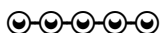


## CHAPTER 13

# The Barrette

## *Unlikely Humanitarian Images and Practices of Repair*

Jenna Grant



### “That Barrette, It Is from China”

Syna held up a printout of a black-and-white photograph for us in the audience to see. The photograph depicted a girl who looked around twelve years old, though she may have been younger, it was hard to tell (see figure 13.1). In the photograph, the girl is concentrating on a dynamo suspended just below eye level by two wooden blocks. A voltmeter sits in the foreground on her worktable, and she is holding one of the test leads to a contact. She seems to be checking the voltage of the dynamo, from which wires crane out like unruly twigs from a nest. To her left, another girl is similarly attentive to her task. Behind them are three rows of worktables, students all engaging in similar “practical work,” all wearing black long-sleeved shirts. Large windows backlight the scene, emphasizing the contrast between fuzzy elements of the photograph and those that can be seen in more detail—the girl’s upper body and the cables of the leads. There is a silver barrette in the girl’s dark hair, which is bobbed in the style compulsory at the time for women and girls. The barrette holds her hair in a gentle curve along her forehead and right temple. It anchors an imaginary line to her eyes, the test lead, and her graceful fingers. The barrette gleams, draws our gaze to it. It is a point of uncanny clarity in the photograph.

“That barrette, it is from China.” Syna, a filmmaker, and her partner Pheaktra, an archivist, were calling attention to clues in the images, clues to the presence of foreign things and foreign people in a supposedly isolated Democratic Kampuchea. They, along with others in the workshop, had spent time studying



**Figure 13.1.** • Elizabeth Becker, *Untitled*, Phnom Penh, 1978. Courtesy of University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, Elizabeth Becker Cambodia and Khmer Rouge Collection.<sup>1</sup>

images and texts from an archival collection and were now presenting their responses to the group. This was just one example of how mundane clues such as the barrette prompted discussion about everyday life during the Khmer Rouge period, bringing complexity to a grave, terrible history most often told through sensational narratives of governments, fragmented memories of survivors, and numbing details of academic monographs in languages other than Khmer.<sup>2</sup>

The photograph of the girl with the barrette, along with the hundreds or so others in the Elizabeth Becker Cambodia and Khmer Rouge Collection (1970–88), are unlikely humanitarian images.<sup>3</sup> Humanitarian images are part of the broader genre “humanitarian communication,” which Chouliaraki and Vestergaard define as “public practices of meaning making that represent human suffering as a cause of collective emotion and action.”<sup>4</sup> For Chouliaraki and Vestergaard, humanitarian communication makes claims on us because of a universal conception of the human, in which humanity is “a shared condition of existential openness to violence—corporeal, social or psychological.” It is the notion of humanity as “a shared condition of existential openness to violence” that explains the ubiquity of vulnerable bodies in humanitarian images.<sup>5</sup> The photographs in the Becker collection do not depict graphic violence, mass death, or obvious vulnerability or suffering. They seem to depict everyday life. Yet, these images depict what we now know to have been a humanitarian crisis—the Khmer Rouge genocide. These are images of performances of everyday life. Images of everyday dying.

The photographs in the collection are not traditional documentary or journalistic images, either. Though taken by US journalist Elizabeth Becker on a 1978 reporting trip, the unfreedom of the people in the photographs belies any sense of the images as objective documents. The photographs could only be made by someone working with the state’s permission, within the state’s tightly controlled view. Indeed, Becker called her trip “an incubated tour of the revolution” because of how her environment and activities were so tightly controlled by the government.<sup>6</sup> Becker was looking for evidence of human rights abuses. The Khmer Rouge, on the other hand, was looking to preserve its power, which required hiding its crimes and portraying itself to outside observers as the righteous sovereign. These images are thus products, indeed, ongoing sites, of struggle. An archive of difficult, quiet, disconcerting events. Fragments of a narrative that is not singular or resolved.

