# CHAPTER FIVE: CONSTITUTING RELATIONS

from *Challenging the (Moral) Order:*

*Military Service Members as Public Witnesses to War*

A Dissertation

By Kimberly A. Spring

PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology

New School for Social Research

If the previous chapter assumed a meta-level view to study the discursive frames constructed for interpreting the interactions that occurred during WSIA, this chapter takes what could be described as a meso-level perspective in order to examine the spatial and temporal relations that existed within WSIA in order to show how they contributed to the constitution of meaning among the participants. Since my approach to morality in this dissertation is concerned with how it is a means of providing structure to experience, spatial and temporal relations serve an important role in the manifestation of moral meaning in experience, as we find with notions such as *sacred space* and *ritual time*. Furthermore, as morality involves the process of orienting individuals to one another and the world, spatial and temporal relations can give form to the qualitative valuation of persons. This is particularly salient in the constitution of a person's moral authority, or the perceived capacity to determine legitimate moral meanings. Whereas other examinations of individuals' moral authority (Bourdieu 1991; Mehta and Winship 2010) have focused on how the perception of that authority is dependent on the previous actions of individuals, the intention here is to understand how moral authority was actively constituted *within* the situation through both spatial and temporal relations.

During WSIA, the spatial and temporal relations were, in part, determined by the organizers and therefore intended to reinforce the organizers' frame. In particular, the relations among participants were critical to the establishment of the veterans as witnesses and moral authorities. For example, the isolation of the veteran testifiers from the other participants and the constitution of the other participants as an audience produced highly asymmetrical interactions and hierarchical relationships that gave deferential status to the

veteran testifiers (Goffman 1956). At the same time, the structure of the event, which simultaneously constituted a "sacred space" for veterans to come to terms with their past and a "public space" to foster open deliberation, led to a tension between notions of private and public. The tension between public and private is an essential part of public atrocity witnessing (defined as the public presentation of personal trauma), and the discomfort that many of the veterans experienced in exposing personal anguish allowed for the audience to *experience* the veterans' trauma and thereby serve as witnesses to the witness. Temporal relations were similarly significant to the situation as a site for the veterans to relate their past experiences. However, the relation to the past was also complex, as the veterans sought both to give the past a reality in the present and to distance themselves from their past affiliation with the military. Thus, the examination of the constitution of spatial and temporal relations within WSIA illuminates the ambiguity and contingency of moral meaning.

## CONSTITUTING THE COLLECTIVE

Attention to the actual constitution of relations during WSIA is important because the appearance of the veterans as public witnesses was not merely symbolic; the participants' experience of the interactions would inform future interactions, and, if repeated, would become a "stylized" behavior (Butler 1988). It is through situated interactions that individuals constitute their social reality. Even in situations in which participants disagree over the meaning of that reality, it is the case that "when participants in a social situation define something as being real, it is real in its consequences" (Goldfarb 2006:8). While the

interactions during WSIA may have been concentrated on recounting experiences from the past, they still constituted an experience, and a reality, for the participants in the present.

An examination of spatial and temporal relations reveals an inherent tension between two intentions on the part of the organizers. On the one hand, WSIA was intended as a public event that would facilitate the public's deliberation over military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. On the other hand, it was intended as a "safe space for veterans to work through their issues" (Organizer B).[1] As a public event, the organizers perceived WSIA, in the tradition of public atrocity witnessing, as a forum for the public recognition of a previously silenced group (Wilson 2003a). The organizers asserted, "Americans have heard from the generals, they've heard from the politicians, they've heard from the media – now it's our turn" (*Winter Soldier Fact Sheet*). The enlisted service members, furthermore, would be able to speak about "what is really happening, day in and day out in Iraq and Afghanistan" (*Winter Soldier Fact Sheet*). By giving voice to enlisted service members, WSIA would realize the democratic principles of equality and self-determination and contribute to the delegitimization of discriminatory systems and authoritarian narratives of the past. The event was cast as an opportunity not only to broaden the scope of public debate, but also to reconstitute relations within the hierarchical and insular institution of the military. As an event for the public sphere, WSIA was intended to bring together participants as equals in order to "act in and change and build a common world" (Arendt 1968: 301). In this way, a *public* would be formed and which would be distinct from other collectives, such as crowds,

---

[1] There was also a third aim of the event, which bridges the public and personal intentions, which was to encourage other veterans and service members to speak out against military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

communities, and audiences, because the members of this public would understand themselves as having a shared identity and collective responsibility for the issues raised during the event (Dayan 2005).

At the same time, the organizers also recognized that the act of testifying was a personal experience in which the veterans confronted traumatic experiences. Indeed, the practice of public atrocity witnessing gains its power, not through the presentation of past suffering, but in the suffering that the testifiers experience *as* witnesses to that past suffering.[2] Given the difficulty of presenting personal experiences and emotions, which are normally reserved for private interactions, in a public forum, the organizers enforced a distance between the testifiers and the other participants that stifled the possibilities for dialogue. This contributed to the constitution of unequal and oppositional relations that inhibited deliberation and the realization of a democratic public. At the same time that WSIA provided a space for enlisted service members to speak, it silenced others, including the other participants and members of the military who disagreed with the position of the organizers. Because access to the event was restricted, the "public" could only participate in the event through the mediation of the news media and the Internet. As a result, the practice produced asymmetrical relations between the testifiers and non-testifiers that belied the claim that WSIA was a space for democratic deliberation.

---

[2] I return to this issue of suffering and its role in the constitution of moral meaning in Chapter Six.

The Site for WSIA

The selection of the location for WSIA at the National Labor College (NLC), just outside of Washington, DC, was one of both strategy and convenience. Unlike the need in 1971 for organizers to hold WSI in Detroit, MI in order for the event broadcast to be available in Canada, satellite and Internet technology available to the organizers of WSIA in 2008 lifted many geographical constraints. The organizers settled on Washington, DC because of its relative accessibility for the news media and veterans, as well as its location as the site for many of the antiwar protests planned for the week after WSIA to mark the 5th anniversary of the US military invasion of Iraq. The event organizers' limited resources, however, restricted where in the nation's capital the event could be held. NLC, an activist higher education institution for educating labor union members, offered a state-of-the-art space at the campus' Kirkland Center. Some of the organizers were concerned that any perceived affiliation with the politically left-leaning labor movement might alienate service members and veterans, who are typically more politically conservative. As a result, even though the event took place within the conference center at the NLC, the association with the labor movement was downplayed in the broadcast of the event and technology allowed for the creation of a virtual public space that was inclusive of individuals across the political spectrum. For the videotaped testimonies, the viewer only saw a large banner with the words, Winter Soldier Iraq and Afghanistan Eyewitness Accounts of the Occupation, which hung behind the table, or an IVAW electronic banner text.

