

Salem State
The Graduate School
Department of English

Types of Photographic Inquiry and Their Effects on the Collective Memory of Genocide

A Thesis in English

By:

Samantha Aiello

Copyright 2015, Samantha Aiello

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

August 2015

Types of Photographic Inquiry and Their Effects on the Collective Memory of Genocide

Introduction

Project Background	1
Development of Photography	3
Photography and Theory	7
Defining Collective Memory	11
Link between Photography & Collective Memory	15

Types of Photographic Inquiry

Mass Graves	20
Street Photography	25
Family Photographs	31
Portraits	36
Landscapes	42

Conclusion

The Ability of Photographic Inquiry to Impact Collective Memory	48
---	----

Works Cited	52
-------------	----

Project Background

Genocide has always been an aspect of history that has intrigued me. How could something so sinister happen on such a large scale, repeatedly? Despite my interest, like most people, my understanding and knowledge of genocide came primarily from history textbooks, simplistic representations of the Holocaust and superficial media coverage. It was not until graduate school that I became more aware of the ways in which these depictions and perceptions of genocide were influenced and manipulated through photographs and learned of the existence of a larger collective memory, comprised of the ideas and experiences of many generations of people.

My prior understandings were valid, valuable, and have their place in my evaluation of genocide. However, digging deeper into the role that photographs can play, especially in the development of a collective memory, is extremely important to a more substantive analysis. As the technology available to our society continues to advance, photographs and digital imaging have the capacity to dominate our perception and opinion of historical events like genocide in a profound manner. Within this paper I intend to unpack these two branches of genocide education: photography and collective memory and uncover how photography affects the collective memory of genocide. This examination will focus on the close analysis of five photographs that are connected to genocidal events. Each photograph presented is from a different genre of photography and has been purposefully chosen to demonstrate how these different types of photographic inquiry influence collective memory in their own way. Some images may be startling, while others are surprisingly ordinary in nature.

The first image is a photograph of a mass grave. These pictures often dominate media coverage and are probably the ones that most people think of when they visualize genocide. The

second photograph is an example of street photography: popular in the 1930s and 1940s these images were intended to be a novelty, a result of new photographic developments of the time. Apparently unintentionally, these images capture Jews and others living under Nazi occupation in the days preceding and during the Holocaust. They offer a unique insight into what life was like for them during this time. Often, these street images are contradictory to what we have conceived or learned about this period and can be confusing to the collective memory. Third is a family photograph. While it looks one you might find in a typical photo album, this particular image is a reproduction recovered from a mass grave in Srebrenica following the 1990s genocide. The fourth are portrait images. While these types of photographs are popular in the context of annual school pictures or personal milestones, those shown are being used by women in Argentina as a form of protest following genocide: the disappearance of thousands of Argentinian citizens in the 1970s. Finally I look at a landscape image, perhaps the most startling of the five due to its seemingly mundane nature. Despite this the photograph this image is one of the most impactful and displays the result of returning to the scene of genocide decades after the event has occurred.

The Development of Photography

With the advent of affordable cameras, mass media, and the burgeoning mobile data field occurring during the twentieth and early twenty-first century, photography has become a highly utilized medium in which news and information are disseminated. Images are often accompanied by descriptive text, yet, there seems to be a certain inherent trust in photographs on the part of the viewer if mass media traffic is any indication of validity. This feasibly prevents the value of the text from outweighing the image presented.

Invented in 1827, Frenchman Nicéphore Niépce was the first person to capture a scene, primarily landscapes, permanently via photograph. His discovery led to great speculation and interest in the field, eventually drawing in fellow Frenchman Jacques Louis Mande Daguerre and Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot. By the turn of the twentieth century, photographs could be resized and the Brownie camera was marketed and made available to the general public for \$1, illustrating the accessibility and growth potential of the new medium.

This new technology awed people and gave them great pleasure in capturing precious moments in a permanent format that could be shared. Photography was a way to capture something exactly as it had been, or at least how it appeared to be at the time it was encountered. Pictures of family and friends became a way to remember them as they once were. Similarly, someone could photograph an important event or occasion and always have the image to look back on. Initially few questioned the validity of these images, the intentions behind them, or even the photographers' motives for snapping the picture. Digital reimaging and photographic misrepresentation had not yet jaded the interpretation of these images, as they would do at a later date as a crucial tool of the art of propaganda during the twentieth century.

Throughout the next hundred years photography continued to make massive technological advancements: eventually becoming the multi-purpose medium that people are familiar with today. Due to this development, photography became a means to document historical events and communicate their occurrence to the world. This became even more crucial in the twentieth century with World War Two and the Holocaust. With the aftermath of Allied victory in Europe and the eventual discovery of the barbarism that had occurred under the Nazi regime, the Allies relied on photography to capture the scene at concentration camps and mass graves. Although photography had been used to document war previously, the significance and scale of the Holocaust converged and created a crossroads within the field of photography. This event led to the development of a new genre of photography: atrocity images. Suddenly, photography had become imbued with the dissemination of information rather than just the documentation of life. These atrocity images were able to communicate information to the larger population of the world and went beyond the previous understanding that photographs were merely a way to document a person's life and memories.

These photographs became particularly significant during the Nuremberg trials in the later part of the 1940s. According to research presented by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) not only were photographs taken by the Nazi party included but the evidence also relied heavily on the photographs that were taken during the Allied liberation of concentration camps. The USHMM states that, "further visual documentation came from the US Army Signal Corps, which, in the course of photographing and filming American operations in World War II, also played a crucial role in documenting evidence of Nazi atrocities and the Holocaust" (www.ushmm.org). While the photographs played an important role during the trials they were also, "transmitted to news agencies in the United States and other countries,

where they helped to inform the world about the horrors of Nazism and the plight of concentration camp prisoners” (www.ushmm.org).

The use of photography to disseminate information to the public initiated an entire application of photographic inquiry surrounding wartime image representation. This evolution allowed photographs to be examined with a new lens and vocabulary; the development of which was just one early step in over a century’s worth of photographic discourse and adaptation. Douglas R. Nickel, a professor of Art History at Brown University, who specializes in the history of photography explores the historical evolution of the medium in his article, “History of Photography: The State of Research”. Nickel admits that initially the recording of a history of photography was difficult to find: “the most noticeable strain in the first fifty years of writing about photography’s history, accordingly, is the partisan, sometimes disguised, usually nationalist debate over who might profess to be its true author, with arguments often hinging on how much of a workable method one need assume to declare the process discovered” (549). Due to a lack of technological advancements people were hesitant to record any history of photography. However Nickel also notes that the inventors of photography did not wait for the historians to write about it and rather chose to embed any advancements that were made within the realm of science and technology: “they established a tradition that would mark every written account that followed: the story of photography would be the history of its technique” (549). This approach carried over into the first decade of the twentieth century and it was not until the 1920s and early 1930s that photography began to be looked at in the context of art.

At this time the shift in thought came in large part because of Beaumont Newhall, an Art History graduate from Harvard and the first curator of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York City. As curator of the MOMA Newhall hosted one of the museum’s first exhibitions

in photography, the purpose of which was to (according to the press release): “enable visitors to understand the principles which have governed photography since the earliest days and that it will demonstrate the capabilities of the camera as a medium of expression” (551). Newhall’s thoughts on photography as a form of art push forward the development of the genre and encourage a closer look at this now century old medium. Although Nickel identifies many photographers who were influenced by Newhall’s ideas about photography the work of photographer Paul Strand stands out.

Born in 1890 Strand’s photographic style developed concurrently with the genre as a whole. Much of his early work was in line with nineteenth century high art photography, however Strand was moved by the ability to create social change with a camera lens and eventually embraced a much more “straight up” documentary style of photography that is known today for capturing the human condition “purely” (www.time.com). In his article Nickel quotes Strand as stating, “photography finds its raison d’être, like all media, in a complete uniqueness of means. This is an absolute unqualified objectivity. Unlike the other arts which are really anti-photographic, this objectivity is of the very essence of photography” (552). Strand’s beliefs about photography align directly with his dedication to document and affect the human condition with only a camera lens. Over time with the continued advancement of photography and the human condition this sentiment remains true, particularly when considering atrocity images.

