', Rwanda's memorials are integral to the state-led endeavour to construct and promote a collective national identity (Ibreck, 2010: 330). However, memorials are not merely tools to serve political interests; they are also 'shaped by the distinct concerns of Rwanda's genocide survivors' (Ibreck, 2010: 330). Whilst the significance of memorials comes partly from the concern with the preservation of the memory of 1994, crucially, it also comes from a desire to present more 'localised episodes and histories of the genocide' (Cieplak, 2017: 93). Therefore, while memorials contribute to the national memorialisation of the genocide, each also 'recounts a particular story and can provide tangible evidence — or at least an illustration — of what happened and, crucially, how it happened in 1994' (Cieplak, 2017: 93).

Photographs have a clear function within Rwanda's memorial landscape. Whilst the photographs explored within this paper were taken *because* of the genocide and its aftermath, personal archives within memorial spaces predate the violence. Representing "life before", personal, non-professional photography represents an important role in the wider commemorative network provided by genocide memorials in Rwanda. With a multitude of non-professional photographs within memorial spaces both 'reduced and enriched by the context of their exhibition', viewing is orientated by the desire to form connections. As Cieplak reflects, 'what begins as a mass of images vaguely connected by their amateur, private look is soon reordered and made more manageable' (2017: 101). To

understand this, The Children's Room at the Kigali Genocide Memorial will now be considered.

Located in Gisozi, just outside of central Kigali, The Kigali Genocide Memorial commemorates the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Perched on a hill overlooking the city, the Centre houses a museum with three permanent exhibitions, the national Genocide Archive of Rwanda, memorial gardens, and mass graves 'holding the remains of more than 250,000 genocide victims who were killed in and around the city of Kigali' (Sadro, 2018: 84). With the building constructed by Kigali City Council in 2000 and built on a neutral site, The Aegis Trust identified it's potential to become a national memorial. Chosen for its convenience to the capital and striking location rather than its meaning to genocide memory, the Kigali Centre strives to be the centre of national genocide remembrance in Rwanda (Sadro, 2018: 84). With its conversion to a memorial soon after the building's construction, The Centre is a permanent memorial to victims of the genocide and, for over ten years, served as a place where the bereaved could bury their loved ones.

The Kigali Centre was created under the leadership of the British antigenocide organisation, the Aegis Trust. At the behest of a Rwandan government for whom were 'deeply uncertain about how best to memorialise and come to terms with the genocide' the Centre was designed in the UK at the Aegis head office and shipped to Rwanda to be installed (Sadro, 2018: 85). Inspired by the UK Beth Shalom Holocaust Centre, the content of the museum exhibitions was gathered using data collected by The Aegis Trust. Distinct from other memorials in Rwanda, the Kigali Centre does not display the physical remnants (read: bones and bodies) of the genocide; instead, it 'actively engages and utilises memory of the genocide to educate visitors to prevent future genocide, and it ultimately seeks to do this on a national, regional, and international stage' (Sadro, 2018: 86).

The Kigali Centre is central to the wider national endeavour to come to terms with the genocide. In a nation that remains deeply wounded by the violence, the Kigali Centre represents both a 'solemn, enduring site of commemoration for survivors and families' and an 'active partner in Rwanda's post-genocide

development' (Sadro, 2018: 84). Printed in Rwanda's three official languages — French, English and Kinyarwanda — The Kigali Genocide Memorial enshrines the internationalisation of The Aegis Trust. With their research, education and the dissemination of information and advice global in scope, the Centre encapsulates the organisations work towards the prediction, prevention, and ultimate elimination of genocide.[145] In this regard, the Kigali Centre signifies the 'transnationalism of the memorial museum form' as well as it's spread to 'diverse cultures and contexts around the world' (Sadro, 2018: 85).

The Children's Room, as described on the Kigali Genocide Memorial website, is a space dedicated to the memory of children killed in the genocide. According to the exhibition creators, The Children's Room 'shows how a generation's dreams were stolen by genocide and remembers the thousands of children and infants slaughtered by genocidaires'.[146] Frequently cited as the most moving section of the whole memorial, the space opens with a message for the victims. Reading 'children, you might have been our national heroes', the message represents both the state-led endeavour to 'promote a collective identity' and 'construct political legitimacy' whilst also being shaped by the concerns of Rwanda's genocide survivors (Ibreck, 2010: 330).