During the event, boundaries were constituted around the NLC campus through security patrols by Montgomery County police officers and a series of makeshift checkpoints

that were manned by the red-shirted men of the WSIA security team. The members of the WSIA security team largely consisted of Vietnam-era veterans who had volunteered to help. Many of the security team members also wore evidence of their veteran status, such as caps or military jackets with unit insignia. Through the checkpoints, the campus became a controlled space, as individuals who wished to enter the campus were required to present either event badges or campus identification. The boundary for the event was made visible by the gap maintained between the event's security team and the group of protesters who had gathered next to the entrance of the campus. The organizers made explicit their request for event attendees *not* to engage with the protesters. The WSIA Event Code of Conduct, which was distributed to all attendees, stated that engagement with "any disrupters inside or outside the event" was grounds for "immediate and uncontestable permanent removal." When participants to the event spoke with the protesters, the security team would request that the participants end the conversation. While there were periodic interactions between the protesters and the security staff, more typically a physical distance of between 100 and 150 yards was maintained.

Once past the checkpoint, participants entered NLC's 47-acre campus, which consists of a cluster of nine buildings: four residence halls, a library, a theater, two academic buildings, and the Kirkland Center, which was the focal point for WSIA. The Center provided the hall where the testimonies and press conferences took place, meeting spaces, and the cafeteria where meals were served. The hall in which the testimonies took place was on the second floor of the building, a large room that could seat up to 600 people with auditorium style seating [See Chart 5.1]. While the room was never entirely filled during the

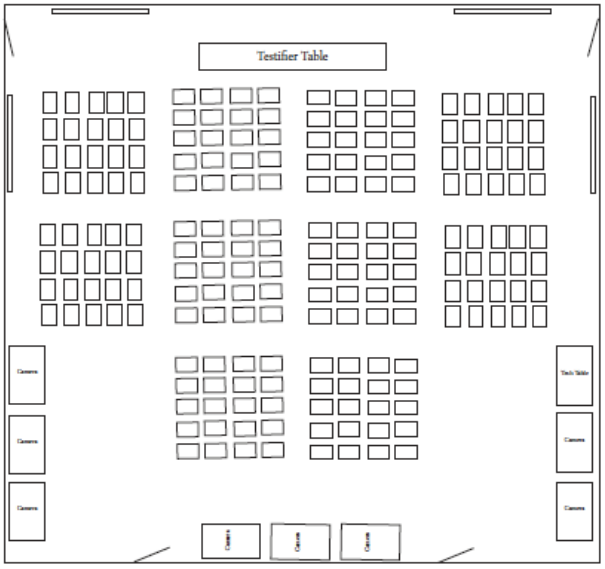
event, the majority of seats were filled for most of the panels. During the breaks between panels, participants filled the common spaces on the second floor mezzanine and the first floor lounge. While most of the participants returned to the hall for each panel, some, and particularly the veterans, would gather in the grassy quad outside of the conference center. Many of the veterans also stayed in the residence halls, the campus provided meals and other daily needs, and the organizers provided entertainment, including creative activities (painting and poetry) for the veterans and evening concerts for all of the participants. The fact that the event was inclusive not just of the testimonies but of other daily practices meant that the concentration of participants led to the constitution of an *ad hoc* community for the four days of the event.

The broader public, which was physically absent, was symbolically represented by the ubiquitous presence of cameras and other recording devices. The ring of cameras in the hall, in which the testifiers spoke, was a visual reminder of the publicity of what otherwise was a controlled space. The success of WSIA as a public event depended on the extent to which its broadcast could reach beyond the space in the NLC to a widespread and heterogeneous public. The testimonies were broadcast via alternative media outlets, such as Pacifica Radio, and streamed on-line through IVAW's website. The video recordings were archived on IVAW's website and made available via YouTube.[3] In further efforts to make WSIA into a public event, the organizers published an edited version of the testimonies in the

[3] The video recordings, which are archived at www.ivaw.org/wintersoldier, are temporarily unavailable due to a redesign of the organization's website.

book, *Winter Soldier Iraq and Afghanistan: Eyewitness Accounts of the Occupations* (2008), and produced a documentary of the event, *This Is Where We Take Our Stand* (2009).

FIGURE 5.1: LAYOUT IN SOLIDARITY HALL DURING WSIA




The Spatial Arrangement of Participants

The organization of spatial and temporal relations at WSIA was a reflection of two conventional practices: congressional hearings and psychotherapeutic sessions. As with congressional hearings, the testifiers were "called" to present factual testimony on a panel before others.[4] However, whereas in a congressional hearing, the testifier is subject to interrogation by the congressional members in order to test the veracity of the claims, the

[4] The use of a congressional hearing format distinguished WSIA from other events of public atrocity witnessing, which tend to rely on the format of courtroom testimony, where a single witness presents their testimony. However, there is a common expectation for both congressional hearing and courtroom testimony that the witness has sworn to tell the truth.

organizers did not permit questioning of the WSIA testifiers. Instead, the moderator acted in a role more akin to a psychotherapist and asked nonconfrontational questions intended to help the testifiers to articulate emotionally evocative memories of past trauma. The moderators selected for the event were either organizers or members of IVAW and therefore unlikely to challenge the substance of the testimonies. The nonconfrontational style of the moderators was part of a more general attempt to construct a "safe space" in which victims could speak about past trauma.

FIGURE 5.1: TESTIFIERS FROM FIRST ROE PANEL

(Members of the security team, in red shirts, flank the table)

Because WSIA organizers restricted admittance to those individuals who were supportive of the aims of the event (or individuals who would at least remain neutral, as with journalists), the community that was constituted during the four days of the event was united around a shared investment in its success. The exclusion of those who might oppose or

disrupt the testimonies prevented the possibility for the event to be a space for open public deliberation. However, the exclusion of certain groups was not the only means by which events of public atrocity witnessing restricted debate. The organization of individuals and spaces also hampered open deliberation. For example, the capacity to speak during the testimonies was limited to testifiers and moderators. They were seated at a table that was on a raised platform, which was guarded by four members of the security team to prevent any unauthorized participants from approaching the table. In addition, the testifiers were provided microphones so that they could be heard throughout the large hall space.