Yet, Becker’s photographs capture so much. They contain details that cannot be controlled, even by the most authoritarian of governments. They are open to questioning, perhaps more so than images of patent suffering that show clearly that something bad has happened, or is happening, and thus something needs to be done, urgently. The very qualities that make Becker’s photographs unlikely or inadequate humanitarian images—their seeming mundaneness and normalcy, their quiet—are those that make them open to public and personal

practices of repair. In other words, unlikely humanitarian images, like this of the girl with the barrette, are indeed sites for “collective emotion and action” but not by North Atlantic publics on behalf of distant others, the conventional schema in humanitarianism.<sup>7</sup> Rather, these images are sites for collective emotion and action by people living with the ongoing effects of humanitarian crises.

Imagining the photograph as a site for collective action is possible when we hold together multiple, different temporalities of the image. This archive of difficult, quiet, disconcerting images is not frozen in 1978. It is also an archive of other and yet-to-be-known events: workshops, funded by a Whiting Foundation Public Engagement Seed Grant, in 2019 and 2020; writing about it in 2022; events to come following publication on a website. Extending Ariella Azoulay’s conception of the photograph as event,<sup>8</sup> I describe conditions of production of Becker’s images alongside practices of relating to these images. If we consider the photograph as event-full, that it exists in multiple temporalities, we can see how critical understanding and questioning of unlikely humanitarian images are practices of repair that are part of the image, not other to it.

In this chapter, I present what is known about the context of the photograph of the girl with the barrette, including when it was taken, by whom, and for what purpose. I then discuss the activities of Archive Actions, a project of artists, community organizers, archivists, and university students that explores ways to “activate” the Becker archive. Archive Actions prioritizes the questions, critiques, and creative strategies of Cambodians and Cambodian Americans, with the intention that these communities be at the forefront of reparative work. It also insists that the caretakers of the image—librarians, archivists, scholars, and students at the university—are care-full about the ethics of access, digitization, and display. More than forty years later, collective emotion and action *can* emerge through conversations among artists, students, scholars, and archivists in Phnom Penh and Seattle. Their questions about history, subjectivity, and silence suggest that unlikely humanitarian images have an important role to play in practices of collective care and repair.

### The “Incubated Tour of the Revolution”

There are some things we know about the image of the girl with the barrette because the photographer told us. US journalist Elizabeth Becker took this picture at the Institute for Scientific Training and Information in Phnom Penh in December 1978 during a two-week reporting trip to Democratic Kampuchea. Becker could not speak to the girl with the barrette. She did not learn her name, nor the names of any of the other children/students/laborers repairing broken mechanical parts in other departments. According to Thiounn Mumm, head of the committee of the institute, these students were “the young van-

guard,” chosen from the common people to participate in a “totally new experiment in technological education.” Thiounn explained the experiment thusly:

- six months of training in basic science and calculation;
- six months of practice in cooperatives;
- six months of work in a factory;
- eighteen months of theory, including history, geography, and math;
- twelve months of work in a factory as technicians;
- eighteen months of further study.<sup>9</sup>

The proposed course of study and practice was longer than the duration of Democratic Kampuchea. Though the Khmer Rouge controlled different parts of the country in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, their rule over the nation, which they renamed Democratic Kampuchea, lasted from when they took Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 to when they were ousted from the capital on 7 January 1979—three years, eight months, and twenty days.

Elizabeth Becker was one of only two representatives from mainstream “Western” media to report from Democratic Kampuchea. From 9 December to 23 December 1978, Becker, working for the *Washington Post*, Richard Dudman, a senior reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and Malcolm Caldwell, a scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London, were invited to witness and report on the human rights situation and the impending war with Vietnam. The government of Democratic Kampuchea hastily arranged this “incubated tour of the revolution” to counter reports from refugees who had escaped Cambodia of atrocities that included starvation, hard labor, violence both routine and impossible to predict, rape, denial of medical care, forced marriage, forced movement, and separation from family. The Khmer Rouge also hoped to convince the world that Democratic Kampuchea was the victim of unprovoked, imperialist aggression from Vietnam and that war was imminent. Indeed, two days after Becker left Cambodia, the People’s Army of Vietnam and the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (dissident Cambodian communists and former Khmer Rouge who escaped purges in the Eastern Zone) invaded the country. They achieved their goal to overthrow the Pol Pot–Ieng Sary clique within two weeks.<sup>10</sup>