Inside the memorial space, large portraits of children are fixed flatly to the walls (Figure 12). Beneath each photo panel, juxtaposing captions of personal details are situated. In the accompanying captions, descriptions such as the age and favourite food of the child are contrasted with their last words and memories, as well as the way in which they were murdered. United by the fact that they had functions prior to that of documenting and memorialising the genocide and its aftermath, the children's portraits depict the brutality of the genocide in its rawest form. Representing children during their 'life before' genocide, the portraits are a sobering reminder of lives not lived

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[145] Aegis Trust. https://www.against-genocide.org/aegis-trust

[146] Kigali Genocide Memorial. *Exhibitions*. https://kgm.rw/MEMORIAL/EXHIBITIONS/

Figure 12 – Children's Room, Kigali Genocide Memorial.
https://kgm.rw/memorial/exhibitions/

As in other memorial centres, The Children's Room portraits are an effort to restore humanity to those who were killed. Unlike the distant, grainy quality of photographs in comparative museums commemorating genocide, The Kigali Centre photographs possess heart-breaking clarity. The intimate brutality of the genocide is intensified through the simplicity of the space. Conveying a powerful and affective message — in similar effect to the installations of Jaar — the visitor works 'through a room of photos', thus eliciting a response that both complements the 'historical and intellectual experience of the exhibit' and provides the 'affective commemorative counterpart to the pedagogical strategies used in the rest of the museum' (Sadro, 2018: 102). As objects of commemoration, the children's portraits remain spatially and temporally tied to the genocide. However, perhaps more importantly, they are also connected to "life before" (Cieplak, 2017). The provenance and authenticity of the photographs thus extend beyond their role as primary artefacts.

The affective remembrance in The Children's Room is not accidental, however. As a deeply political space, it is 'difficult to formulate critical questions about the legitimacy of the post-genocidal regime when one is face to face—both literally and figuratively—with the legacies of the genocidal regime that preceded it' (Meierhenrich, 2011: 289). By representing the genocide through the lens of children's portraits, the past is particularised and remembered in a macabre manner, thus facilitating, to some degree, a 'forgetting of the present' (Meierhenrich, 2011: 289). With dichotomisations operating through a Western lens of understanding, the lived experience of genocide was often fluid and without fixed categorisation. To explore this, portraits of "perpetration" will now be considered.

PORTRAITS OF PERPETRATION

As the above works illustrate, portraiture – particularly within post-genocide context – have sought to represent victimhood and/or survival. This way of seeing is, in many ways, distinct from other forms of representation, with portraiture (re)centring the intimacy of killing (Bourke, 1999). In this regard, the aesthetics and ethics of portraiture encompasses a form of representation that (re)visualises the genocide through an approach that is distinctly "anti-landscape". Returning to the scale of the body, portraiture responds to some of the difficulties associated with forensic photography and artistic representation.

However, as some of the works indicate, the binarisation of victim/survivor/perpetrator is not without tension. With dichotomisations operating within a Western frame of understanding, the lived experience of genocide was often fluid and without fixed categorisation. This complicates the dichotomies that shape much of the work within portraiture. To understand this, portraits of "perpetration" will now be examined, with the works of Pieter Hugo and Robert Lyons considered in turn.

PIETER HUGO

Pieter Hugo is a South African photographic artist living in Cape Town. Primarily working in portraiture, Hugo's work has been displayed in numerous solo exhibitions, including the Hague Museum of Photography, Museu Coleção Berardo, Musée de l'Elysée in Lausanne, the Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg and Ludwig Museum in Budapest. Alongside his participation in group exhibitions at institutions such as the São Paulo Biennale, Tate Modern and the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Seoul, Hugo's work has also represented in prominent public and private collections. These have been located in world renowned institutions, such as the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art and J Paul Getty Museum.[147]

On the twentieth anniversary of the Rwanda genocide, Hugo journeyed to southern Rwanda. Commissioned by the New York Times to document the lives of those affected by the genocide, Hugo captured what Susan Dominus termed a series of 'unlikely, almost unthinkable tableaus'.[148] With each photograph depicting two people posing next to each other, the two individuals are bound by a haunting relationship: One is a victim, the other a perpetrator. In one portrait, a woman poses with a casually reclining man who looted her property and whose father helped murder her husband and children. In another, a woman rests her hand on the shoulder of the man who killed her father and brothers.[149] Entitled 'Portraits of Reconciliation', Hugo's work powerfully documents the ongoing process of healing that has followed the Rwandan genocide.[150] With each photograph depicting a Hutu perpetrator and Tutsi survivor, what binds the two individuals is something many would deem unthinkable: Forgiveness.