Photography and Theory

The advancement of photography comes with the need for a more nuanced examination of photographs in general. Roland Barthes offers this with his thoughts and theories presented in *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. In his text, he presents brand new words and phrases that allow him to scrutinize the photographs on a deeper level while still keeping intact the objectivity that lives inside the photograph. Barthes accomplishes this through a series of opinions in which he addresses different elements of the photograph and qualifies them as important. In his dissection of the photograph there are two specific terms that he creates in order to discuss the relationship between photographs, photographers and viewers. Barthes notes that:

[He] observed that a photograph can be the object of three practices (or of three emotions, or of three intentions): to do, to undergo and to look. The *Operator* is the Photographer. The *Spectator* is ourselves, all of us who glance through collections of photographs...and the person or the thing photographed is the target, the referent. (9)

These words are used to discuss primarily the affiliation between the photograph and its audience: the photographer and the observer. The subject of the photograph or target, as Barthes denotes it, fits within this ordered pair but also forces him to create a second vocabulary that he uses more specifically for addressing the contents of a photograph:

The *studium* is that very wide field of unconcerned desire, of various interest, of inconsequential taste: *I like/ I don't like*. The *studium* is the order of *liking*, not of *loving*...To recognize the *studium* is inevitably to encounter the photographer's

intentions...The *studium* is a kind of education that allows me to discover the *Operator*. (27-28)

The *studium* therefore has the ability to unlock the *operator*, or photographers, intentions in taking the photograph. The final element that he hones in on is the idea that each photograph contains an element, no matter how large or small that “will disturb the *studium*” (27). He refers to this piece of the image as the *punctum*: “a photograph’s *punctum* is that accident which pricks [him] (but also bruises [him], is poignant to [him])” (27). While his terms could be simplified to subject and object, there are more to them than those meanings, which they innately hold. Barthes employs these terms to scrutinize images and make sense of them in a way that goes beyond a cursory understanding of an image.

The intricacy of Barthes’ vocabulary allows the images to be approached in a whole new light. These words will be especially helpful tools when the images featured below are scrutinized through the lens of genocide photography and its larger impact on the collective memory. This is particularly important given that many people who encounter genocide images today have some preexisting knowledge of them or context for them. Considering the widespread inclusion of the Holocaust in common classroom history curricula combined with the invasive state of news today, would make it hard for someone to approach these images without any preconceived notions. Therefore, Barthes’ terms are extremely important in being able to look at the photographs with a fresh lens. In the broader understanding of collective memory this is also important because his vocabulary allows for very specific elements of the image to be examined.

While Barthes’ vocabulary is helpful in unpacking the contents of an image German theorist and cultural critic Walter Benjamin provides the framework for how atrocity images can be interpreted as part of a discourse of “authenticity” and reproduction. In his essay, “The Work

of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” Benjamin explores what it means for a work of art to be reproducible and how that can impact its authenticity. His thoughts touch upon the culturally constructed and accepted understanding that an image presents the truth. He explicates this idea in more specific terms:

The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object. (221)

While he states that, “in principle a work of art has always been reproducible” (218) he draws a distinction between what he calls process reproduction and manual reproduction. He explains: “First, process reproduction is more independent of the original than manual reproduction, for example in photography, process reproduction can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens, which is adjustable and chooses its angle at will” (220).

Due to this distinction Benjamin credits the presence of an original as the basis for the concept of authenticity. He also elaborates that, “even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be” (220). These distinctions and ideas are important to understanding the images presented here because they are all reproductions of an original and therefore lacking in the presence of time and space. It is therefore important to gain as much understanding of the

original images as possible in order to understand how they have been added to the historical testimony of genocide and eventually the collective memory. With the application of both Barthes' and Benjamin's ideas the unpacking of the images examined here will be able to more objectively determine their relevance and importance to the collective memory of genocide.

Defining Collective Memory

Although the term collective memory has its roots back in the nineteenth century, there is still much debate over what it means, how it is created, and what its value is. Oxford Dictionary defines collective memory as “the memory of a group of people, typically passed from one generation to the next”. While this definition is seemingly straightforward, it is also sparse: leaving a lot of elements unstated and begging to be studied. This has become especially true as more people have begun to research collective memories, particularly those surrounding historical or traumatic events.

These collective memories that develop as a result of public atrocities are different from typical, personal memories. In her text, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera's Eye*, Barbie Zelizer, professor of communications at the University of Pennsylvania, prefaces her examination of Holocaust atrocity images with this thought:

Unlike personal memory, whose authority fades with time, the authority of collective memories increases as time passes, taking on new complications, nuances, and interests. Collective memories allow for the fabrication, rearrangement, elaboration, and omission of details about the past, often pushing aside accuracy and authenticity so as to accommodate broader issues of identity formation, power and authority, and political affiliation. (3)

Memories in this context are more than just the simple recollection that personal memories encompass. The memories are often only carried by a single person or small group of people, rather than being influenced by an entire population, because of this personal memories are more easily molded in order to fit what the person wants to remember or what they wish had

happened. Conversely, collective memories are “social, cultural, and political action at its broadest level, not things we think about but things we think with” (3). The collective memory becomes a lens through which these historical atrocities are examined which allows us to consider these traumas in the context of the social, cultural and/or political. They unite generations of people and grow into a unifying force that propels the events forward. Zelizer’s theories about collective memories are a fresh take on this complex idea. Her thoughts must be taken into account along with other means of scrutinizing that is done surrounding collective memories.

New frameworks are being used to evaluate collective memory in the context of trauma. One of the first aspects being examined is the idea that collective memory is somehow passed along from one generation to the next: what does this look like and how does this happen? Baring in mind these provisions, it is necessary to redefine collective memory in order to address the uniqueness of trauma and specifically genocide. Most traditionally, collective memory could be passed on through an oral history and for many examples of genocide this may still be the case. However, on a larger scale this examination of photographic inquiry is attempting to understand how the collective memory is formed and passed on in those that are unattached, at least directly, to the genocide.

The collective memories of a family or friend group are often simple memories that are passed down from one generation to the next with stories, inside jokes and fond remembrances of times past. However, genocide evokes a more complicated form of nostalgia and therefore the elements of passing it down are complex. Rather than being eagerly spoken about at social events, the collective memories of genocide are more likely extracted painfully -- by others whom either did not experience it first hand or are anxious to share their own experiences.

University of Virginia Sociology professor Jeffrey K. Olick examines the way trauma, which, “in its earliest usages...referred (and continues to refer) to a physical injury,” impacts the psyche, in his article, *Collective Memory: The Two Cultures*:

When we use it to refer to psychological matters –to say nothing of social implications – we are thus already operating at a figurative level. In the psychological context, trauma takes on specific implications directly relevant here, namely of “psychic injury caused by emotional shock the memory of which is repressed and remains unhealed. (343)

Once trauma surfaces and the wound is made fresh once again, the stories of genocide are rolled up in the collective memories of those that have shared them. They are passed along not with a soft, longing sentimentality for what once was, but rather in morbid fascination of the worst that could be. In spite of the sharpness of the memories, or perhaps because of it, they more readily become part of the collective memory. This cuts past the conscious and embeds itself into the subconscious, remaining disguised and unhealed – awaiting a time when they will be called upon to be extricated and joined with another collective. Olick addresses the way memories are withdrawn and blended with another by stating that: “a neural network...combines information in the present environment with patterns that have been stored in the past, and the resulting mixture of the two is what the network remembers...When we remember, we complete a pattern with the best match available in memory” (340). This matching is what enables a collective memory to develop; in order for their to be a match we must be able to call upon not only the memories of our experiences but also the experiences of others which we have encountered and committed to our own memory.

It is this idea that also separates collective memories of genocide from other groups of collective memories. Oxford Dictionary noted that collective memory is often contained within a group of people, however, in this instance the nature of the memories pushed them out forcefully in order to meld with other collective memories – socially and geographically. The social sharing of collective memories is imperative to the development of society. If these memories remain isolated in the cultures and groups with which they originate the loss of education and unifying human emotions will be overwhelming. While language barriers and variances in the dissemination of information through traditional news sources can pose as obstacles for this sharing, photographs have the ability to break through these boundaries and envelope many different cultures and groups at once. Much more commonality can be communicated and understood through an image than often times can be through speech.

Link between Photography and Collective Memory

The development of the first photograph in 1827 ushered in an era where the correlation between visualization and the truth expanded from eyewitness accounts and began to encompass still images that captured events— seemingly freezing them in time. As this new technology progressed from its conception as the Daguerreotype to a product similar to what photographs are recognized as today, people began to understand clearly what its capabilities were and how it could be used for more than the portraits and landscapes that dominated the early days of photography. It was discovered that these still images could be used to capture and share occurrences with those who had not experienced them first hand. Amazed by the ability to see something that had already happened, photography established itself as a way to encapsulate reality. People saw photographs and took them for the truth. This theory stems from an early public corroboration of the idea, evidence of which can be found in the February 1859 publication of the *Journal of the Photographic Society* in which it is stated that “photography is so essentially the Art of Truth – and the representative of Truth in Art – that it would seem to be the essential means of reproducing all forms and structures of which science seeks for the delineation” (201). It is with this bit of naivety that people inadvertently gave photography the ability to create and mold a collective memory. Although collective memory existed previously via eyewitness accounts, oral histories, historical documents and other forms of representative arts the invention of photography brought with it a new way in which events and stories could be shared.

Roy H. Quan discusses this idea extensively in the *Art Education Journal* article *Photography and the Creation of Meaning*. Quan argues that in its evolution photography has become, “a tool which can be used in the creation of meaning and as a medium which enables

inquiry into the world of public and private experiences”(4). Throughout time, atrocity images have become more pervasive and important in our understanding of genocide. The images that are taken during times of war are often the predominant source for informing and educating those existing outside of the tragedy. Despite photography’s growing use as a source of understanding, Zelizer believes that these images “provide only a thin veneer of knowledge” (1). This is just one of the many ways that photography has changed the way information is received and examined, especially when photographs are contributing to the collective memory. It is important to note immediately, as Zelizer did that, “beyond recognizing that they conveniently freeze scenes in our minds and serve as building blocks to remembering, we do not yet fully understand how images help up remember, particularly in circumstances we did not experience personally” (2). So, while there is a connection between the photograph and collective memory, the question of what triggers this and why remains widely unanswered.