The testifiers were made inaccessible in WSIA through their physical isolation and the prohibition against interactions with the other attendees. The organizers sequestered the testifiers before and after their testimony and required that they enter and exit the hall through a different door than the other participants. The organizers asserted the necessity of this segregation because of the emotional trauma of recounting past suffering. For some of the testifiers, the isolation did not prevent the experience of testifying from being stressful or traumatizing. It did, however, produce a tension between the aim of the organizers to provide a space for the testifiers to (privately) work through their issues and (publically) alter the US public's deliberation of the military and war. For some testifiers, the inability to interact with the other attendees was unsatisfying, and some of the organizers of subsequent WSIA events sought to limit the isolation of the testifiers with such practices as allowing questions from the audience and having the testifiers sit on the same level as the other participants without tables, microphones, or security teams between them.

FIGURE 5.2: VIEW OF SECOND PANEL ON RACISM

While the immediate audience for event was composed of veterans, military families, antiwar activists and the news media, the organizers prioritized the subgroups, such that the key audience for them were active duty service members. As one of the organizers notes in an interview, effectively reaching that group would allow them to build membership in IVAW and resistance within the military, which was seen as the best way to bring an end to the presence of US troops in Iraq (Organizer A). For this reason, the organizers were particularly pleased with evidence that the broadcast testimony was reaching active duty service members. For example, the organizer that I interviewed made reference to the fact that two military newspapers had published articles about the event, and IVAW's executive director, in her closing comments to WSIA, defined the organizers' success in extending the reach of the testimonies beyond the setting of the NLC with the examples of a sergeant in Iraq who emailed a IVAW member that his unit had heard about the event and of a group of

soldiers who had been watching the testimonies on PBS in a base common room until an NCO came in and turned off the television.

The interest that the organizers had in reaching active duty service members also influenced their guidelines on the appearance of the veterans. In particular, they were concerned about alienating service members, who tend to hold conservative political views and be antipathetic toward the antiwar movement. Therefore, the organizers requested that the veterans dress conservatively.[5]As a result, the attire of the veteran testifiers ranged mostly from suits and ties to slacks and dress shirts. In addition, while most of the testifiers no longer maintained military grooming standards, those with longer hair or beards and goatees kept their appearance neat. The conservative attire was contrasted with the far more casual dress of the audience, which was predominately characterized by jeans and t-shirts. Notably, when the veterans shifted from testifier to audience member, they also changed their clothing, typically replacing dress clothes with jeans and t-shirts.

While the testifiers were given a position of distinction, the other participants sat in the anonymous auditorium style seating and no microphones were provided to allow for interaction from the larger group. This arrangement placed the other attendees into the role of an *audience*, present at the event to listen but not otherwise engage with the panel members. The participants largely complied with the restrictions of the audience role, limiting their interactions with the testifiers to paralinguistic expressions that are common to audiences,

---

[5] The request for testifiers to dress conservatively was an intensely debated issue among the veterans. While some saw it as necessary in order for active duty service members to identify with the testifiers, others saw it as a hard-handed attempt to suppress individual expression and too reminiscent of the enforced conformity of the military. However, in the end, those who advocated for conservative attire won the argument.

e.g. applause, cheers, laughter, and tears. The audience's response to the testimonies was almost entirely supportive. In the few exceptions in which the audience engaged in verbal interactions with the testifiers, members of the audience would shout out statements to encourage the testifiers to continue speaking. The only confrontational incident occurred when a member of the audience briefly interrupted testimony on the first veterans' panel on Friday morning, which is described in Chapter Four. While the organizers and testifiers did not respond directly to the heckler, the rest of the audience demonstrated their support of the testifiers (and thereby their rejection of the heckler) by giving the testifier who had been interrupted a 30 second standing ovation.

While the organizers did allow the audience to ask questions during two panels, neither of the panels had veteran testifiers and the members of the audience could not ask the questions directly, but had to write their questions down on paper and the moderator would pose the questions to the panel members, who consisted of journalists and academics.[6] Outside of the panels, the physical separation between veteran testifiers and the other participants was not strictly enforced, but the organizers attempted to maintain some distance between the testifiers and other participants, in particular the news media. The organizers requested that members of the media, who were representatives of the public, not approach the veterans except with the permission of the organizers. These spatial arrangements contributed to the constitution of a hierarchy among the participants at the same time that the meaning of the interactions was dominated by the appearance of consensus.

---

[6] The two panels were *The Aims of the Global War on Terror: The Political, Legal, and Economic Context of Iraq and Afghanistan* and *Civilian Testimony: The Cost of War in Iraq and Afghanistan*.

FIGURE 5.3: AUDIENCE MEMBERS APPLAUD A TESTIFIER DURING FIRST ROE PANEL
(Media persons can be seen standing in the rear)

Consensus and Difference among Participants

In limiting who could act as a testifier to *particular and intentionally selected* individuals, the organizers influenced the constitution of intragroup hierarchical boundaries. Through the establishment of these relations between the testifiers and other participants, not only was a physical separation enforced, but also the voices of the testifiers were privileged over that of the other participants. The distance and privilege maintained between the testifiers and the other attendees was integral to the constitution of the testifiers as possessing moral authority, or the right to determine the legitimacy of particular moral valuations.[7] The segregation, combined with the moderators' instructions to the attendees to be respectful and

[7] I make a distinction between moral *authority*, which is a relational concept based on influence, and moral *power*, which is a type of action (individual or collective) that affects circumstances (Mehta and Winship 2010).

the organizers' warning that any disruptive behavior would be grounds for "immediate and uncontestable permanent removal" (*WSIA Event Code of Conduct*), created an environment in which the speech of the testifiers could not be questioned and thereby were given complete deference.

The organizers constructed distinctions among the attendees, who were required to identify themselves as belonging to one of five groups: testifiers, veterans, military family members, allies (i.e. member of an antiwar organization), or the media.[8] When participants first entered the space of the event, they reported to the registration table, located in the atrium of the conference center, where they received an event packet and a badge. The badge, which participants were required to wear at all times and show to security when entering the hall, marked the participants with the group to which they belonged and determined their level of access. For example, there were parts of the campus that were restricted to organizers and testifiers and some to veterans only. The distinctions created by the categories could be spatially characterized as rings, where the testifiers occupied the inner ring, followed by (non-testifying) veterans, military families, allies and then the media. As mediators for the public, the media occupied an essential yet peripheral position during the event. While the testimonies were presented for the media to record and transmit them, the neutral observer position meant that the media also were not fully part of the collective experience of WSIA.