As part of promoting their national effort towards reconciliation, The New York Times collaborated with both the Association Modesete et Innocent (AMI) and

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[147] Hull, J. 2018. 'Photographs: Live Auction'. *Christie's*. https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6139680

[148] Dominus, S. 2014. 'Portraits of Reconciliation'. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/04/06/magazine/06-pieter-hugo-rwanda-portraits.html

[149] Centre on Violence and Recovery. 'Portraits of Reconciliation'. http://centeronviolenceandrecovery.org/blog/2014/04/21/portraits-of-reconciliation

[150] Ibid.

Hugo to create the photographic series. With the intention of being displayed at memorials and churches in Rwanda, the photographs published in *The New York Times* represent a small selection of Hugo's body of work. Located outdoors in large format, the entire series was displayed in The Hague. Commissioned by the Creative Court, an arts organisation based in the Netherlands, Hugo's portraits were integrated as part of their "Rwanda 20 Years" program.[151]

Published in *The New York Times*, below each photograph, an excerpt from both perpetrator and survivor is provided.[152] Detailing their role in the genocide and reflecting on reconciliation, the interviews provide the portraits with a voice. As Dominique Ndahimana (perpetrator) remarks: "The day I thought of asking pardon, I felt unburdened and relieved. I had lost my humanity because of the crime I committed, but now I am like any human being[153]. " In response, survivor Cansilde Munganyinka reflects:

> After I was chased from my village and Dominique and others looted it, I became homeless and insane. Later, when he asked my pardon, I said: 'I have nothing to feed my children. Are you going to help raise my children? Are you going to build a house for them?' The next week, Dominique came with some survivors and former prisoners who perpetrated genocide. There were more than 50 of them, and they built my family a house. Ever since then, I have started to feel better. I was like a dry stick; now I feel peaceful in my heart, and I share this peace with my neighbours. [154]

The victim/perpetrator relationships captured by Hugo have been nurtured through an initiative run by the Association Modeste et Innocent (AMI). This Rwandan based non-profit organisation was established in 2000 and has been heavily involved in conflict resolution and reconciliation processes. Through the bringing together of former genocide perpetrators and genocide survivors, AMI has been committed to peaceful resolution. Through the 'Promoting culture of peace,

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[151] Ibid.

[152] Dominus, S. 2014. 'Portraits of Reconciliation'. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/04/06/magazine/06-pieter-hugo-rwanda-portraits.html

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

conflict management and reconciliation' programme, for example, AMI has facilitated a reconciliation process that works through holding protected spaces of expression that cultivates positive social dialogue and confidence-building. Throughout the programme, emphasis is placed on reconciliation between genocide survivors and those who have served time in prison for genocide crimes.

In AMI's program, small groups are counselled over many months, culminating in the perpetrator's request for forgiveness. If forgiveness is formally granted by the survivor, offerings – such as food, sorghum or banana beer – are bought by the preparator and their family.[155] Concluded with song and dance, the accordance of forgiveness is granted. Survivors' testimonies from the programme reveal that when crimes are acknowledged in full, healing and reparation can take place.

In many of the portraits, there is little evidence of warmth between the pairs[156]. Fair and audacious to call them couples, these pairs feel as though they have been through hellfire, then grafted together (Figure 13). As Hugo reported, the relationships between the victims and the perpetrators varied widely; some pairs sat easily together, chatting about village gossip, and others arrived willing to be photographed but unable to go much further. "There's clearly different degrees of forgiveness," Hugo expressed. [157] "In the photographs, the distance or closeness you see is pretty accurate". [158] However, in a mysterious emotional calculus, some perpetrators become providers, witnesses, companions, and in some cases, new kin. Whilst their bodies exist in separate spheres, they possess striking synchrony; a distance that is profoundly harmonious. With faces like maps and eyes like recorders, the photographs capture forgiveness that defies linear interpretation.

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[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.