With photographic images continuously dominating more of the media coverage and information that is shared about genocide, a question emerges: is there a genuine connection between photography and collective memory or is photography simply the most pervasive form of communication? In addressing this it is hard to deny that images of atrocities overwhelm news and social media and would undoubtedly influence the collective memory of genocide. Conversely, the connection between photographs and collective memory is not to be underestimated. Visual representations have a power to them that words do not. From its inception photography has been shrouded with the notion that seeing is believing; if something is photographed then based on the process of photography alone, the produced image must be a signifier for something that has happened.

Along with the evolution of photography, the way in which the medium is used within genocide has changed as well. This progression- encompassing informing, documenting, protesting, preserving, and revisiting have created a powerful and intrinsic link between photography and the collective memory of genocide. Images of genocide, no matter what purpose they serve on the spectrum of photographic inquiry, have become a tool for perpetuating the collective memories of genocide beyond the small percentage (in relation to world population) of those that are affected by the tragedy. Quan speculates in his article what the purpose of these images may have been:

[Perhaps with the...] popular belief that by photographing the event or object we have somehow achieved control and mastery over the phenomenon; that we have somehow given life to it, given form to the amorphous that we have captured the fleeting, and that we have somehow stopped the process of death. (4)

Initially, with no precedent set, the hope may have been that sharing these images with the world would prevent future genocides. And while these images proved jarring and upsetting, they have certainly not stopped genocide from occurring. In fact, since images of genocide were made commonplace by the Holocaust, there have been many other atrocities around the globe: Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Darfur and Argentina. It is important to note here that although the Holocaust is perhaps the most well known incident of genocide in the world, it was not the first. For example, the Armenian genocide took place more than twenty years before hand but is often overlooked.

However, in other instances of genocide the new images that are almost instantaneously created are the same ones that are flooding media coverage of world and local news. The

domination of photography in the media has quickly allowed it to become a great contributor to our collective memory of genocide. Quan explicitly addresses the power of the photograph in his article when stating that, “photographic inquiry is social inquiry in the broadest sense. It is value oriented and it is intended to have effects in raising affective-cognitive awareness of individuals in a given culture” (4). Therefore, it is the responsibility of the photographer to understand and anticipate just how their image may impact the viewers or *spectators* (as Barthes would refer to them). Sebastiao Salgado, a Brazilian photojournalist since 1973 who studies workers, migrations, famines and the detail of human plight truly captured this idea when he stated:

Roland Barthes, in his book *Camera Lucida*, stated that photography, rather than film or television, is the collective memory of the world. As I see it, he’s right about this. Photography immortalize[s] a moment, which then becomes a symbol, a reference. Photography is universal language; it doesn’t need translation. Its collective memory is a mirror in which our society continually observes itself. (johnpaulcaponigro.com)

Salgado’s words speak to the mindset of photographers and the way in which they may approach their art and its addition to the collective memory. As a universal language, photography carries a greater possibility of being added to the collective memory. The human condition – suffering, death, life – is the common denominator; when people see images of genocide there is an intrinsic understanding of suffering that is cataloged into the collective memory along with the image. With this empathy comes a hope that people will learn from these images and one day there will not be a need to produce more of them. In a separate essay, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” Benjamin speaks to the need to learn from genocide

photography: “For every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably” (255). Genocide photography offers the rare opportunity to glimpse the human condition at its worst, learn from it and then endow those lessons onto the present generation through collective memory; if this does not or cannot happen then the image, or at least the original context it was nested in, will be surrendered to the past.

Mass Graves



Caption: The bones of the disappeared buried in the heavy Bosnian soil.

Genocide: The Bosnian Genocide - 1995

Studium: Skull, centered in the image

Punctum: Evidence Marker "18", obscured in the background

Photographer: Damir Sagolj

Collection: *Srebrenica – The Story That Will Never End*

Pictures of mass graves serve an extremely specific purpose and have a history within the context of photographic inquiry and collective memory. These images are often the result of investigation into genocide, and are frequently shared with the intent to alarm the *spectator*. This was first done during the Holocaust when the Allied troops liberated concentration camps across Eastern Europe and discovered mass graves. Appalled by the discoveries they had made, the troops decided to use the gory and ghastly sights to shame the people of these small European towns, which housed the death camps. Groups of citizens were paraded through the concentration camps and forced to see the mass graves, coming face to face with the horrific practices of the Nazis (www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org). The idea was to forcibly apply guilt to these people in the hopes that genocide would be a singular occurrence. The logic path was

simple: faced with mortality and violent death, how could a nation of people allow this to happen?

The advancement of photography has allowed a new nuance to develop. Today, in the wake of more recent genocide, rather than people being marched through the sites of genocides and forced to face the sight and stench of death, these spots are captured on film and distributed to many media sources. In many ways the message is the same: how could this happen and what could have been done to prevent it? Atrocity images shove these questions into the forefront of peoples' minds, even if those people are not affected by genocide. The above photo is an applicable representation of these images: crime scene markers are lost among the innumerable pieces of the skeleton, the bones of one are comingled with the bones of several others. No distinction is discernible between males or females. Some are still shrouded in the scraps of cloth they had once lived in, spilling out of the frame continuing into the unseen. This picture shows just one of the innumerable mass graves that have been discovered in Bosnia since the mid-1990s.

Tensions in Bosnia began about a decade before the genocide took place. After the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980 the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians were pitted against each other as politicians began exploiting national rhetoric within the disintegrating Yugoslavian federal union. The conflict in Bosnia intensified and in 1992 Serbia began an ethnic cleansing of Bosnian territory by systematically removing all Bosnian Muslims. In July of 1995 the genocide peaked with the massacre of about 10,000 men and boys while an additional 23,000 women, children and elderly were put on buses and driven to Muslim controlled territory (www.hmh.org). The men and boys who fell victim to this 1995 massacre in Srebrenica found their final resting place among the mass graves like the one pictured above.

Like many of the mass graves that are uncovered in Bosnia, they are generally a secondary gravesite. Lisa DiCaprio, a professor of Social Sciences at New York University commented on the mass graves in Bosnia as a result of the Srebrenica massacre in her article, “The Betrayal of Srebrenica: the Ten-Year Commemoration”:

Bosnian Serb military forces not only denied, but also attempted by malicious design to conceal all evidence of the Srebrenica massacre. To avoid detection, the Bosnian Serbs often transferred remains from their original burial sites in or near Srebrenica to secondary mass graves. During this process, mainly carried out between August and November 1995, they deliberately damaged and dispersed remains with heavy operation equipment. (88)

Nothing is whole in these graves; skeletons and people are separated from their belongings, creating a muddled collection of remains and relics. DiCaprio went on to state that, “mass graves are forensic puzzles, and they are also crime scenes” (88). DiCaprio also commented on the other contents of the mass graves. These gravesites were not just home to the jumbled bodies of victims of the genocide; they were also the location of many artifacts and heirlooms that had once belonged to these men and women. Most of the time these items are the only way that archeologist and forensic specialists can hope to identify the remains and provide closure for the victim’s families, many of who are still without answers twenty years later. These artifacts are often in the form of photographs. Although these mass graves are being photographed for the purpose of documenting the genocide and adding to the collective memory, they are also home to other items that can be used to accomplish the same task. As artifacts such

as pocket watches, wallets, suitcases and photo albums are recovered from these mass graves they are used to help identify the skeletal remains of those buried within.

It is not only the discovery of artifacts that makes these mass graves so important, it is also that they are often the only link between the victims and the perpetrators. When these mass graves are photographed the intention, unlike many of the other images, may not be to influence the collective memory, but rather to influence the evidence. In the image above it is clear that the *studium* is the skull, which is centered in the frame of the photograph and seems to be clearer than the other remains around it. Damir Sagolj's intention in taking this photograph was clearly to capture that particular skull; images like this are often used as evidence or as part of the examination into what happened to these victims. However, the skull is not the only thing caught in this frame; just behind the skull, standing out due to color contrast is an evidence marker with the number "18". This marker is the *punctum* of the photograph; it is the thing that pricks at the *spectator*, drawing our attention away from the skeletal remains.

The *studium* and the *punctum* form the basis for what is taken away from the image and added to the collective memory. Perhaps this is because death (signified by the skull) is such a prominent representation of genocide. Humans are not used to facing their mortality so fiercely and these images sear into the collective memories of people, both those directly affected by genocide and those that are far removed. It is hard to face the idea that we, as a human race, are capable of both imposing this type of violence and suffering it at the hands of others. These thoughts, accompanied by morbid curiosity, make these images hold so firmly in the collective memory.