By ensuring a degree of consensus among the participants through the restrictions on attendance, the organizers also increased the likelihood that the environment in which the

---

[8] Those who did not fit into any of these categories, as was the case with myself, were grouped with the media.

testimonies occurred would allow for the development of a mutually accepted moral understanding among the participants. This also influenced the extent to which the participants would share the same belief in the impersonal criteria that give legitimacy to particular moral valuations. For WSIA, the fact that an overwhelming portion of participants held antiwar perspectives meant that they were sympathetic to claims by the testifiers that war dehumanizes all participants and was, therefore, immoral because it denied them the fundamental right to equality and self-determination. As a result, the testifiers did not need to confront or respond to alternative perspectives, such as one that argued that there are cases where the use of force can be just or that service members had a primary obligation to maintaining allegiance to the military. Consensus among the participants also led to overwhelming acceptance of the rules and boundaries during the event, such that the testifiers were allowed to speak, by and large, uninterrupted. The sympathetic position of the participants meant that the emotional speech of the testifiers, as well as their claims of brutality and violence on the part of service members, was met with attentiveness and solemnity by the audience.

## CONSTITUTING EXCLUSION

While some participants were silenced through their spatial position within the event, others were excluded from participating in WSIA, in particular those who were constituted as the real perpetrators and victims during the event. While perpetrators are typically excluded from events of public atrocity witnessing, the veteran testifiers' dual position as perpetrator *and* victim during WSIA complicated the identification and clear exclusion of perpetrators

and victims. As a result, the veteran testifiers were give the complex positioning of victimized perpetrators at the same time that they expressed preference for a designation more akin to the conventional military assignation of hero. In addition, there were groups designated as "real" perpetrators and victims: military and government officials as the perpetrators and the civilians of Iraq and Afghanistan as the victims. The former were completely excluded from the event and the latter were given a limited presence that was largely mediated through edited video interviews. At the same time, both groups were central to the substance of the veterans' testimonies, such that their presence was largely established through their *representation* by the testifiers.

The Perpetrators

During WSIA, the organizers actively sought to exclude those from the military who supported the actions in Iraq and Afghanistan and held perspectives contrary to their frame. Thus, even though the testifiers might have held different positions on the military and war, they ultimately were in agreement that the US military should withdraw from Iraq. Furthermore, by claiming that the perspectives presented at WSIA were an accurate representation of what occurred in Iraq, the organizers effectively denied the legitimacy of opposing views. As a result, the organizers could exclude those who held contrary perspectives while asserting that they were not excluding the perspectives of military service members. Nevertheless, the lack of inclusivity turned out to be particularly problematic in the media's and the public's perception of the event, since the selectivity of testifiers opened up

the event to the charge that the event was politically biased and therefore could not be accepted as an accurate portrayal of the conflict in Iraq.

The perpetrators in this case were not those who committed acts of unjust violence, but those who condoned the underlying circumstances that gave rise to the acts. Within this interpretation, those who carry out the actions are victimized through their role *as* perpetrators. With this characterization, the notion of *acting as* a perpetrator was central, since it distanced the testifier from actually *being* a perpetrator. In this way, the self was defined through authenticity, as opposed to sincerity (Trilling 1972), or through the tension that the veterans experienced through the constraining social roles supported by inauthentic institutions. The testifiers had to appear as sincere in relation to their role as atrocity witnesses and simultaneously demonstrate an antagonism with the militarily defined role of the soldier. Given that the testifiers had voluntarily enlisted in the military, they had to demonstrate either a continuous antagonism since enlistment or a personal transformation since joining the military. This required establishing a temporal relation between the past self that was exploited by the institution of the military and the present self that had gained awareness and wisdom through military experience.

The testifiers often achieved a temporal distance from the past self by characterizing themselves as naïve. Several asserted that they had been opposed to the US invasion of Iraq from the start, but still thought that they could make a positive contribution as a member of the military.

> I did at least hope that our leaders would would use the armed forces to help secure our country and to help other countries in in a good way and perhaps I was naïve to think that (Daniel)
>
> I joined the military, originally, with the intention of trying, trying to contribute something positive, trying to, do something good to improve the sort of, whole human situation, and […] I felt at the time in Iraq was a good place to do that, I admit that I was very nai- young and naïve at the time, I was wrong (Michael L.)
>
> I was against the war before the war, even believing all of the lies that were told […] believing all the spin, I didn't think it was gonna be worth it but I thought that afterwards what we were doing was cleaning up our mess and really responsible foreign policy and genuinely tryin' to do good by the Iraqi people (Adam)

On rare occasions, testifiers asserted a more continuous sense of alienation and antagonism with the military; for example, Christopher claimed that he joined the military out of necessity and felt animosity with the institution from the start:

> I was seventeen years old when I joined the United States Army National Guard, in Michigan, my family had been displaced, and I was living with friends, and I decided to join the military because I had no other options […] I joined […] the One-Nineteenth Field Artillery, uh where I served quite

> happily, for (..) no that's a lie, I was miserable, I hated it, um, but I uh served nonetheless (Christopher)

However, even Christopher maintained that he had been naïve when he described himself as someone who had become "a concentration guard without having really made many decisions."

The past naïve self was contrasted with the knowing veteran who spoke at WSIA. The transformation was sometimes marked by a moment of self-realization when the veteran gained awareness and changed from an enthusiastic and unquestioning soldier or Marine into a troubled and perceptive human being. Other service members occupied a more ambiguous position as victims and perpetrators. On the one hand, about a quarter of the testifiers emphasized that service members are honorable and should not be considered as perpetrators.

> These were men who risked everything for a cause which they believe was just and true […] I am no judge and I have not come here to pass judgment. (Cliff)
>
> I'm not up here to say anything bad about the US soldiers. (Jesse)
>
> The men I served with were honorable soldiers. (Garrett)

On the other hand, implicit to a number of testimonies were portrayals of brutal, aggressive, and indifferent service members – as people who saw detainees as being "just like dogs" (Camilo), "were celebrating uh on top of [dead] bodies" (Jeffrey), and "made videos [of dead

Iraqis] to send home […] to brag to say this is what happens to Iraqis and […] it's cool" (Kristofer).