Figure 13 – Pieter Hugo. *Dominique Ndahimana Perpetrator (left) / Cansilde Munganyinka Survivor.* The New York Times, 2014. *https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/04/06/magazine/06-pieter-hugo-rwanda-portraits.html*

Through Hugo's work, it becomes clear why portraiture has become the most effective method of representation within post-genocide contexts. As the landscape heals from the trauma of genocide, and the physical traces of violence are removed or relocated to spaces of memory, the ability to visually represent atrocity through the lens of landscape photography is obliterated. With those who lived through the genocide now bearing the weight of memory, portraiture effectively captures the intimate processes of reconciliation. It becomes necessary, therefore, to capture the lived experience of trauma, and the continued presence of genocide, through this method of representation. It remains important, however, to consider the complexities of perpetration and the tensions that operate within these reconciliatory negotiations. To explore this, Robert Lyons' project 'Intimate Enemy' will now be considered.

ROBERT LYONS

Robert Lyons lives and works in Portland, Oregon. As the recipient of several awards, including a MacDowell Residency in 2009, Lyons' work has been featured in numerous publications including *The New York Times Magazine*, *The New Yorker, Vogue, and Travel & Leisure.* Lyons is also the founder and director of the International Limited-Residency Photo MFA Program at the University of Hartford Art School. This innovative program differentiates itself from other programs by coupling intensive on-campus sessions in the summer with traveling spring and fall sessions.[159] Lyon has published a number of works, including *Egyptian Time* (1992), *Another Africa* (1998), *The Company of Another* (2003), *Intimate Enemy: Voices and Images from the Rwandan Genocide* (2006), *Who Decides?* (2012), *Pictures from the Next Day* (2017).

The idea of a hundred-day mass genocide is impossible to envision with any sense of clarity.[160] Attempting to represent the unrepresentable, Lyons and political scientist Scott Straus collaborated on the extensive project 'Intimate Enemy'.[161] By situating the reader face to face with many of the killers, collaborators, and victims who survived — and presenting the series of portraits with no captions — the viewer asks themselves: am I looking at a killer or a survivor, a leader or a follower? [162] Displaying an approach 'appreciative of the approximate', and comprising of five parts, Intimate Enemy is structured commendably.

Beginning with a selection of large unidentified photos (Figure 14) — reminiscent of James Agee and Walker Evans's classic photographic essay Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (1939) in which photographs were produced before the text — Lyons omits details that would determine what or whom the photographs

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[159] Hartford Art School. MFA in Photography. ttps://www.hartford.edu/academics/schools-colleges/art/academics/graduate/photography.aspx

[160] Casper, J. 'Book Review: Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide'. *Lensculture.* https://www.lensculture.com/articles/robert-lyons-intimate-enemy-images-and-voices-of-the-rwandan-genocide

[161] Lyons, R and Strauss, S. 2006. *Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide*. Zone Books: New York.

[162] Ibid.