In an article for *The Guardian*, journalist Paul Mason grapples with the question of stopping genocide. He recognizes that many of these images, even the ones shown today are a

source of “crude propaganda” (2), meant to shock and persuade those who see it. Mason argues that, “nothing we know about war can deter us from it. In fact...we’ve developed coping strategies to assuage the feelings of horror such imagery arouses” (2). He goes on to state that with access to images of genocide and war that are available, now these atrocities are occurring with full understanding of what the sacrifices and deaths that will be incurred. He states that, “while the first world war was begun in ignorance about the horrors of war, by mid-century, belligerents had learned how to use images of atrocity to fire people up about the fight” (3). Crude and gory photos of mass graves prick the collective memory and are perhaps the most commonly recalled images at the mention of genocide.

However in Srebrenica the image of mass graves do more than shock. According to DiCaprio’s research these images were also used as part of an art exhibit that was hosted by two groups seeking truth and justice for the people of Srebrenica: The Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa Enclaves and The Women of Srebrenica in Tuzla” (79-80). Together these groups collected photographs that documented the genocide in Bosnia. While the images display many victims and atrocities the most stunning are the mass graves. DiCaprio comments: “this is a visual narrative of loss and hope, finality and anticipation – finality represented in the burial scenes, and the anticipation of justice as yet only partially realized” (80). The images of disjointed skeletons scattered about with scraps of clothing and decaying personal effects become the singular representation of genocide that all other images are compared to.

She further states that these images are “universal in [their] evocation of unimaginable grief” (80). Due to this impact on the collective memory they also influence the way that other images of genocide are interpreted. When faced with less ghastly images of genocide a new empathy and compassion develops between the *spectator* and the victims in the image.

Street Photography



FIGURE 9. City Dremer, Berthold Geisinger and unidentified person, May 1943. Reproduced by Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer

Caption: City Dremer, Berthold Geisinger and unidentified person, May 1943.

Genocide: The Holocaust – 1933-1945

Studium: Group of people walking

Punctum: Dark mark on the far right jacket

Photographer: Unknown – reproduced by Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer

Collection: *What's Wrong with this Picture? Archival Photographs in Contemporary Narratives*

Although photography had been around for over a century, the fascination and luxury of it was still vibrant in the time immediately preceding World War Two. It was during this time that photographic equipment became more accessible and a new genre was created: street photography. This category of photography is simplistic and seems ordinary and it is therefore often overlooked in histories of photography. However, in the 1930s it was most popular in Western cities. Professor Geoffrey Batchen of Victoria University of Wellington in the United

Kingdom defined street photography in his article, “Seeing and Saying: A Response to ‘Incongruous Images’ ” noting it as:

A genre of commercial photographic practice in which people walking in a public space, usually the street, are photographed and are then offered the opportunity to buy a copy of that photograph.

(26)

In some cases street photography is done with the consent of the target: the photographer approaches them, they stop and pose for the picture then purchase the image. However there are some cases in which street photographs are taken without the consent or knowledge of those being photographed. The photograph above is of the latter type and is taken from an article by Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer entitled: *What’s Wrong With This Picture? Archival Photographs in Contemporary Narratives*. In the words of the authors, the article deals with: “points of memory linking past and present, memory and post memory, individual remembrances and cultural recall, photographs can offer evidence of past crimes and function as haunting specters that enable a visceral connection to the past” (229). Hirsch and Spitzer are effectively stating that it is not just the intended subject of the picture that is captured and therefore important, but rather the small details that creep in, along with what lies beyond the frame of the photograph. This close examination is particularly important with a candid street photograph from this place and time. Any minute detail from the image could help the *spectator* to glean an insight into this historically turbulent time; often these small details that can contribute the most to the collective memory.

The photograph above is a clear example of this in that it unintentionally documents a small piece of Holocaust history. Taken in an unidentified Nazi occupied town in Eastern Europe

(most likely in Poland or Romania) in May of 1943 the image captures three young people walking down the street on a clear, spring day. Many simple assumptions can be made based on the details of this image. For one, the presence of a briefcase in the hands of the young man on the far left may lead to the conclusion that the three were scholars at a local secondary school or university. Their attire speaks to an average socioeconomic status, illustrated particularly by the attire of the young man on the far right. His long trench, for example, shows some sophistication but does not appear to be anything of extravagance. The proximity within which they walk next to one another attests that they are obviously comfortable with each other and most likely good friends. These assumptions are based on the photograph's *studium*: three friends walking. As they walk the photographer is able to capture a raw moment, free from formality or expectation.

It is the unintentionally captured detail in this photograph, however, that sets it apart from other street photography of the time. Examining the image with a close and careful eye the *spectator* may notice a small, dark spot on the long trench of the young man on the far right. While of course it is possible that this is a stain on the jacket or any number of things, given the location and time period the *spectator* could reasonably presume that this small, dark mark on his jacket is actually a Star of David; this is the *punctum* of the photograph. Once the emblem has caught the eye of the *spectator* it is hard to ignore. Worn on his left lapel, the Star of David emblem has been a popular way to identify Jews since the thirteenth century. Eventually, by the beginning of the nineteenth century or thereabouts, this practice was abolished, especially in Western Europe. Beginning in 1939, however, the Nazis resurrected this tradition as part of their persecution of the Jewish population¹. Although the insignia varied from one region to the next

¹ The Jews of Europe were legally compelled to wear badges or distinguishing garments (e.g. pointed hats) at least as far back as the 13th century. This practice continued throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but was largely phased out during the 17th and 18th centuries. With the coming of the French Revolution and emancipation of Western European Jews throughout the 19th century, the wearing of the Jewish badges was abolished in Western Europe. The Nazis resurrected this practice as part of their persecutions during the Holocaust. Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Main Security Office, first recommended that Jews should wear identifying badges following the Kristallnacht pogrom of November 9 and 10, 1938.

the implication was the same: wear the badges or risk severe punishment, possibly death (www.holocaustcenter.org). The *studium* of the image implies that life for the Jewish population was not so bad under Nazi occupation at this time: the three friends, presumably all Jewish, appear to be walking down the street with no harassment from others and are also able to purchase this photograph after it was taken, implying further that they have enough spare money to do so. All of these interpretations contradict what we now know about the harsh consequences that were in place for Jews at that time causes conflict in the collective memory. It also raises the question of whether or not this apparently innocent example of street photography could be Nazi propaganda.

The use of propaganda was extremely popular throughout Nazi rule and Hitler employed it almost from the moment he gained power in 1933. Although the propaganda began with readings and films about the danger of the Jews and other undesirable populations, it eventually expanded to encompass much more. As the atrocities against the Jewish population progressed, the Nazis knew that they must maintain a certain level of discretion in order to protect the control that they had over other populations. In order to do this, Jews in the concentration camps were forced to write post cards home talking about their new life in the camps, those living in ghettos were forced to give positive reviews when the Red Cross came to inspect them, and Nazis even published images of Jews, such as the one above, as a way of testifying that life under Nazi occupation was simply normal (www.ushmm.org).

So, if the image is read through the lens of Nazi propaganda then what is displayed here must be understood to be either a misrepresentation or a forced photograph. Particularly in Poland or Romania, life for the Jews had deteriorated significantly. By 1943 hundreds of thousands of Jews had been deported, murdered in the streets and executed in the camps. All that

is historically known about the Nazi occupation of these places suggests that an image such as the one here is a highly unlikely scenario or an extremely rare occurrence (www.ushmm.org /www.holocaustresearchproject.org).

Either way, it is hard not to make these assumptions without thinking predominantly about what the end result most likely was for these three young people, presuming they were all Jewish. When this genocide is thought of the more common images of emaciated people wearing striped pajamas pressed against barbed wire or stacks of naked bodies piled high next to the crematorium or even scattered and disjointed skeletons begin to take over the collective memories. And in some ways these images are now sharper and more horrifying when they are contrasted with the life that Jews were living before.

Although these are merely inferences, the ideas presented above are all viable possibilities and ones that many will presume when they look at this image based on the collective memories that they already have. The audience adds these presumptions, taking them for truth, into their collective memory and in the future will compare and contrast this image and the knowledge they extract from it with what they know. As is the nature of collective memories, they will be called upon when the subject of genocide is breached again and the ideas and understandings that are garnered from these images will now inform the new thoughts around a new piece of evidence. So, are these inferences dangerous? Could they lead to a skewing of the collective? Is the viewer supposed to prevent these presumptions from surfacing?

With no concrete information about the origin of this image or why it was taken, it is easy to speculate about its being used as propaganda but even easier to overlook it and naively take this image for a glimpse of truth into what life was like for Jews during the Nazi occupation. As human beings there is a desire within us to find the bright spot, especially in times of sheer

atrocities. This image, with its contradictory representation of life during the Holocaust, satisfies that need. Images like this may also have aided in turning away the attention of the general population, as this image would have been seen as evidence that life is good for the Jews and that any concerns about their welfare or their future are unsubstantiated. And, without being able to confirm its intentions as propaganda any contribution or impact that this image makes on the collective memory has been manipulated. The photographer, the subjects or even some high-ranking Nazi official, could have created this manipulation. Regardless of who, if this image is an example of manipulation and propaganda then its contribution to the collective is tainted. No inferences or insights that are gathered from it are valid and only work to distort the understandings that already exist by contradicting them.