However, if enlisted service members occupied an ambiguous position, military leaders, as the ones who were responsible for placing the enlisted service members in positions where they acted as perpetrators, were characterized as unequivocal perpetrators. Some testifiers maintained a strong identity with the qualities of a soldier, but argued that the greed and corruption of the *institution and leaders* of the military corrupted the role that service members were forced to take. The institution and leaders of the military disrupted the ability of service members to recognize the humanity of others. A number of testifiers made references to the lack of choice that they experienced while in the military in order to attribute blame to military leadership. For example, during Bryan's testimony, he blamed acts of unwarranted violence on the training that the Marine's received, which dehumanized and abused its members and others, and was coupled with the lack of a clearly defined mission.

> The Marine Corps built with one-up-manship, to say the most demonizing, the most racist, the most offensive thing, and to enjoy it while you're doing it […] (…) we didn't have a clearly defined mission except keep pushing forward, and when you don't have a clearly defined mission, the mission just be-becomes to come home alive […] because there were no rules, and this was perpetuated by squad leaders and platoon sergeants (Bryan)

When testifiers made specific references to high-ranking military officers or political leaders, they depicted the individuals as egotistical and callous. The exclusion of testifiers who would

defend the position of military and political leaders left their characterization as unrepentant perpetrators uncontested.

Iraqi and Afghan Civilians

The practice of public atrocity witnessing is intended to give recognition to victims who have suffered physically and psychologically from systemic and discriminatory violence. In the case of WSIA, the victims of the US military's discriminatory system were both the service members and the Iraqis and Afghans who experienced violence and abuse at the hands of the military. The organizers of WSIA had disagreed over the priority that should be given to the testimonies of Iraqi and Afghan civilians, with some arguing that the civilians should be given priority and other asserting that the event should focus on the veterans. In the end, the decision was made to focus on the veterans, while one panel was devoted to the experiences of civilians (*Civilian Testimony: The Cost of War in Iraq and Afghanistan*) and the organizers planned to show edited videotaped interviews with Iraqi civilians as time permitted during the event.[9] On the civilian panel, two Iraqi-nationals, both of whom were expatriated journalists, gave in-person testimony, and videotaped interviews with four other Iraqi citizens were shown. In addition, all 12 of the videotaped interviews of Iraqi civilians were offered online through IVAW's website. Despite the reference to Afghanistan in the event title and the panel on civilian experiences, no testimonies by Afghan civilians were included during the event.

---

[9] Some efforts were made to bring Iraqi civilians to Washington, DC for the event; however, there were significant challenges in obtaining visas and travel for the Iraqis. In the end, the two Iraqis who presented testimonies were already residing in the United States at the time of WSIA.

The two Iraqis to provide in-person testimony spoke primarily as journalists, discussing the political situation in Iraq. However, they also challenged the implication that, as victims, the Iraqis were helpless. For example, one emphasized the skills and knowledge of the Iraqi population by noting that both he and the other testifier were engineers. The other testifier spoke of the democratic capability of Iraqis and asserted that he and others had elected a parliament that passed a resolution that set a timetable for US withdrawal because they did not need anyone to "babysit" or "protect" them from themselves. The Iraqis who were interviewed were given less discretion, compared to the veteran testifiers or the Iraqis who gave in-person testimony, in shaping the content of their testimonies. They were asked to relate their experiences with house raids, checkpoint shootings, and false arrests. Not only were their testimonies shaped by the questions that they were asked, but it was also common for the interviewer to redirect the testifiers so that their testimony was focused on evidence of victimization that could be attributed to the US military.

While these testimonies and interviews offered some Iraqi perspectives, it was the testimonies by the veterans, who were given a privileged position, which played a central role in the representation of Iraqis and Afghans. In describing the experiences with Iraqis and Afghans, a number of testifiers claimed that the racist language used within the military affected their perception of civilians. This language often appeared inadvertently as the veterans related specific stories from their time in Iraq.

> I said no because it wasn't my kill, you shouldn't take trophies of things you didn't kill (Hart)

> Puttin' dow- rounds down range and suppressing a target, is one thing, setting in and killing a target is another (Michael L.)
>
> This is a vehicle that was approaching uh, a- a snap VCP or a- a impromptu vehicle checkpoint, uh but we were told at a high rate of speed that gave the Marines manning the checkpoint enough cause to be suspicious, and they unloaded into that vehicle with a fifty caliber machine gun (Adam)

These examples illustrate how those who are identified as enemies come to be referred to as "targets" or "kills," such that with Hart's testimony, it was consistent for him to refer to the dead Iraqi man as "it" and a "thing." In describing incidents in which they or other members of the unit fire at people in cars, the veterans often focus on the vehicle, so that the "target" is "it" (the car) and not the individuals in the car. Euphemisms are used to denote acts of killing, so that service members "engage with them," "light them up," and "take them out," while the individuals killed are "suppressed" and "neutralized."

At the same time, a number of the veterans made explicit reference to the use of racist language, which was symbolized in the term "hajji," which had become a ubiquitous label for Iraqis among US troops.[10] While a term of respect within Islamic tradition that designates an individual who has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, the word had acquired a negative connotation among service members, who were generally ignorant of its religious meaning.

---

[10] The meaning ascribed to the word hajji by U.S. service members has become so pervasive that it is now included as one of the definitions in Princeton University's WordNet.

> I mean myself I never really considered myself a racist person, but everything was hajji this hajji that, hajji smokes, hajji burger, hajji house, hajji clothes, hajji rag, (…) hajji's the same as honkey. It's the same thing, I had to catch myself (Hart)
>
> I don't know how many times I've heard Iraqis referred to anything, other than hajjis, um and this- this term was used by the entire chain of command, it was used with our training, uh: and I think, the use of the terminology proved effective in dehumanizing them, because we were (..) just so disrespectful (Matt C)
>
> It's no surprise for anyone who's been in the military since September eleventh […] that the word hajji is used to dehumanize people, not just of Iraq and Afghanistan, but anyone there who is not us […] everyone that was not a US force, became a hajji, not a person, not a name, but a hajji (Geoff)

By pointing to the ubiquity of the use of the term "hajji," and the fact that they had to remind themselves of its significance, the veterans highlighted how words came to appear as neutral when they were embedded in a set of practices. In this way, they undertook a type of discourse analysis by examining "the social operations of *naming* and the rites of institution through which they are accomplished…[and] the part played by words in the construction of social reality" (Bourdieu 1991: 105). In emphasizing that they were not racist, yet found themselves using objectifying language and acting in a disrespectful way toward the Iraqis, they asserted that language had affected their sociolinguistic reality.