depict. After these initial portraits, a concise historical summary of the events of 1994 – alongside Straus' thoughts on the use of photography and interviews – forms the books introduction. Next, notes on the interview techniques and an eloquently written statement by Lyons foregrounds a series of transcribed interviews. Conducted in 2002, the interviews are with anonymous convicted male perpetrators serving sentences for their crimes. Furnished with small-format photographs depicting local scenes and objects as well as people, this section offers an insight into the intimacy of killing (Möller, 2010).
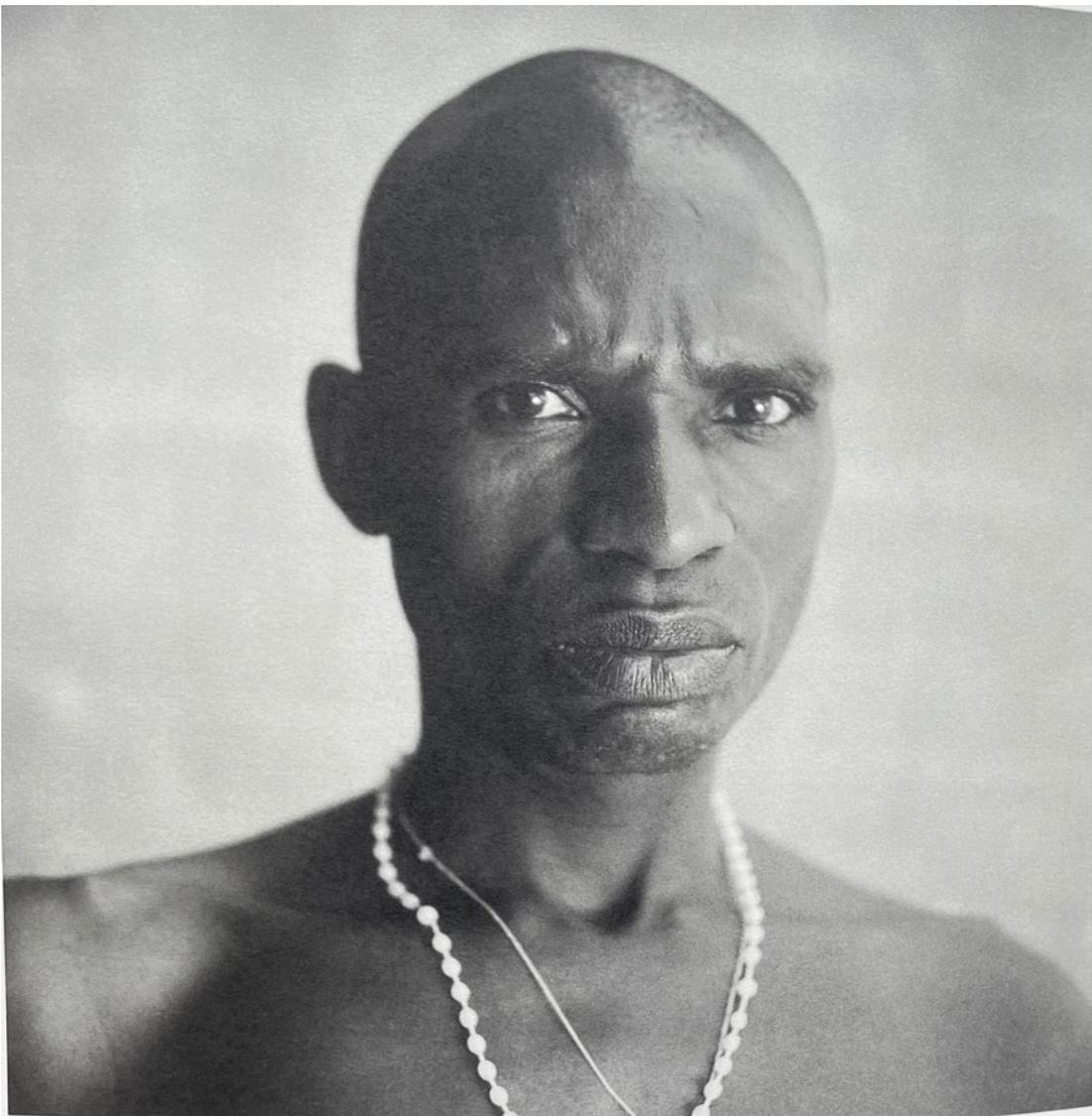

Figure 14 – Robert Lyons. *Intimate Enemy*, 2006. p 156

A series of formal black-and-white portraits of men, women, and children — all unidentified — then follow. The subjects, in most cases, face the camera directly, forming, as Lyons contend, an archive in which 'individuals would be more democratically represented'. All without captions, the photographs allow 'little poetic and emotional space, meaning viewers will have little room for escape (Mőller, 2010). In the fifth and final section, a detailed identification of the portraits and a short glossary is provided. Presented in the style of classical documentary photography, the interviews — translated into English — include the subject's name, location, and the year the photograph was taken (Mőller, 2010). Crucially, the information also includes a short biography including, in most cases, brief descriptions of the subject's involvement in the genocide, thus enabling the reader to learn who was perpetrator, alleged perpetrator, or victim/survivor. Intimate Enemy thus concludes by identifying the previously unidentified (Figure 15).

CHARLES NKURIKIYINKA, REMERA PRISON, 1998

b. 1952
Accountant for the Musasa commune
Arrested November 9, 1994
Sentenced to death August 28, 1997
Category I *génocidaire*