The trip began in Phnom Penh, where Becker had lived and worked for two years in the early 1970s reporting on the civil war. Returning to a Phnom Penh emptied of children, animals, monks, markets—of most people, including people she knew—prompted Becker to call it “a tropical twilight zone.”<sup>11</sup> The tours of factories, refineries, the port at Kompong Som, even the temples at Angkor Wat could not tell her definitively what was going on. Workers did not appear to be suffering. In more than a few of her photographs, people are smiling. Of course, it is hard to know what their smiles are showing and what they are hiding.

I first saw the image of the girl with the barrette on a computer screen in the Libraries of the University of Washington (UW), where I am employed as associate professor in the Department of Anthropology. The archive includes personal notes, negatives, scanned photographs, and interviews from the 1978 trip, as well as political speeches, cultural propaganda, and United Nations reports in English, Khmer, and French dating from 1970 to 1988. Becker is from Seattle and an alumna of UW. For these reasons, and because the university has an established Southeast Asia collection and a dedicated librarian, she donated her materials to UW.

I was surprised to learn of this archive. Becker is a prominent figure in Cambodia studies (*When the War Was Over* was the first book I read about Cambodia). How could I not have heard of this archive? Part of the significance of this collection is the fact that there are so few documentary materials from Democratic Kampuchea. Our histories are based on memories of survivors and of cadres; forensic research in prisons and graves; official histories of governments long gone; diplomatic communications wrapped in various levels of secrecy.<sup>12</sup> In fact, I was not aware that there were any images of Democratic Kampuchea taken by people who were not Khmer Rouge. Let me emphasize this: visual histories of the Khmer Rouge are based on propaganda and documentary images taken by agents of a regime that perpetrated genocide.<sup>13</sup>

Becker's images do not solve this problem. Her "incubated tour" was highly controlled. She saw what she was allowed to see, from the "practical study" in the Institute for Scientific Training to the oil refinery, women threshing rice on the highway, and the traditional medicines factory. Yet, images capture more than what is intended to be included or left out. Becker's images are constrained by the Khmer Rouge, but not utterly controlled or authored by them. Might the images have counterhistories to offer?

## History Is a Circle and a Spiral

Syna and Pheaktra, the filmmaker and archivist who singled out the barrette, were part of an Archive Actions workshop in Phnom Penh (2019). The primary intention of that and a subsequent Archive Actions workshop in Seattle (2020) was to explore methods of opening the Becker collection to Cambodians and Cambodian Americans so that they may learn from, challenge, and expand public histories of this period, of the Cold War, and of refugee experience in the United States. A secondary goal was to create networks for future work with the archive. The workshops introduced the Becker archive to artists, archivists, students, and community organizers in Phnom Penh and Seattle; explored what they want to know (or not know) about Cambodian and Cambodian American history; and gained insight on modes of research and

representation that matter to different publics. In Seattle, the Archive Actions project involved Ammara Touch, a UW undergraduate researcher and community activist, and two graduate students, Sambath Eat, an artist and MA student in Southeast Asia studies, and Felicia Rova-Chamroeun, an MA student in museology.<sup>14</sup>

The Phnom Penh workshop, organized with Sopheap Chea, director of the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, took advantage of artists from around Cambodia being in town for the 2019 Arts 4 Peace Festival and Photo Phnom Penh.<sup>15</sup> Two archivists and twelve artists of different disciplines joined the workshop: painters, photographers, filmmakers, a dancer, and a writer. In Seattle, Ammara and I worked with Bunthay Cheam, a community organizer with the Khmer Anti-Deportation Advocacy Group,<sup>16</sup> to bring together eleven participants: community organizers, educators, artists, and students, and a Special Collections librarian who had to be present as we were handling materials. In what follows, I describe some of the conversations about history and repair prompted by these images and other materials in the Becker archive.