The racist attitude within the military was countered by the testifiers' portrayal of Iraqis and Afghans as vulnerable, innocent, unsuspecting, afraid, unarmed, friendly, or in need of help. When specifically referencing Iraqis, the veterans were most likely to describe them through familial relationships – as mothers, fathers, wives, sons, etc. Indeed, the symbol of the family served as an essential construct in the testimonies, not only for humanizing Iraqis and Afghans but also for describing relations within the military, where service members were often referred to as brothers and sisters. In only a few cases, the veterans described Iraqis as either angry or assertive. While there were abstract references to attacks that had led to the death and injury of US service members, specific references to enemy combatants were rare. In a total of 127 references to Iraqis, only slightly more than a third (46) involved incidents with combatants. When the testifiers did speak about combatants, they usually qualified the statement to introduce doubts as to whether the individuals were legitimate combatants:

> The commander told us a couple of weeks later that over a <u>hundred</u> <u>enemy</u>, quote unquote, had been killed (Jason L)
>
> My platoon sergeant […] claimed that he saw an insurgent (Kris)
>
> Some wiz kid <u>some</u>where had estimated that between seven to eight hundred enemy had been <u>killed</u> on that operation. […] I didn't see one enemy on that operation, but seven to eight hundred of 'em got killed (Cliff)

By attributing the label of combatants to "some wiz kid" or using the phrase "quote unquote," the testifiers implied that the label was used without clear evidence and that,

therefore, those who were killed or captured were done so unjustly. In addition, the testifiers frequently characterized Iraqi combatants as ineffective or untrained:

> These insurgents didn't appear to me to look like, y'know the hardened terrorists that everyone, y'know says that they wer- that they are (Jeffrey)
>
> If I died in Iraq, it was not going to be because, you know, some barely educated Muslim teenager with a weapon he was never shown how to use was able to outsmart me (Lars)
>
> I swung my rifle around, had my sight on the dude, in the doorway, RPG on his back […] but when I looked at his face, (..) he wasn't a boogeyman, he wasn't the enemy, he was scared and confused (Hart)

In addition, several of the testifiers suggested that they were dishonorable, arguing that the "enemy" would take "potshots," and that the service members would "just wish someone would stand and fight" (Steve M). The diminishment of Iraqi combatants as legitimate enemies was accompanied by stories in which Iraqi civilians were falsely perceived as potential threats. For example, Jason W. recounted an incident in which the members of his unit killed a woman who had been walking toward them because she had been carrying a bag, which they later discovered contained groceries. Jason gives emphasis to the absurdity and injustice of her death by asserting that "she had been trying to bring us food and, we blew her to pieces for it."

Ultimately, therefore, the testifiers implied that all Iraqis, whether civilian or combatant, suffered as victims of a superior military force that dehumanized them. In this

frame, incidents that described acts of violence *by* Iraqis were minimized. When one of the testifiers contradicted this position and suggested that Iraqis could "be very brutal" (Jesse), he was corrected by a testifier on a subsequent panel who explained that his testimony was the result of "the brainwashing that you go through in the military [*that*] can kick in in a moment of stress" (Dahlia). The testifier further explained that what Jesse *meant* was that Iraqis have "a different way of doing things and the point was we have no right to impose ourselves onto anybody else" (Dahlia). Thus, the testifiers' representation of Iraqis both positioned them in an inferior status and separated them from the service members. In this way, despite the claim that the testifiers sought to counter the military's dehumanizing perspective and demonstrate the Iraqis fundamental human equality, this did not lead to the constitution of an inclusive "we" that would join the service members and Iraqis in a shared humanity.

In fact, the veteran testifiers were most likely to use the first person plural pronoun to connect them with other members of the military or fellow antiwar veterans.[11] The extent of self-identification with the military was evidenced in the extent to which testifiers used the pronoun in describing "collective subjectivity" around perceptions and opinions:

> We saw this vehicle […] burning in the distance (Adam)
>
> We were there because we thought it was the right thing to do (Cliff)

---

[11] The boundaries for the military *we* differed among and within the testimonies. The first person plural pronoun could refer alternatively to the members of a testifiers platoon, squad or company; those members who participated in WSIA or acts of resistance; or the military more broadly. Also, among female testifiers, *we* was often used to referred specifically to female service members.

The intensity of the identification with the US military, as well as the pervasiveness of the "us versus them" military worldview, meant that even as the testifiers might argue for recognition of the common humanity, Iraqis remained largely cast as the "Other."

When *we* was used to refer to a collective other than the military, it usually signified the WSIA participants or the US public:

> I do feel that we've actually become less safe as a nation because we've spread anti-American sentiment around the world (Daniel)
>
> The vast majority of people living in the US have nothing to gain from this occupation, in fact, not only do we have nothing to gain, but we suffer more because of it (Mike P)
>
> If we lose hope, we've lost it all, and that uh it is important not to live in a state of denial, but we can do better as a nation (Jeff K)
>
> We all know that yesterday almost the <u>entire</u> panel and the audience was in tears when we were looking at those videos (Margaret)

There was only one case where a testifier used *we* to refer clearly to an universal human collective, although the statement was made in reference to torture that was being carried out by members of the US military:

> The longer we live as a human race, •hhh we're supposed to be getting smarter, and wiser, and better (Domingo)

Indeed, as seen in the following quote from Camilo's testimony, when the boundaries of who belonged within the pronoun *we* was unclear, there was an implicit assumption that it was limited to Americans:

> We have a whole new generation we have over a million Iraqi dead, we have over five million Iraqis displaced, we have close to four thousand dead, we have close to six, sixty thousand injured (Camilo)

Camilo began with an undefined *we* and *our*. However, whereas the deaths and displacement of Iraqis were explicitly identified, the subsequent statement implied American exclusivity as he did not qualify the other deaths and injuries as American. In this way, the testimonies contained a subtle yet persistent separation between Americans and Iraqis, while the Iraqis themselves appeared disempowered.

## LIMINALITY AND TEMPORAL RELATIONS

In setting aside a time and place for the participants to gather and interact, the organizers attempted to construct a bounded "event." However, the intention was not just to create a discrete happening; the structure of the event, which limited access in order to generate an environment of solidarity and consensus, contributed to the constitution of a liminal experience for the participants. In describing the event as liminal, I borrow from the work of Turner (1969) on the ritual process, where liminal space and time exist as the phase, separated from the time and space of everyday life, where individuals transition from one state into another. It is in this sense that the organizers intended the event to be a space in which veterans could work through their issues. Through the event, the testifiers would leave

behind their identity as troubled military veterans in order to emerge at the end as "citizen soldiers" who will lead the nation and the military toward righteousness and reconciliation.