Family Photographs



Caption: A family photo from, *Quest for Identity*. Personal belongings are still being recovered from countless mass graves across Bosnia and Herzegovina, and are used as evidence in ongoing trials for war crimes – and in the ongoing identification of their owners.

Genocide: The Bosnian Genocide - 1995

Studium: The family photograph

Punctum: Duct tape

Photographer: Ziyah Gafić

Collection: *Quest for Identity*

Although many types of photography may provide a harsher and more gruesome look at what life was like during and after the trauma of genocide, family photographs allow unique insight into the most common (and therefore unifying and equalizing) aspects of life: Sunday walks, birthday celebrations and even posed photographs from holidays. These connections often come from the simplicity of the family photograph or the feeling of recognition in the faces and families depicted. Just as with the family pictured in the photograph above, people can look at

this and see themselves; if genocide could happen to this family then it could happen to any. This single sliver of recognition is what makes family photographs some of the most powerful images surrounding genocides. However, these images are often overlooked because they do not directly point to the act of genocide. They do not show bodies in mass graves, skeletal prisoners pressed against barbed wire, or mother's protesting for the return of their missing loved ones. Instead these pictures, taken in context, manipulate the sentiment of family into a knot of anguish and dread. Typically, family photographs are taken and saved with the intention of being shared for decades, with generations to come. However, when these photographs become all that remains of a family, they suddenly take on a new role.

According to Lieve Willekens, coordinator of heritage and diversity at the Museum Aan De Stroom in Antwerp and author of *Family Photos: The Changing Role of Family Photography in Sarajevo*, this new role redefines the importance of the family photograph. It creates, “the three functions that characterize family photography...to *document* or capture important moments, to *identify* the group and her members and to *idealize* family life by especially picturing the beautiful and sanctifying moments” (64). While these three functions could be typical of any family photograph, when juxtaposed with genocide the importance of fulfilling these functions is multiplied. For example, the photograph above comes from a collection by Bosnian photographer Ziyah Gafić. He photographs items that are unearthed in mass graves and then used as forensic evidence to identify any of the more than 30,000 missing Bosnians (www.blog.ted.com). Gafić's reasons for wanting to photograph these items echo why family photographs evoke such a strong sense of connection with people outside the family:

The simplicity of the objects really struck me. I believe photography is about empathy, and I think the fact that we all share

these items—everyone has owned some of these things at some point in their lives—triggers empathy in whoever sees these images. Photographs should make us imagine ourselves in other people’s shoes, and often that process is clouded by cultural differences. (www.blog.ted.com)

All of the items pictured in his collection serve as a reminder of life and the confirmation of its loss. Yet, none does so in such a startling manner as this family photograph. Eight people gathered together, physically holding on to each other in an emotionally expressive embrace. As Willekens states, “the perfect pictures show how life was at that time and how it should be right now: ideal” (68). A family’s willingness to capture a moment speaks to its feeling of ideality: why preserve something that did not feel wonderful?

The photographer’s intention for family photographs is almost always to document and eventually share, therefore intending to add to the collective memory. However, its role in the collective changes within the frame of genocide. Marianne Hirsch explores this framing in her text, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Although Hirsch’s photographs are from the Holocaust, the same framing and context surrounds them. In her chapter on *Mourning and Postmemory*, Hirsch unpacks the way that genocide alters family photographs:

The...photograph is uniquely able to bring out this particular capacity of photographs to hover between life and death, to capture only that which no longer exists, to suggest both the desire and the necessity and, at the same time, the difficulty, the impossibility, of mourning. (20)

She goes on to state that although more gruesome photographs of genocide produce a reaction of horror and disbelief, those reactions are expressed before the photograph is given any context or caption. However, when:

Confronted with the former image – the portrait or family picture – we need to know its context, but then, I would argue, we respond with a similar sense of disbelief...the viewer fills in what the picture leaves out: the horror of looking is not necessarily *in* the image but in the story the viewer provides to fill in what has been omitted. (21)

Although the images of war are not prevalent, it is their absence that allows family photographs to be so powerful. Willekens discusses this in his article when he observes that, “war marks their memories and leaves traces. The unharmed [family] pictures are often the only remnants of the private life people led before the war” (68-69). In this image presented here, that private life was clearly surrounded by family and when someone views this picture, particularly someone relevant to the image, the tragedy of war slips away and for just a moment life could be how it was.

For the *spectator* however, their attention is drawn immediately to the *studium*, the family pictured, what is really of concern is everything on the fringe of this photograph. This fringe, though metaphorical, can also be taken quite literally within this particular image. Discovered in a mass grave, the photograph has clear signs of decay and the eye cannot help but focus on the *punctum*, the frayed duct tape edges. While this was not an original attribute to the photograph, it is the most peculiar component of it. Speckled with dirt trying to preserve the structure of the photograph, the duct tape is a symbol of life being held together. The fate of the

people in this photograph is unknown; although its discovery in a mass grave would suggest that either a loved one of the people pictured or even someone present in the image met with an unfortunate fate. It is because of this mysteriousness rather than in spite of it that images add so largely to the collective. When given this image recognition begins and the viewer imagines their family and themselves in the photograph. However, when they are confronted with the context, the genocide, and empathy sets in and now they are imagining themselves and their families having to endure and perhaps become victim to that tragedy. The emotions experienced by the viewer in those moments are compounded by the facts that they know about the genocide.

In other words, they are the images that make genocide and atrocities of this magnitude seem relatable and more accessible for those who did not experience them. In many of the other images of genocide and war it is easy for the viewers to detach themselves from the atrocity because they do not relate to the perpetrators, victims or places in the photographs. However, with these images the familiarity of shared life events and experiences has a forceful way of putting the *spectator* in the shoes of the photographed subject. With this kind of impact these images are extremely important to the development of the collective memory. They make these tragedies seem real to those that were not experiencing them and awake a sense of empathy and compassion for the victims in a way that other images cannot. Having this impact on collective memory allows those memories to be that much stronger and more powerful as they continue to be passed on from one generation to the next.

Portraits



Caption: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, a group made up of women whose children disappeared during the 1970s war against subversion, March in front of the Government House in Buenos Aires, Thursday, December 8, 1983 during the last march under the military dictatorship.

Genocide: The Argentinian Genocide - 1976

Studium: Mothers protesting

Punctum: Portraits

Photographer: Eduardo Di Baia

Portraits predate the invention of photography. They existed tens of thousands of years ago and were often used to capture the images of people recently deceased. These so called funeral portraits were a way to commemorate the dead and hold their memory in the mortal world. Portraits were often created in order to display a likeness for the person pictured, capturing their expression, personality and mood. With this purpose, portraits were often staged; set up in order to capture the exact image that the painter had been commissioned to convey. The intent was to create a portrait that would be life like; engaging the viewer and drawing them into the image (www.visual-arts-cork.com).

Today, photography creates portraits with much of the same intent and function. The subject is staged in a way that has been deemed appealing and is then required to remain still while the photographer captures the photo. No longer used as part of the funeral ritual or specifically to signify class and power, portraits have in many ways become commonplace. They have evolved into a practice of life, marking important moments and commemorating each passing year. These ritualistic portraits often adorn living room walls and office desks. And while they are dusted off and pulled from their safe keeping, with yellowed edges and faded colors, they have never been used in such a public manner or for something as important as they were in Argentina in the late 1970s.

On March 24, 1976 a military junta seized power in Argentina and over the next seven years an estimated ten thousand to thirty thousand people “disappeared”. The new government suspected that these people were involved in left-wing activities and saw fit to kidnap and execute them. Often taken without warning, these victims were never returned to their families. Left without closure, the women of Argentina decided to take back the identities of those that the government preferred to remain anonymous (www.hmh.org). Pictured above are The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo: this group originally formed in 1977, one year after the new government took power and the disappearances began. Every Thursday for more than thirty-five years, they have convened (and the few remaining mothers still do) on the Plaza de Mayo to make present those that had disappeared. Armed with enlarged portraits of their family members, these women refuse to let the government forget their loved ones. Silvia R. Tandeciarz, associate professor of Hispanic studies at William and Mary, explored this idea in her article “Mnemonic Hauntings: Photography as Art of the Missing”. Tandeciarz expresses that:

The mothers turned the intimidating function of the city under the police state into an alternative public sphere, transforming the Plaza de Mayo into a theatre in which the entire population, whether actually present or not became an audience and a witness to loss. (136)

By protesting so publicly and within such close proximity to the President and the government, these women were refusing to allow genocide to claim the lives of their loved ones. Instead, these mothers were forcing the missing to be seen and demanding that those responsible be in some way held responsible for their crimes.

While the photograph above captures the *studium*, protests, the focus of the *spectator* is on the *punctum*: the use of portraits within the context of genocide. Portraits are traditionally used in order to capture a person at a specific age or time in their life; most commonly associated with annual school pictures that children take. However, these women have transformed the purpose of the portrait and instead made these images speak up for those that were silenced; they have become a way for “photography to resist repression” (136). They are also more simply, “proof of existence” (136). The mothers’ use of these portraits reclaims the identity of the missing and reminds people that their disappearance must be accounted for. Further, the proof of existence represented by the portraits demands that other people, not just the victims and the perpetrators must admit that this genocide occurred.