In Phnom Penh, one group asked about visual clues to the staging of the photographs, which led to a larger discussion of the kind of staging the Khmer Rouge thought important to do. They noted that the child laborers wear items from China—for example, the barrette. We discussed the presence of foreign, mostly Chinese, technical consultants in Democratic Kampuchea. This indication of Chinese support, if not collaboration, with the Khmer Rouge was notable to Cambodian participants in the workshop because Chinese imperial projects in contemporary Cambodia are expansive and controversial. Another group was drawn to an image of a street in a provincial town, a street without people, without chickens, with no signs of human or animal life. “It is like a puzzle,” Roth said, “to try to piece together these different materials.” People wondered about one of the Khmer Rouge staff that handled the visitors, Thoiunn Prasith, who is a main character in Becker’s notes. Who was this man? Is he still alive? What was his job like, leading foreigners on “tours” of Democratic Kampuchea? In her notes, Becker expresses a fondness for one of her guides, Suon. What was this strange relationship between Becker and Suon like? How did it affect her photography?

Another group came away with the impression of history as a circle; rather, a spiral. A story of different and repeating departures: Lon Nol (leader of the Khmer Republic, the prior government) from Cambodia to exile in Hawaii; people from the cities to the countryside; the Khmer Rouge from Cambodia to Thailand. Becker herself, always with departure on the horizon. There is a sense of performance, Kong said; the route is planned and the scenes inside and outside are staged. “The performance is near the end, but the journey is not done.” Some talked about the nature of the “mistake” in their materials. Many of Becker’s photos are from the inside of a car. Some are oddly framed, includ-

ing much of the car window and ceiling (for example, see figure 13.2). Is she trying to tell us something about a controlled view, or simply revealing the limits of her ability to freely observe and photograph everyday life and conditions?

Indeed, participants in Phnom Penh and Seattle debated the truths of images and texts in the archive. One photograph sparked a heated discussion about the unevenness of experience, and the role of luck and privilege in dictating life under the Khmer Rouge. The photo in question is a black-and-white scene of a relatively well-dressed older couple standing in front of a comfortable, traditional stilt home (see figure 13.3). “The location is Takeo,” said Pheaktra, the archivist. “The village was a model village.” There, people had enough to eat. They had decent clothes and housing. This “Potemkin Village” was an agricultural cooperative that actually functioned. People grew food and appeared self-sufficient. Pheaktra’s knowledge was unique, formed through profession (he is an archivist working at Bophana and familiar with the image) and through kinship (his relatives lived in this village). Comparatively speaking, his relatives did not suffer greatly during Democratic Kampuchea, and it was some time before they learned that their experience was unique. People in the room were surprised that these villages existed, that there was anyone who had a reasonably good life under the Khmer Rouge. Some expressed anger. Why Pheaktra’s relatives? What was their connection, how did they have this privilege? Or was their situation nothing to do with their positionality, just merely luck?



**Figure 13.2.** • Elizabeth Becker, *Untitled*, 1978. Courtesy of University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, Elizabeth Becker Cambodia and Khmer Rouge Collection.<sup>17</sup>





**Figure 13.3.** • Elizabeth Becker, *Untitled*, Takeo, 1978. Courtesy of University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, Elizabeth Becker Cambodia and Khmer Rouge Collection.<sup>18</sup>

A Seattle participant was struck by the ways that different regimes represented gender. Specifically, in magazines and booklets printed for foreign audiences, both Democratic Kampuchea and the People's Republic of Kampuchea depict women as having a full role in society. But we know different. "How to peel away the falsity of these representations," Darozyl asked, "as well as representations of Vietnam and Cambodia in eternal conflict? How can we do reconciliation between Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in the US, undoing the indoctrination of victimhood and blame?"