However, at the same time, unlike Turner's liminal phase, where those individuals undergoing a transition are disguised or hidden, the veterans who spoke at WSIA did so with the express purpose of being publicly visible. This contrast produced a tension whereby in order to maintain both liminality and publicity, the "publicness" of WSIA was mediated – through both the summarized stories told by the news media and the video stream provided in the virtual world of the Internet. A similar tension existed between the liminal necessity of equality and hierarchical distinctions in the public presentation of the testimonies. According to Turner, all distinctions among participants in a liminal state, with the exception of the instructors who maintain indisputable authority, are removed so that participants exist as equals. During WSIA, the hierarchy of military rank among the veterans was taken away, but a new hierarchy was simultaneously produced as the veteran testifiers were given a privileged status in relation to the other attendees and particularly those who represented the public.

The liminality of the event was one means by which the relations constituted during WSIA were both spatial and temporal. That is, at the same time that the physical space of the event was constructed as a bounded place and the testifiers were separated from the others, the event also marked the past, present and future as distinct. As a transformation occurred within the present of WSIA, the past, which is central to the practice of public atrocity witnessing, was reinterpreted and took on a new meaning. In order for the event to serve successfully as a liminal moment, the veteran testifiers had to establish a break with the past,

which they did through narratives of self-realization, as illustrated earlier in the chapter. The testifiers also had to convey past suffering effectively in the present in order for the participants to recognize the injustice of that suffering. One means for the testifiers to make their experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan and the resulting suffering perceptible for the other attendees was through the use of photographs and videos taken during their deployment. [Examples of the images shown during WSIA are presented in Appendix A]

Conveying the Past and Present in Visual Images

Photographic images have the ability to subvert normal relations of space and time and produce the "illogical conjunction between the *here-now* and the *there-then*" (Barthes 1977: 44 emphasis in original). In this way, the images could both make the past real for the present, but also reinforce the separation of the present from that past. In addition, visual material can serve as a "second witness" for the testimonies, an objective eye that could substantiate the claims of the testifiers. In fact, the organizers had encouraged testifiers to show photographs and videos as a means of providing evidence. Of the 50 veterans who testified, 15 presented photographs and videos during their testimony, and with one exception, the visual material was all shown during the five panels that focused on the veterans' experiences in their deployment to Iraq.[12] While a few veterans did not make direct

[12] These five panels were *Rules of Engagement: Part 1*; *Rules of Engagement: Part 2*; *Racism and War: the Dehumanization of the Enemy: Part 1*; *Racism and War: the Dehumanization of the Enemy: Part 2*; and *Breakdown of the Military.* The exception was a photograph shown during the panel *Corporate Pillaging and Military Contractors*.

reference to the photographs during their testimonies, the majority (11 of 15) integrated the images directly into their testimony.

At times the testifiers used the photographs to documents elements of their testimonies. These photographs typically depicted damage done to Iraqi infrastructure that resulted from US weaponry or house searches. However, most of the photographs were used for more than just documentary purposes, particularly when the photographs included images of people, as with portraits of the testifier as a member of the military and pictures of dead or wounded Iraqis (referred to as trophy photos). Most commonly the photographs and videos, as objects with their own cultural meaning, were the objects of critique. The critique focused on the way in which photographs and videos have come to serve as war trophies for service members, as the development of portable digital devices have made it possible for service members to mark and record their experiences. Not only do these images have significance within the military, they have come, in some ways, to replace the pictures by photojournalists as the social representations of war. Thus, it is the collection of photographs taken by army soldiers Lynndie England and Sabrina Harmon at Abu Ghraib prison, as well as the photographs of murdered Afghans taken by the "kill team" of the Fifth Striker Brigade, that have arguably had the strongest influence on the collective memory of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

## Anchoring Photographic Meaning

In showing the photographs during WSIA, the testifiers drew attention to the polysemous quality of the photographs taken by service members, and in particular the way

in which a photograph of injury or death would be understood as traumatic image within the civilian sphere but as a trophy photo that celebrated the subjugation of the enemy within the military. By re-presenting trophy photos from their time in Iraq during WSIA, the testifiers not only fixed the meaning by anchoring it narrative, that meaning was intensified by exposing the excessive masculinity and misogyny of the photographs in the context of atrocity witnessing. The trophy photos, with images of dead and injured Iraqis, often with visible and graphic wounds, were seen as evidence of victory in war from within the military context, but were considered offensive and disrespectful to the integrity of the individual within the context of the discourse of atrocity witnessing and universal human rights. The recontextualization was particularly shocking for these images because of the contemporary assumption that "trauma is a suspension of language, a blocking of meaning" and that the traumatic image should exist as "pure denotation" (Barthes 1977: 30). Yet, in testifying to the way in which members of the military glorify images of death and physical injury, the veterans disturbed the assumed sacredness of trauma.

Several of the testifiers depicted the practice of taking of photographs in the military that was part of the culture of the trophy photo. The testifiers' experiences with taking the photographs were constructed as spatially separate and temporally distant from the testifiers. Taking photographs, in the world of the military, was acceptable because of "the (…) lack of humanity in war, the- the- the place where you put yourself is (..) when you look at it in fact, it's uh (..) it's almost alien" (Hart). A number of testifiers who discussed the trophy photo made similar moves to put their participation in the past tense or to distinguish themselves from those who engaged in the practice. For example, Adam, created a temporal distance

from his participation in taking trophy photos by asserting that at the time he was unable to discern the appropriate reason why it was morally wrong, thereby implying that he knows now:

> This is me posing on the hood of that car, um and […] it felt funny because, not because what we were doing was morally wrong, but because I wasn't the one who killed this guy. And there was a group of us marines that, that all took turns taking pictures, and- and posing like this. (Adam)

He subsequently asserted that the real perpetrator was the US government that "is doing this to patriotic young men and women of this country who volunteers their lives in the service of this country, and puttin' 'em in a situation where this kind of thing is normal" (Adam). In attributing the practice to the manipulation of the government, Adam characterized the convention as absurd within a universalizing moral meaning that simultaneously distanced him from the practice and allowed for moral valuation of the practice. In this way, the constitution of distance did not involve the severance from the military other, but incorporated the immoral other into relation with the ones who provide the moral valuation.