These women also refused to wait for the oppression and genocide to be over before becoming involved in a search for their kin. According to author and professor Antonius C.G.M Robben in his article “How Traumatized Societies Remember: The Aftermath of Argentina’s Dirty War”:

Studies and psychoanalysis have stated forcefully that the mourning of mass violence is postponed by denial and repression so that time can wear off the most devastating experiences before the working-through of past losses can begin. Yet, in Argentina, the most painful memories were confronted immediately and a narrative reconstruction set in motion before the military dictatorship collapsed. (122)

While Robben's article presumes that this was perhaps not beneficial to the people of Argentina, the immediateness of the protesting on Plaza De Mayo established a sense of urgency surrounding the genocide that carried over into the collective memory. Knowing that these women did not wait for answers is powerful and therefore spawns powerful memories of this period. There had not previously been protests to this extent in such close proximity to the actual act of genocide. These women set themselves apart from the bystanders and forced their way into the thoughts of perpetrators and the consciousness of others outside the realm of this genocide.

Theorist Walter Benjamin speaks about photography in a similar way in his essay, "A Short History of Photography". Here he states that: "in photography...one encounters something strange and now...something that is not to be silences, something demanding the name of the person who had lived, who even now is still real..."(202). Benjamin make a distinction between being seen and being heard as well as being disappeared and being real. This distinction is the same being made by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. Those portraits and the protests are demanding answers for the people of Argentina and giving new life to the voice of the victims.

The differentiation between being seen and being heard is important in understanding the way that these photographs add to the collective memory of genocide. Traditionally, the idea of

protesting calls up thoughts of speeches and chants that demands people be heard. However, while of course these protests were not silent, their words were also not the focus; rather the attention was on the portraits of their lost loved ones. Benjamin again touches on the competition between the visual and the auditory in his essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”. He states:

Photography feed[s] the hand of the most important functions,
which henceforth developed only upon the eye looking into a lens.
Since the eye perceives more swiftly than the hand can draw the
process of pictorial reproduction was accelerated so enormously
that it could keep pace with speech. (219)

Unlike the written or spoken word these images force the *spectator* to see a victim. This visual personalizes the genocide and allows more people to connect with the tragedy and its victims. The portraits become an icon for this tragedy and make the collective memories more vivid and vibrant than they would have been with just the spoken or written word. These images also impact the collective memory by informing it that genocide did take place. While, of course, this could be said with all of the images presented here these particular images of mother protesting with portraits are fighting against a government that refuses to acknowledge that these people ever existed in the first place. Being known as “the disappeared” these victims are being forced out of the lives and minds of everyone that knew them in an effort to cover up the atrocities that took place. However, these images are proof that there were victims and there was a genocide. While the impact of informing the collective may seem small in comparison to the shock, manipulation, reliability, and importance of the other four images this seemingly small

thing is extremely profound and impactful in the lives of those affected as well as those that are a recipient of this collective memory.

Although the use of these portraits in the context of genocide was a new occurrence during this period, the use of portraits for the purpose of locating the disappeared are reminiscent of the way images of people are used when they go missing. They seem to be a placeholder for answers: a body, a return or a confession. This also makes the use of portraits something that can be more universally understood. While those pictured in the images are known and missed by only a small fraction of people, the presentation of a portrait to communicate the disappearance is a well-known phenomenon and carries with it the ability to express the loss felt to a wider audience.

Landscapes



Caption: The railway at Belzec in 1995

Genocide: The Holocaust

Studium: Landscape

Punctum: Railroad Tracks

Photographer: Dirk Reinartz

Collection: *Deathly Still – Pictures of Concentration Camps*

Shockingly ordinary and empty, landscape photography is easily overlooked and under-examined; the viewer taking for granted the simplicity that is true of many landscape photographs (such as the one pictured). The oversight of the photograph becomes more pronounced when it is uncovered that what was thought to be a simple landscape is actually the ghostly representation of genocide. This is particularly true of Holocaust landscapes. Due to the cover up of the Holocaust and the lack of knowledge about its occurrence at the time, landscape photographs of concentration camps are often like the image above: barren.

This image functions differently within the collective memory than the other photographs that have been examined and stands in stark contrast to the images of mass graves that have

become so profoundly linked with genocide. What makes these images so unique is that they rely on an already established collective memory of the Holocaust in order to be interpreted and then integrated into those memories. Most images of genocide, including the ones examined here, are photographs of people (victims, perpetrators or witnesses) and it is these people that make the images powerful and cause them to have such an effect on collective memory. Landscape images, however, are lacking in that relatability; because they are just images of space they are easily misinterpreted and are therefore reliant on an established collective memory in order to be understood. Although, that does not mean that they do not play a role in the way that the collective memory is shaped.

The above is just one of many examples of Holocaust landscape photography done by Dirk Reinartz. Taken from one of his most celebrated collections - *Deathly Still – Pictures of Concentration Camps* – the photograph shows the railway that transported prisoners to Belzec. This camp served as the distinguishing border between Soviet occupied Poland and German occupied Poland. Originally a labor camp, it was eventually expanded and transformed into a killing center in 1941. By March 1942 deportations of Jews from the Lublin and Lvov areas to Belzec commenced. This camp was the final stop for an estimated four hundred to five hundred thousand Jews, Poles and Romani people until the spring of 1943 (www.ushmm.org).

The sense of mystery that shrouds this concentration camp seems to be propelled by the above photograph. A clearing surrounded by abandoned, worn down shacks and groups of trees perpetuates the sense of unknown while masking the land's bleak history. Although the camp was dismantled in the spring of 1943 and the area reclaimed as farmland, the events that took place here are not so easily erased. Especially now, when the greater population of the world is informed about the events of the Holocaust, landscape images can be extremely powerful in

adding to the collective memory. By allowing the *spectator* to associate events with a place they are able to take stronger root in the collective memory because the context for this image already exists. The more powerful the photograph the more securely it can take hold in the collective memory and become incorporated.

The impact of this image is due in large part to the function of the *studium* and the *punctum*. In the photograph Reinhartz captures the *studium* with the Polish landscape: farm houses stand off to the left while a cluster of trees can be spotted in the top right corner. To the uninformed *spectator* this photograph would pass for a pastoral scene; farmhouses offset by train tracks that must have brought cattle and supplies in and out of town. But, even to the average *spectator* one detail cannot be ignored: the railroad tracks. They serve as the *punctum* of this image and force the *spectators* view to them constantly, refusing to let the eye be drawn away. Their rusted rails force the *spectator*'s vision to follow them, around the slight curve eventually disappearing behind a small rock formation in the top right corner of the frame. The railroad tracks impose on the collective memory in a different way than most other *punctums* featured in these photographs because of the way in which they disappear from the image. This forces the *spectator* to wonder where they go and what may lie beyond that particular section of landscape. The *spectator*'s mind works to engage other information from the collective memory in order to understand this image. The mobilization of what is already part of the collective memory along with something that is new to it aids in the landscape photographs integration into the broader collective memory.

Ulrich Baer, of New York University, has explored the impact of photography on trauma and memory. In his essay "To Give Memory a Place: Holocaust Photography and the Landscape Tradition" he unpacked landscape photography and the significance it has. Baer stated that, "we

are allowed to enter a site that will not fully accommodate our view. The illusion of space in this picture does not engender at all points, a sense of *place*; we are led into a site that finally excludes us” (41-42). As is the case with most photography, but particularly historically based photography (in this case genocide), the photograph is viewed with the intension of entering into that time and place in order to gain perspective and understanding. Examining these historical images so intently is a skill learned often in formal classroom settings. The learning of history in many ways relies on the ability to read and interpret documents, many of which are photographs. However, to echo Baer’s thoughts, this task is often times limited. Many of the places and things that are examined historically are unknown to the *spectator*. Therefore, the landscape photography of genocide would be exclusionary by definition. In all likelihood the *spectator* has not been to that place and therefore they must be used to give visual aid to other existing collective memories. Baer agreed as much in his article when he states that:

Their images contain no evidence of their historical uses, and they rely explicitly on the aesthetic tradition of landscape art and the “experience of place” in order to commemorate the destruction of experience and memory...Instead of showing such markers, [this] image *refers* to the Holocaust only via the titles and contexts of the original publications: these are Holocaust site. (42)

The references that Baer made to “titles” and “contexts” can be thought of as the collective memories that already exist. In lieu of “markers” in the image that explicitly tell the *spectator* that this landscape was once home to a Nazi concentration camp the *spectator* must rely on the external information in order to glean an interpretation of the photograph; effectively engaging prior collective memories in order to form new ones.