Several people in the Seattle workshop noted the psychological perversion of various symbols, such as Angkor Wat on the Khmer flag, and the krama, a traditional, checkered scarf.<sup>19</sup> During the Khmer Rouge, the soldiers' uniforms included the red and white krama. The manipulation of potent symbols of Khmer identity creates a contradiction for many, especially diasporic individuals in the United States who seek to revive and reconnect with their roots in the form of artifacts like the krama, but who also must come to terms with its undertones of violence because of its association with a genocidal regime.

Analyzing these pieces of history raised conversation about the ways Cambodian Americans experience contradictions in their attempts to navigate Khmer identity and culture. Keo reflected on the time he created a flyer for a Khmer community event and received criticism from elders for his use of dark colors. He realized that their criticism "came from a place of unhealed trauma, because the dark colors reminded them of the Khmer Rouge. It's hard when they don't talk because you don't know," he said. In her notes from the workshop, Ammara wrote, "As Cambodian Americans work towards healing and building a collective Khmer identity, they must address the generational gap."

In the basement of UW Libraries, workshop participants criticized the ways knowledge about Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge period has been created and passed down. Bunthay commented on how colonialism has made many feel that "in order to learn about ourselves, we need to go to white institutions, which teach our histories through a Western academic lens." This lens claims legitimacy on all "facts" presented, and that "our parents' stories are not true or have less value." Bunthay articulates how repair work with the archive will require practices of unlearning and practices of honoring memory. Ammara stressed that stories have many sides to them and are granted power by whomever is able to perpetuate and speak them. At the same time, Sameth insisted, "it is a fine line we walk in seeking these memories. Often stories are the only thing that survivors can own and keep for themselves coming out of such violence, and that also must be respected." To disregard the desire for silence and to probe for information can be a form of extraction that continues to dehumanize the individual.

Participants in Archive Actions workshops studied Becker's photographs and documents and shared our puzzlement, responses, and ideas for future re-

pair work. Their concerns echo those of scholars and artists who work with colonial images and images from the Warsaw ghetto. They prompt debate about issues such as: What historical truths do photographs show? To what extent are photographs determined by state control, and what might evade control? Whose experiences are privileged in the display of photographs of colonial life, war atrocities, or humanitarian crises? Do these photographs contribute to reparative research and practice, or does their circulation further traumatize survivors and descendants?<sup>20</sup>

### Toward a Kind of Undercommons

Archive Actions brought the Becker collection to new publics in Cambodia and the United States. The project also connected UW students to artists and community organizers in Seattle, resulting in new collaborations on art, research, and activist initiatives in the Cambodian American community and with the university.<sup>21</sup> Our work came to a screeching halt in 2020 due to the global COVID-19 pandemic and uprisings around racism and police violence, from which we have yet to recover. The pandemic forced closure of the Bophana Center for months, seriously threatening its future, and UW Libraries Special Collections reopened for visits by appointment. Workshop participants in Seattle are dedicating their labor and energy to COVID-19 relief efforts in the Cambodian community and to antiracist activism.

In the coming years, we aim to develop a website for the Becker Archive, which will require us to take up many of the difficult questions raised in the workshops and by critical digital humanities scholars. These are some of our premises:

- looking at these images should not be easy or passive;
- these images require contextualization;
- there needs to be a structural mechanism through which Cambodians and Cambodian Americans can guide the display or nondisplay of specific images;
- there needs to be a structural mechanism through which Cambodians and Cambodian Americans can shape the metadata that constrain how an image is categorized, thus how it can be searched for, and how it may be found.

These are some of our questions:

- How do we account for the fact that people did not provide consent to be photographed?

- How do we contextualize the violations that people in these images experienced? What is the minimum people should know to engage with the digital archive in a manner that respects the dignity of subjects?
- Should there be different levels of access to digital materials for different groups of people? Or should it be “open” to all with an internet connection?

Throughout the building and maintenance of this site, we must be intentional about the process of digitization and making images available online. In other words, creating a website for an online archive is not a simple question of translating materials from one medium to another and just letting them be. Important theoretical and practical questions must be wrestled with along the way, and not just by the leads on the project but by all involved. This requires valuing the intellectual and emotional labor of web designers, research assistants, and workshop participants through compensation, attribution, and recognition. We also value in similar ways the labor of those who will maintain the digital and physical archives.