The military portraits of the testifiers, like the trophy photos, contributed to the constitution of temporal distance for the testifiers. While the photographs, on the one hand, were visual evidence that the testifiers were participants in war, the images also served as markers between the past and present by symbolizing the transformation for the testifiers from ignorant service members to conscientious and moral witnesses. In the images, the testifiers were presented as service members in full combat dress and often with their assigned weapon or with other members of their unit. As a visual representation of the

service member's identity as a defender of the nation, the portrait communicated confidence, power and intensity. The regimented and aggressive appearance of the person in the photograph presented a contrast to the exposed and uneasy presence of the testifiers. Kristofer used two portraits of himself, one as a young boy and another as a new recruit, to mark an irrevocable break with the past, when he emphatically turned the photograph face down as he declares, "That boy is dead" (Kristofer).

The images also drew attention to the tension between the strength and dedication conveyed through the image of the fighter and the disquiet of the cruelty and oppression that emerged with the testimonies. One testifier, in referring to a photograph of himself in Iraq, articulated this tension:

> I'm pointing to my American flag, thinking to myself (..) good job […] this slide highlights the arrogance that I had, at this point in my life, it displays the heightened sense of importance (…) that I- that I felt and that many of- many in my unit felt, and it also permits us to be, to do harm to the Iraqi people, and treat them as second class citizens (Mike T.)

In stating that arrogance was something that he *had*, Mike establishes a discontinuity with the person he was then and who he is now. However, in shifting from "I" to "us" and using the present tense to state that the attitude "permits us" to do harm, he implied that this continued to be a systemic problem for those who were still in the military.

The images not only had an influence on how the testifiers recounted their experiences, but also on how the other attendees experienced the testimonies, for "how we remember through images remains powerfully different from how we might remember the

same event were images not involved" (Zelizer 2004: 158). The presence of the photographs, particularly those with graphic images, could present "a swifter and more succinct impact than words, an impact that is instantaneous, visceral and intense" (Goldberg 1991: 7). While only a few of the testifiers presented graphic photographs of death and injury, the images became an effective and affective means of communicating the trauma of combat and were manifest as a sensory assault on the viewers. By introducing the images in the context of WSIA, the visceral impact of the images was intensified by testimony narratives, which described how the images were used to bolster camaraderie and morale within the military. Furthermore, by showing these photographs during WSIA, the veterans engaged in an act of disloyalty that marked a separation in their relation to the military.

## CONCLUSION

The organizers of WSIA intended the event as a space for a previously silenced group – enlisted service members – to speak and be publicly recognized for the suffering that they experienced and witnessed. While intended to foster public debate, the event also produced hierarchies and exclusions that constrained and silenced certain individuals and groups, hindering the often-contentious process of democratic deliberation. In WSIA, not all of the participants were allowed to participate as full and equal members in the interactions. Thus, even though they were expected to recognize themselves as part of a public with a shared interest in the common good, they were constituted *as* an audience. Furthermore, the virtual exclusion of others, particularly the "real" victims (Iraqis and Afghans) and perpetrators (other members of the military), denied them the ability to be agents and prevented the

possibility for mutual recognition, which is central for a deliberative democracy.[13] At the same time, the asymmetrical relations were central to the constitution of deference for the testifiers and the positioning of the other participants as compliant witnesses to the testimonies.

Giving attention to the spatial and temporal relations also illuminates the ways in which moral meanings were constituted for testifiers' past experiences within the participants' experiences of the present situation. The act of testifying served as a means of giving order and meaning to the veterans' experience in the military and war, whereby reckless violence and brutality can be explained as the result of exploitation by a discriminatory system and serving as a public witness to that experience can be a source of personal and social liberation. At the same time, in attempting to make the past a reality in the present (for example, through the trauma of recounting the past and in the use of photographs and videos), the structure of the situation presented moral meanings for the present experience of WSIA. That is to say, the knowledge that the veterans gained through their experiences was used to position them as moral authorities who could, through their testimonies, help to explain the human experience of war. While the organizers' discursive frame had been based on the notion of universal human rights, the spatial and temporal relations of WSIA contributed to the establishment of group boundaries that resulted in moral

---

[13] Some events of public atrocity witnessing attempt to counter such polarization by, for example, giving emphasis to reconciliation and forgiveness as means of giving recognition to the perpetrators while maintaining the space for victims. The emphasis on reconciliation and forgiveness, however, has also been criticized for inhibiting the important role of dissent in democratic deliberation (Buur 2001; Crocker 2002; Gutmann and Thompson 2000; Nagy 2002; Wilson, 2003b).

identities, such as victims, perpetrators, and heroes, as well as notions of *them* and *us*. I expand further on the intricate relation between universal human rights and the notions of self and other that emerged during WSIA in the next chapter.

REFERENCES

Arendt, Hannah. 1968. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. [1966] New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Barthes, Roland. 1977. *Image, Music, Text*, translated by S. Heath. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*, translated by J. B. Thompson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Butler, Judith, 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40(4): 519-531.

Dayan, Daniel. 2005. "Mothers, Midwives and Abortionists: Genealogy, Obstetrics, Audiences & Publics." Pp. 43-76 in *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere*, edited by S. Livingstone. San Francisco: Intellect Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1956. "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor." *American Anthropologist* 58(3): 473-502.

Goldberg, Vicki. 1991. *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed our Lives*. New York: Abbeville Press.

Goldfarb, Jeffrey. 2006. *The Politics of Small Things: The Power of the Powerless in Dark Times*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iraq Veterans Against the War and Aaron Glantz. 2008. *Winter Soldier, Iraq and Afghanistan: Eyewitness Accounts of the Occupations*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Mehta, Jal and Christopher Winship. 2010. "Moral Power." *Handbook of the Sociology of Morality*, edited by S. Hitlin and S. Vaisey. New York: Springer.

*This Is Where We Take Our Stand*. Directed by David Zeiger and Mike Majoros. 2011. http://thisiswherewetakeourstand.com.

Trilling, Lionel. 1972. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Wilson, Richard A. 2003. "Preface to Special Issue on Political Violence and Language." *Anthropological Theory* 3(3): 267-69.

Zelizer, Barbie. 2004. "The Voice of the Visual in Memory." Pp. 157-186 in *Framing Public Memory*, edited by K. R. Phillips. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.