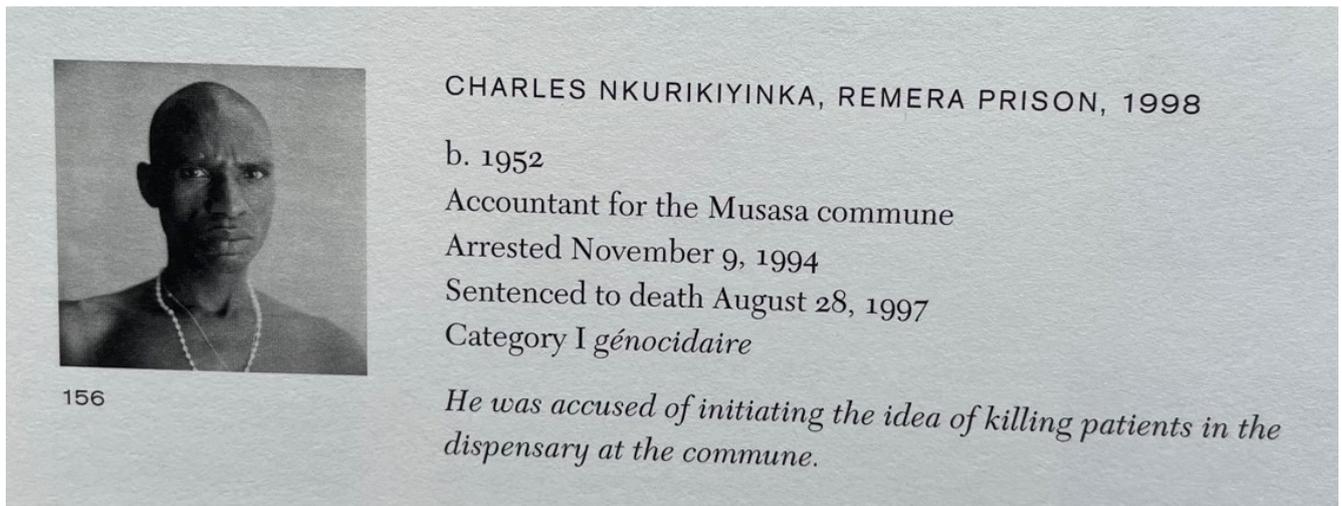*He was accused of initiating the idea of killing patients in the dispensary at the commune.*

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Figure 15 - Robert Lyons. *Intimate Enemy*, 2006. p 176.

By co-presenting the visual (photographs) and the verbal (transcribed interviews), Intimate Enemy becomes 'a marriage of two separate projects of disparate origins, one written and academic, the other visual and aesthetic' (Mőller, 2010: 125). With the visual and the verbal providing different accounts of human existence, Intimate Enemy is major contribution not only to the visual archive of the Rwandan genocide, but also to the broader academic study of human nature under pressure. The limited depth of field, the obscure background, and the formalised nature of Lyons photographic approach enables a form of ethical witnessing that

involves the viewers. With the portraits requiring self-reflection, Intimate Enemy engages the viewer in ways that exceed passive spectatorship.

Perhaps most importantly, Intimate Enemy astutely demonstrates how the search for clear dichotomies — Hutu/Tutsi, order/disorder, good/evil — is fraught with complexity. As Prunier notes, many academics researching Rwanda were keen to 'prove the virtue of their adopted camp and the evil of the opposite one' (2008: 353). The genocide's central features — ambiguity and contradiction — are marginalised or omitted entirely when standard categories, such as "rescuer", "perpetrator", "bystander", "victim," "witness," are used. However, as Mölller contends, assuming exclusive membership of one of these categories 'ignores the fluid and changing character of the violence' (2010: 126). While categories are static, genocides occur in dynamic settings with conditions changing sometimes in an instant. Owing to the endogenous sources of change—'transformation that occurs through the unfolding of the process itself' - this dynamism can thus shift actors' relations, perspectives, motives, and identities' in ways uncaptured by static categories (Fujii: 2009: 8).

Along with its scepticism of grey zones, ambiguities and ambivalences, the search for clear dichotomies is characteristic of the Western way of ordering the world. The Rwandan atrocity — meticulously pre-organised by the state — was a postcolonial genocide characterised by a long history of Western subjugation. The Hutu revolution — which roused the 'reversal of tables and places in the hierarchy of Rwandan groups' — facilitated the repetition of the traumatic scenario of postcolonial violence and oppression. Despite the Revolution's failure to resolve the colonial trauma, it did, however, 'provide the space for the colonised subject to renegotiate [their] identity: From the primitive and barbaric, the Hutu became the progressive and modern, and per extension those who subjugate the 'other''. The genealogies of violence, and the colonial history of the genocide, thus complicate understandings of perpetration and render clear-cut binaries a problematic pursuit.

Reflecting this tension, Lyons set very specific subjective and aesthetic parameters from the project's inception. With the desire to rethink, rework, expose

the genre of the portrait, in particular the black-and-white portrait, Lyons presented human beings in a seamless fashion without attributing specific characteristics or imposing set categories. [163] Bearing the traces of those who perished, Lyons's portraits of the living worked to collapse the past and present. By entering an intimate space, the starkness of Lyons' black and white portraits thus enables the viewer to experience directly the 'ambiguous physical resemblances between genocidaire and rescapee'. [164] By revisualising the genocide in this way, Lyons dismantles the notion that the genocide must be understandable by 'applying to it Western thought patterns' (Möller, 2010: 126). With perpetration largely resembling ordinary men who killed for the most mundane of reasons, such as 'conformity, grudges, small loot, indifference or ennui'[165], the heterogeneity of human experience defies categorisation and binarisation.