One of our central concerns is the form that “context” should take. Knowing that the manner in which people display interest or formulate questions has a social history, what context is needed?<sup>22</sup> Should levels of historical, cultural, and political detail be nested, with points deemed crucial on display and points worth knowing available by clicking through? Art historian Temi Odumosu has posed the question thusly: “I am wondering if there is a way to develop an ethics of care for digitization that is able to signal to different kinds of users or audiences where and how sensitivity is required, not as an optional stance but as a prerequisite for the digital encounter.”<sup>23</sup>

We also need to think carefully about the issue of property. Digitization and circulation of images on the internet can evade control. As anthropologist Emma Kowal writes, “The world of open access proliferates the decisions that need to be made. . . . Everywhere we are struggling with when to share and when to withhold. Perhaps the critical point is not whether something is open or closed, but who has the control to make this decision.”<sup>24</sup> In this case, control is a positive value that protects vulnerable images from circulating without context and from misuse. Becker’s images of people living under the Khmer Rouge should not contribute to stereotypical depictions of Cambodian people and the Cambodian nation as abject, failed, terrorized.

We want a website that structures how publics engage with the online archive and is also malleable in response to publics and events. What forms of knowledge can a platform incorporate, indeed, learn from? For example, if metadata could be altered by users of a public digital archive, might they become both an alternative catalogue clear to users and, borrowing from Odumosu, “a quiet undercommons reconfiguring the digital thoroughfares (associations, keywords,

hyperlinks) that bring a public in encounters with challenging histories”<sup>25</sup> Certainly a digital archive offers possibilities for public engagement; can it also hold tension? In Odumusu’s terms, can a digital archive be a repository of the challenges images provoke?

Perhaps the broader stance toward images we must advocate is that there is more than one temporality for images. Media studies scholar and curator Ariella Azoulay has called this the “event” of photography, stressing that photographs are something that happens and something that continues to happen.<sup>26</sup> It can be challenging to conceive of historical humanitarian images in this way. To some audiences, the temporality of the girl with barrette or the couple standing in front of their home seems radically “other” in terms of time, place, and conditions. Thus, one strategy will be to curate a digital archive as an event-full space, a space for the documentation, discussion, contestation, and re-inscription of events. This places the common understanding of a photograph as a product of the stable and singular view of X (photographer, the state, the army, science) as *one among other* possible understandings of what a photograph is. In other words, the image of the girl with the barrette is one of many that came out of an encounter: between Becker, the girl, the camera, the students, the Khmer Rouge leaders. It was possible because a US reporter was a desirable witness, desirable even to an anti-imperialist communist regime that murdered people for alleged connections to the United States, one that gained moral strength as a result of US carpet bombing, chemical warfare, and regime change. Syna and Pheaktra’s discussion of the photograph of the girl with the barrette is yet another temporality for this image. Their questions—and similar questions from students, archivists, activists, and artists—shift understandings of this history and this archive.

### Now You Are a Part of It

I conclude with Odumusu’s question, a difficult but fair question, a reparative question posed by an unlikely humanitarian image such as the girl with the barrette: “Look, here is my story. I’ve experienced pain, and now you are a part of it; tell me what you intend to do with me?”<sup>27</sup>

To use images in repair work, we must address each facet of this question. Repair work must tell a story about the contexts of images. These stories may change as people engage with the archive and new facts emerge. Repair work must acknowledge pain. The pain of subjects in the images, the pain of those who experienced or whose loved ones experienced this humanitarian crisis. Repair work insists that the viewer of a photograph becomes involved in the events of the photograph: “Now you are a part of it.” Ethical involvement means questioning the event of the photograph when it was produced, and

subsequent events such as curation, digitization, study, and display. Unlikely humanitarian images provoke questions about facts: about everyday life in extreme times and about spirals and connections over different time periods. Not just that there was suffering, for example, but that suffering was uneven, whether random or by design. Unlikely humanitarian images demand that we create spaces of dignity for subjects and for viewers with direct relation to subjects. They also require digital spaces that are open to and may be altered by descendants. Unlikely humanitarian images demand a considered response to the question: “Tell me what you intend to do with me?”