These landscapes transport the *spectator* to a time in which the genocide was not present. However, while the *spectator* is there, experiencing the landscape, in their minds they are simultaneously confronted with the knowledge of the Holocaust, concentration camps, mass murder and starvation that is already built up in their collective memories. The experience of the landscape is bombarded and enveloped by the harshness and sharpness of understanding. Each time the *spectator* is faced with similar landscapes they will recall the aggressiveness and startling experience they had when first understanding these photographs. It can be argued that this experience incited similar feelings for the *spectator* as it would have for the prisoners during their initial arrival at the camp; locked in a cattle car, seeing only the slimmest of landscape through the wooden slats, finally arriving and being confronted with the shockingly ordinary quality of their surroundings. Baer explained this further when he stated:

The photographs...silently question the reliance on a historical context as an explanatory frame. These images situate us in relation to something that remains off the maps of historic readings. By casting the enormity of the Holocaust within the traditional genre of landscape photography, Reinartz...emphasizes that this question of *our position* as belated witnesses to the original witnesses, *precedes* all efforts to confront the past, to remember, to learn and to understand. (42-43)

Just as the *punctum*, the railroad tracks, forces the *spectator* to incorporate other collective memories into their interpretation of this image, so does landscape photography as a whole. It is as if the audience is receiving the memory in pieces; first through words and then through images. Often survivor testimony is lacking in the description of place – yes there is talk

of the barracks in which they slept, the hospitals where they received mediocre care, but most testimony is void of any real description or relevance to physical place. Is this perhaps because the place was indiscriminate in comparison with the atrocities they saw inside the camps? Is it simply because remembering details of place is too painful and makes the remembering seem more like reliving? Whatever the reason, the lack of landscape attached to memory forces the *spectator* to draw upon collective memory, of previously read testimonies, in order to make sense of the image and catalog it along with related images and knowledge.

More than just establishing a physical context for genocide landscape photographs is also a perfect example of why collective memories are important. The emphasis on the normality of these photographs and their tendency to be overlooked may seem exaggerated, but it is true; these images do not stand out in the ways that the others featured here do. However this empty field is just a small representation of how quickly physical reminders of genocide can be wiped from tangibility. Once the site of a concentration camp, responsible for the death of thousands of innocent Jews, the space in the photograph above now shows no signs of the atrocity and without our understanding of this genocide, through collective memory, the importance of this space may never have been known. Other images show things that cannot be so easily ignored, mass graves, mother's protesting, images of people who were directly affected by the genocide, but the landscape is none of that. While it could be viewed as a testament to the way that society, culture and earth can be wiped clean and given a new beginning it is also a testament to the way in which memories and understandings of the past need to be actively kept alive in order for us to continue to learn from them.

The Ability of Photographic Inquiry to Impact Collective Memory

While many items impact the collective memory, especially those surrounding genocide, photography is particularly powerful in doing so. With its nature and intent being to draw observers in visually the photograph has the power to hold the attention, interest and memory of people in ways that words cannot. This ability allows the photograph and its content (both explicit and implicit) to become engrained in the collective memory of those that encounter it. From images of mass graves to quiet landscapes, photographs of the un-expecting to posed images of families and school portraits, these images hold the memory of atrocity that once was and with them the hope that perhaps they can contribute to the eradication of future genocide. This failed initial goal of sharing war photography with the public has allowed society to become more aware and informed on the events of the world, regardless of where and when we live. Although advancements in photographic technology has made some wary of the veracity of some photographs, this is by far not the case for all photographs; and as observant citizens of the world we must decide for ourselves how much validity the image holds and what impact it will have on our collective memories.

Consequently, each type of photographic inquiry that we encounter interacts with our collective memories in a different way, resulting in a unique influence on them. The brutality and sharpness of images of mass graves are ones that shock our collective memories, waking them to the cruelty and injustice that unfortunately still exists within our society and the larger world. As these images emerge from more recent incidents of genocide the observer must bear the added burden of carrying around this notion that in today's world there are still people capable of this level of prejudice and hatred simply because of race, ethnicity, religion or political allegiance.

Street photography offers a manipulated understanding of genocide and influences the collective in a way that the other photographs do not. While only capturing a small frame, our other collective memories of this time allow us to examine this image with that information in order to question its contents more critically. We must be able to determine where in our collective memories these images belong and how this example of manipulation can influence our memories of the event as a whole.

Family photographs present people with a familiar and relatable experience, allowing an insight into what the victims of genocide have lost and forcing the *spectator* to put themselves in the shoes of others or those whom they may have lost. Often times these images are the only things connecting unidentified remains to a family or name. They are a powerful tool in building the collective memory and create insightful understanding into who the victims were as human beings rather than just seeing them as victims. Seeing the families as victims as well is a powerful tool in allowing these photographs to become embedded in the collective memory. Also functioning similarly are the portraits that are used in Argentina. These images create a larger sense of who these people were before they became victims and inform the world of their existence. Often times with genocide there is only the after; what is the result of these heinous crimes. Instead, these images force our collective memories to envelope the before as well – creating a more holistic image for us to have.

Contrastingly, the stark emptiness and normality of landscape photographs has an almost opposite effect. Enveloping the unsuspecting observer in a sense of natural calm and serenity – only to rip away the buffer between seeing and knowing when the landscape is revealed to be something more sinister. It is this startling element to the photograph that fits so well into the collective memory. There is a certain level of fascination with the ghost like element that the

landscape photos offer. It also allows people who already have Holocaust stories incorporated into their collective memories to add a visual aspect to those stories. It heightens their understanding and ability to recall the information, making the collective more accessible and useable.

These five types of photographic inquiry have the ability to work together in order to create a more complete collective. If examined in conjunction with one another they offer insight into genocide and allow it to be de-compartmentalized and thought about in a deeper way. While their validity is often questioned because of the technology that is available currently, photographs can offer something that witness accounts and first hand testimonies cannot: the visual narration. Especially in current society – we crave and feed off of the visual. With the immediacy of life today these visual images are something that can be consumed in smaller, quicker increments and that allow them to be entered into the collective memory more readily.

While sharing photographs has not prevented genocide from occurring, as had once been hoped, it has certainly raised awareness of the violence and oppression that too many people face. Photography, and its contribution to the collective memory, has been successful in preventing victims from getting lost in time and place. While Benjamin felt that an artistic rendering (in this case a photograph) removed from its specific time and placed out of context stripped it of its meaning, it also allows the tragedy to be understood and encountered on a larger scale. Particularly regarding about the Armenian genocide, prior to the idea of capturing these atrocities with photography, there has been much debate over who perpetrated the crime or if the event even occurred at all. It is also only recently, with a new push for Turkey to admit their role in the genocide that knowledge has become more widespread. However, with the use of photography beginning with the Holocaust and continuing through the most recent cases of

genocide in Darfur and Bosnia, these genocides were not easily forgotten. Images become publicized and reprinted, removing them from their time and place, but also inserting them into the collective memory of a much larger audience.

It is with this in mind that the role of photography on the collective memory is most critical. Photography has the ability to be memorable in a way that speech and traditional testimony is not. The images are often vivid and haunting, rendering the observer speechless and overcome with a feeling of empathy, disbelief and compassion. It is this speechlessness, blended with these emotions that allow our collective memory to be receptive to these images and the information they convey. They are able to dispel, in many instances, the concept of exaggeration. With traditional testimony people often wonder what has been manipulated by time and perspective – and how has hearing other testimony or revisiting the trauma through photography impacted survivors, victims and their families. Photography, of course, presents its own issues with validity and reliability. Often people are much more receptive to seeing something and then believing it. And, their ability to do so affects the way in which it is received and added to the collective memory.

Overall, photography offers an avenue for genocide and its atrocities to become part of the collective memory of the world, rather than a specific people or place. As the world continues to develop and we depend more on the global community to work together rather than focusing on the domestic landscape, owning a collective memory will be important in establishing relationships, connections and dialogues. Photography is a means to open lines of communication and help move forward as a truly integrated global society with one collective memory.

Works Cited

- Arsenault, Joshua. "Holocaust Badges." *Holocaust Memorial Center*. N.p., n.d. Web. 2 Aug. 2015.
- "The Art of Truth." *The Journal of the Photographic Society* 5 (1859): n. pag. *Google Books*. Web. 3 May 2015.
- "Atrocities in Argentina (1976-1983)." *Holocaust Museum Houston*. N.p., n.d. Web. 10 Nov. 2014.
<https://www.hmh.org/la_Genocide_Argentina.shtml>.
- Baer, Ulrich. "To Give Memory a Place: Holocaust Photography and the Landscape Tradition." *Representations* 69 (2000): 38-62. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Baer, Ulrich. "Ulrich Baer." *Ulrich Baer*. New York University, n.d. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- Barnouw, Dagmar. "To Make Them See." *Germany 1945: Views of War and Violence*. Bloomington, Inu.: Indiana UP, 1996. 1-41. Print.
- Barnouw, Dagmar. "Views of the Past." *Germany 1945: Views of War and Violence*. Bloomington, Inu.: Indiana UP, 1996. 199-222. Print.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Print.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. "Seeing and Saying: A Response to "Incongruous Images"" *History and Theory* 48.4 (2009): 26-33. *JSTOR*. Web. 24 Mar. 2014.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Victoria University of Wellington Staff*. N.d. Geoffrey Batchen Bio.
- Bax, Mart. "Mass Graves, Stagnating Identification, and Violence: A Case Study in the Local Sources of "The War" in Bosnia Hercegovina." *Anthropological Quarterly* 70.1 (1997): 11-19. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Mar. 2015.
- "Beaumont Newhall - Dictionary of Art Historians." *Beaumont Newhall - Dictionary of Art Historians*. Dictionary of Art Historians, n.d. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- "Belzec." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. USHMM, n.d. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Benjamin, Walter. *A Short History of Photography*. Ed. Henry Bond. Trans. Stanley Mitchell. London: Oxford UP, 2011. Print.

- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. Trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. 217-51. Print.
- Bosoer, Fabian, and Frederica Finchelstein. "Argentina's Truth Commission at 30." *Aljazeera America*. N.p., 19 Jan. 2014. Web. 10 Oct. 2014.
- Campbell, David. "Cultural Governance and the Pictorial Resistance: Reflections on the Imagining of War." *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003): 57-73. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Campt, Tina. *Barnard College Faculty Profiles*. N.d. Tina Campt Faculty Profile.
- Caponigro, John P. "36 Quotes by Sebastiao Salgado." Web log post. *John Paul Caponigro*. N.p., 8 Oct. 2014. Web. 13 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.johnpaulcaponigro.com/blog/13998/36-quotes-by-photographer-sebasiao-salgado/>>.
- "Collective Memory." Def. 1. *Oxford Dictionaries*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 Oct. 2014.
- "Combating Holocaust Denial: Evidence of the Holocaust Presented at Nuremberg." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 20 June 2014. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- Conway, Richard. "Meet the Man Who Changed Photography." *Time*. Time, 30 Oct. 2014. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- Coser, Lewis A. "The Revival of the Sociology of Culture: The Case of Collective Memory." *Sociological Forum* 47.2 (1992): 365-73. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Aug. 2014.
- Crane, Susan A. "Choosing Not to Look: Representation, Repatriation, and Holocaust Atrocity Photography." *History and Theory* 47.3 (2008): 309-30. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Aug. 2014.
- "The Destruction of the Romanian Jews The German Occupation of Europe [Http://www.HolocaustResearchProject.org](http://www.HolocaustResearchProject.org)." *The Destruction of the Romanian Jews The German Occupation of Europe [Http://www.HolocaustResearchProject.org](http://www.HolocaustResearchProject.org)*. Holocaust Education and Research Team, n.d. Web. 5 Aug. 2015.
- DiCaprio, Lisa. "The Betrayal of Srebrenica: The Ten-Year Commemoration." *The Public Historian* 31.3 (2009): 73-95. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Mar. 2015.

- Dickerman, Leah. "The Fact and the Photography." *October* 118 (2006): 132-52. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- "Douglas R. Nickel." *Researchers*. Brown Universityq, n.d. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past." *History and Theory* 4th ser. 48.48 (2009): 130-50. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Aug. 2014.
- Eng, Karen. "Orphans of the Narrative: Bosnian Photographer Ziyah Gafić Documents the Aftermath of War." *TED Blog Orphans of the Narrative Bosnian Photographer Ziyah Gafi Documents the Aftermath of War Comments*. TED, 22 Aug. 2014. Web. 13 Oct. 2014.
- "German Invasion of Poland: Jewish Refugees, 1939." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 20 June 2014. Web. 13 Feb. 2015.
- "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History." *Paul Strand (1890–1976)*. N.p., n.d. Web. 8 Apr. 2015.
- Hernandez, Vladimir. "Argentine Mothers Mark 35 Years Marching for Justice - BBC News." *BBC News*. BBC Mundo, Buenos Aires, 29 Apr. 2012. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. "Incongruous Images: "Before, During, and After" the Holocaust." *History and Theory* 4th ser. 48.48 (2009): 9-25. *JSTOR*. Web. 28 Apr. 2014.
- Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. "What's Wrong with This Picture: Archival Photographs in Contemporary Narratives." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 5.2 (2006): 229-52. *JSTOR*. Web. 29 Apr. 2014.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Interview with Marianne Hirsch." Interview. *Columbia University Press*. N.p., 10 Oct. 2012. Web. 1 May 2014. <<http://www.cup.columbia.edu/static/interview-marianne-hirsch>>.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Mourning and Postmemory." *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997. 17-40. Print.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Past Lives." *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997. 241-68. Print.
- "History of Photography." *PBS: The American Experience*. N.p., n.d. Web. 20 Nov. 2014.
- "Holocaust Museum Houston." *Holocaust Museum Houston*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.hmh.org/>>.

- "Introduction to the Holocaust." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. USHMM, n.d. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Isenberg, Noah, and Walter Benjamin. "The Work of Walter Benjamin in the Age of Information." *New German Critique* 83 (2001): 119. *JSTOR [JSTOR]*. Web. 21 May 2015.
- Kansteiner, Wulf. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History and Theory* 41.2 (2002): 179-97. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Aug. 2014.
- Koepsel, Rachel. "Mother's of the Plaza De Mayo: First Responders for Human Rights." Diss. U of Denver, 2011. 11 Nov. 2011. Web. 20 Nov. 2014.
- Kosicki, Piotr H., and Aleksandra Jasinska-Kania. "Guest Editors' Introduction: Aggressors, Victims, and Trauma in Collective Memory." *International Journal of Sociology* 37.1 (2007): 3-9. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Larsen, David A. "Understanding Photo Genres." *Understanding Photo Genres*. Shutha, n.d. Web. 13 Jan. 2015.
- Larsen, Erik. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *The Modernism Lab*. Yale University, 2010. Web. 6 June 2015.
- Mason, Paul. "Horror Pictures of Dead Bodies Won't Stop Wars." *The Guardian* 23 Nov. 2014: 1-3. Print.
- Mitchell, William John. *The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Thruth in the Post-photographic Era*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2001. Print.
- Mitchell, WJT. "WJT Mitchell: About." Web log post. *Welcome to the Jungle of Imagery*. N.p., n.d. Web. 1 Mar. 2015. <<https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/wjtmitchell/>>.
- "Nazi Propaganda." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. USHMM, n.d. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Nickel, Douglas R. "History of Photography: The State of Research." *The Art Bulletin* 83.3 (2001): 548. *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Aug. 2015.
- "The Nuremberg Laws: Background and Overview." *Jewish Virtual Library*. American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2008. Web. 10 July 2015.

- Olick, Jeffrey K. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures." *Sociological Theory* 17.3 (1999): 333-48. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- "Past Genocides and Mass Atrocities." *United to End Genocide*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2015. <<http://endgenocide.org/>>.
- Pividori, Cristina. "Out of the Dark Room: Photography and Memory in Rachel Seiffert's Holocaust Tales." *Atlantis* 30.2 (2008): 79-94. *JSTOR*. Web. 4 Apr. 2014.
- Quan, Roy H. "Photography and the Creation of Meaning." *Art Education* 32.2 (1979): 4-9. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Reinartz, Dirk. "The Railway at Belzec Today." *The Railway at Belzec Today*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 Aug. 2014.
- Sagolj, Damir. "Srebrenica: The Story That Will Never End." *Damir Sagolj Wordpress*. N.p., 01 June 2011. Web. 15 Nov. 2014.
- "Silvia Tandeciarz Associate Professor of Hispanic Studies." William & Mary, n.d. Web. 26 Dec. 2014.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977. Print.
- Tandeciarz, Silvia R. "Mnemonic Hauntings: Photography as Art of the Missing." *Social Justice* 104th ser. 33.2 (2006): 135-52. *JSTOR*. Web. 4 Apr. 2014.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. "Through A Glass, Darkly: Photography and Cultural Memory." *Social Research* 75.1 (2008): 111-32. *JSTOR*. Web. 17 Aug. 2014.
- Tucker, Jennifer, and Tina Campt. "Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry." *History and Theory* 48.4 (2009): 1-8. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- Tucker, Jennifer. *Wesleyan University Faculty Information*. N.d. Jennifer Tucker Info Page.
- "U.S. Army & The Holocaust." *Jewish Virtual Library*. American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2008. Web. 14 Apr. 2015.
- "Visual Arts Encyclopedia." *Visual Arts Encyclopedia*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2015. <<http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/>>.

- Waltzer, Garie. "Photography: History, Evolution and Analysis." *Luminous-Lint*. Focal Encyclopedia of Photography, 1995. Web. 28 Feb. 2015.
- "What Is Genocide." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. USHMM, 20 June 2014. Web. 14 Apr. 2015.
- Willekens, Lieve. "Porodicne Slike: Family Photos: The Changing Role of Family Photography in Sarajevo." *Etnofoor* 16.1 (2003): 62-74. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2014.
- "World Without Genocide - Working to Create a World Without Genocide." *World Without Genocide - Working to Create a World Without Genocide*. N.p., n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2015.
<<http://worldwithoutgenocide.org/>>.
- Zelizer, Barbie. "Collective Memories, Images and the Atrocity of War." *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1998. 1-15. Print.