REFLECTIONS

In this chapter, portraiture has been situated as a response to temporal shifts within Rwanda's post-genocide context. With the nature of witnessing changing over time, so too has the visual record the genocide. This shift has encompassed the departure from landscape, with portraiture now operating as the primary way in which the genocide story can be told. This method of communication speaks to the intimacy of violence, with human experience understood through the lens of the body. With survival — both in memory and continued everyday experience — renegotiated through portraiture, this chapter has provided an insight into the ways in which portraits have become conducive to reconciliation.

With the positionality of survivor understood as one riddled with tension and complexity, both victim and perpetrator are understood — in this chapter at

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[163] Robert Lyons. *Intimate Enemy*. https://robertlyonsphoto.com/intimate-enemy
[164] Ibid.
[165] Casper, J. 'Book Review: Intimate Enemy: Images and Voices of the Rwandan Genocide'. *Lensculture.*

least — as survivors of a colonial regime that formed the epistemological basis for the genocide. By bearing the traces of those who perished, portraits of the living work to collapse the past and present. Perhaps most notably, then, is the shift from Nachtwey's Hutu Man portrait — with the stigmata of brutality visible — to post-genocide portraits of survivors free from (visible) scars. With genocidal rape represented through the lens of the child, and the death of loved ones understood through testimonial reflection, the only way to represent violence post-genocide is through a (re)imagination of the body as invisibly traumatised. Embodied by the shift from the Hutu man looking away from the camera in Nachtwey's portrait to the direct engagement with the lens by the other subjects, this (re)imagination and evolution of narrative reflects a form of photography that is centred on consent.

With survivors encompassing all categories of those who live to tell the tale of the genocide, the subject's involvement with the photograph is clear. The desire to witness through the body, and to renegotiate the subject's relationship to the lens, situates consent as a central feature of post-genocide portraiture. By engaging with the camera, and looking down its lens, the implicit consent enshrined within post-genocide portraits speaks to the collaborative potential of photography. With the heterogeneity of human experience defying (and redefining) categorisation and binarisation, portraiture resembles an intimate portrayal of the genocide through the lens of the body. Therefore, by centring the subject voice through consent and collaboration, the gaze and subjugation of the Other is dismantled.

Conclusion

The Rwandan genocide has prompted varied photographic responses. It has been argued throughout this thesis that whilst attempts to convey information about determined knowledge within photographic images will always produce various interpretations, categorisation enables an enriched understanding of the photographic archive. With each style attempting to grapple with the trauma and difficulty of the genocide, the selected images have shaped those who took them, those who were photographed and the wider public response to the genocide.

Enshrined by the ability to make the dead present, the photographic archive has delocalised the memory of the Rwandan genocide. By enabling viewers to visit the past and make visible what would otherwise remain invisible (Sentilles, 2010), the genocide's photographic archive is underpinned by an ever-important philosophy: "Never forget". Despite this philosophy embedded within each photographic style, the function and representation of memorialisation varies. With forensic photography in the immediate aftermath about 'evidence' and 'witnessing', artistic photography was instead an attempt to wrestle with the 'unrepresentable'. However, as crime moves towards reconciliation, again photography is being enlisted into the service of confronting the genocide. Portraiture is understood, therefore, as an attempt to recentre the agency of the victims by promoting reconciliation.

As this thesis explores, additional variables – such as prejudice and indifference - may complicate our ability to "see" experiences of atrocity in certain parts of the world, however. Operating within common rules and formative structures, I have highlighted the ways in which the genocide has been frequently narrated within an "African atrocity" model that situates the genocide within racialised/colonial frames of the African as barbaric or savage. This, in turn, has obfuscated the violence by sustaining the genocide's exotic, anti-modern nature (Butler, 2009). Using a geographical lens, this thesis problematises this representational approach by exploring one fundamental question: How can

subjects of genocide photography avoid becoming objects of sensationalism and degradation (Sontag, 2003)?