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## Notes

1. Accession number 6036-001, box 1, folder 12.
2. On fragmented and episodic memory, see Kwan, “Time-Image Episodes”; Um, *Land of Shadows*.
3. Elizabeth Becker Cambodia and Khmer Rouge Collection, 1970–1988, 6036 (Accession No. 6036-001), box 352900, University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, Seattle, WA, <https://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv40194>. These materials are also available at the Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center: Collection of Elizabeth Becker, 1970–1988, EBK (Archive reference code), Bophana Audiovisual Resource Center, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, <https://bophana.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/45.-Elizabeth-Becker.pdf>.
4. Humanitarian communication includes newspaper articles, UN speeches, social media posts, and films that render “vulnerable others into language or image with a view to inviting audiences to act upon their vulnerability—to help alleviate their suffering or protect them from harm.” Chouliaraki and Vestergaard, “Humanitarian Communication,” 1.
5. Chouliaraki and Vestergaard, “Humanitarian Communication,” 2.
6. Becker, *When the War Was Over*, 398.
7. Indeed, in 1978 and 1979, Becker’s and refugees’ claims about the regime’s crimes were brushed aside. Throughout the 1980s, China, the United States, other capitalist powers, and the UN recognized the exiled Khmer Rouge as the legitimate government of Cambodia rather than the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, the government that ousted the Khmer Rouge and was struggling to rebuild the country.
8. Azoulay, “What Is a Photograph?”
9. Becker describes her visit to the Institute for Scientific Training and Information in *When the War Was Over*, 406–8.

10. Becker, *When the War Was Over*, 398.
11. Becker, *When the War Was Over*, 402.
12. See Khatharya Um, *Land of Shadows*, for original research and a comprehensive analysis of published work on the genocide. See also the online archives of the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-Cam), the Yale Cambodian Genocide Program, and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC).
13. See Rithy Panh's experimental essay film *The Missing Picture* on the problem of working with propaganda images, and creative strategies for both incorporating and critiquing these images.
14. Sambath Eat scanned many documents of the Becker archive, for which I am grateful. Eat's MA thesis, "Paste-Up Modernity," develops the concept of the "paste-up" to understand the incorporation of heterogeneous Khmer and foreign images in postcolonial media. For her MA project, "Decolonizing the Narrative," Rova-Chamroeun's decolonial approach to oral history practice involved reworking the seemingly mundane consent form to reflect community ownership, conducting oral histories with Cambodian American community members of different ages, and working with the Highline Heritage Museum on an exhibition and permanent website: <https://highlinemuseum.org/cambodian-oral-history/>.
15. See <https://photography-now.com/exhibition/142576> and <https://arts4peace.cambodianlivingarts.org/kh/>.
16. See <https://www.khaagwa.org/>.
17. Accession number 6036-001, box 1, folder 12.
18. Accession number 6036-001, box 1, folder 12.
19. See "Of Krama and Khmer Identity," in Ly, *Traces of Trauma*, for analysis of the krama in contemporary Cambodian art.
20. On colonial and postcolonial images, see Camp, *Listening to Images*, and Odumosu, "What Lies Unspoken." On film of the Warsaw ghetto see Hersonski, *Film Unfinished*, and Melamed, "Film Unraveled."
21. For example, Keo Sanh, one of the Seattle workshop participants, will be a resident in the Artist's Studio of the UW Burke Museum. Sanh, artist and founder of the renowned Eazy Duz It lowrider car club, will work on art for a car in the museum's parking lot, engaging the public in his process and discussing Cambodian iconography in his practice.
22. Redfield, in Kowal et al., "Open Question."
23. Odumosu, "Crying Child," S298.
24. Kowal, in Kowal et al., "Open Question."
25. Odumosu, "Crying Child," S299.
26. Azoulay, "What Is a Photograph?"
27. Odumosu, "Crying Child," S299.

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