As contended by Zelizer, photography has become 'instrumental in shaping the act of bearing witness' (1998: 11). With collective and personal memory of the genocide bound to the concept of witnessing — primarily due to the primacy of photography within cultural and political spheres — this thesis has examined the heterogeneity of witnessing and the ways in which atrocity photographs can be produced and viewed ethically. I argued that when photographers adopt a trauma-informed approach to visually representing atrocity, ethical witnessing is made possible. Crucially, this involves asking: Who is the photographer is and what is the agency of the photographed? What is the relationship between viewer and image, and how can ethical witnessing be nurtured? And, finally, with the images shaping those who took them, those who were photographed and the wider public response, how does each photographic style attempt to grapple with the trauma and difficulty of genocide?

By acknowledging the impossibility of representation, landscapes of violence can be seen through a creative strategy which offers 'a way of connecting with landscape and those who shape it' (Lilley, 2000: 370). Therefore, as a tool for representing the genocide and prompting a response, this thesis offers a prism to think about the politics of representing/photographing atrocity. Other than illustrating a 'dance of death', images of killings make 'nothing more explicit to people who did not experience the genocide' (Möller, 2010: 115). It is argued, therefore, that to understand the genocide, photography that moves beyond images of direct, "live" violence is required. By critically engaging with the three photographic styles, we can therefore assess both the promise and shortcomings of photography.

However, most importantly, this thesis highlights the difficulty of witnessing. Shaped by the notion that trauma is, by definition, 'anti-archival' (Taylor, 2003: 193), this thesis has argued that the transmission of traumatic memory does not happen only in the live encounter. For many – as the subjects of portraiture

photography highlight most notably – the experience of genocide perpetuates into a form of suffering that is generationally and culturally transmissible. A distinction is made, therefore, between the 'different, though intertwined, systems of knowledge— the archival and the embodied—that participate in the transmission and politicisation of traumatic memory' (Taylor, 2003: 298). In other words, the embodied experience and ideological basis of genocide are impossible to visually represent (Taylor, 2003).

With the medium of photography possessing the potential for 'truth in the presence of both fact and fiction', rather than creating empathy among viewers, atrocity photographs can create distancing (Lischer, 2019: 811). To dissipate (or eliminate entirely) the distancing created by this ethical double standard, this thesis has argued against the depoliticisation of viewers. For photographs to bring us close to experiences of suffering as opposed to 'illuminating the unbridgeable chasm that separates ordinary life from extraordinary experiences of political trauma', we must seek to understand the wider context of production (Linfield, 2010: 15). In this way, while the experience of the genocide is anti-archival, ethical witnessing remains possible. Fundamentally, this involves self-critical reflection and the ability to ask: 'Who is the photographer and who or what is the subject? Who or what is in the frame and who or what is outside it? What are the power relations generated by this field of vision' (Lischer, 2019: 811)?

By engaging with the archive in this way, photographs of the Rwandan genocide offer a prism to think about the politics of representing atrocity. With imaginative counter-geographies emerging as an influential response to hegemonic constructions of "the West and the Rest", I have argued that (some) photographers have been able to revisualise the genocide in ways that 'displace, subvert and contest the imaginative geographies installed by dominant regimes of power, practice, and representation' (Gregory, 2009b: 371). Produced using a range of representational forms, imaginative counter-geographies seek to 'give voice and vision to their subjects and to undo the separations between 'our space' and 'their space'' (Gregory, 2009b: 370). Therefore, by enshrining a construction of the 'subaltern speaks', the

works of some – namely, Torgovnik, Jaar and Lyons – provide a voice to those previously silenced.

With photography of atrocity representing a way of seeing, cultural and historical geography is a necessary lens through which landscapes of violence can be critically understood. Through this lens, the need to identify spatial arrangements that reflect and inform power dynamics and identity formation at multiple scales is specified. With identity varying across scale (Herb, 1999) and the meaning of boundaries varying over time (Newman, 2004), geography unveils the heterogeneity of genocide. In this way, the recuperation of visual representation within cultural geography as a creative strategy which offers 'a way of connecting with landscape and those who shape it' (Lilley, 2000: 370) offers an approach that navigates the complexities and nuances of atrocity photography.

With each style attempting to grapple with trauma, the lived experience of the genocide remains outside of frame. In this way, while the visual archive is able to narrate the suffering of others, photography cannot represent the unrepresentable. Despite this, the photographic archive must continue its exercises in experimental representation. With the social, political, and cultural significance of photography residing in its ability to ensure we never forget, it is crucial that the story of the genocide continues to be told. The genocide must, therefore, always remain in view.

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