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Conflict-Photography-Exhibition: curating conflict photographs in British art and history museums, 2010-20

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Supervised by Professor Steve Edwards and Dr Silke Arnold-de Simine

Volume 2 of 2: Figures and Appendices

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- Appendix B: Interview Methodology and Thematic Analysis Approach

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Department of History of Art, School of Arts

Birkbeck College, University of London

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Photo: *Here is New York*, 116 Prince Street © *Here is New York*, Courtesy: *Here is New York*

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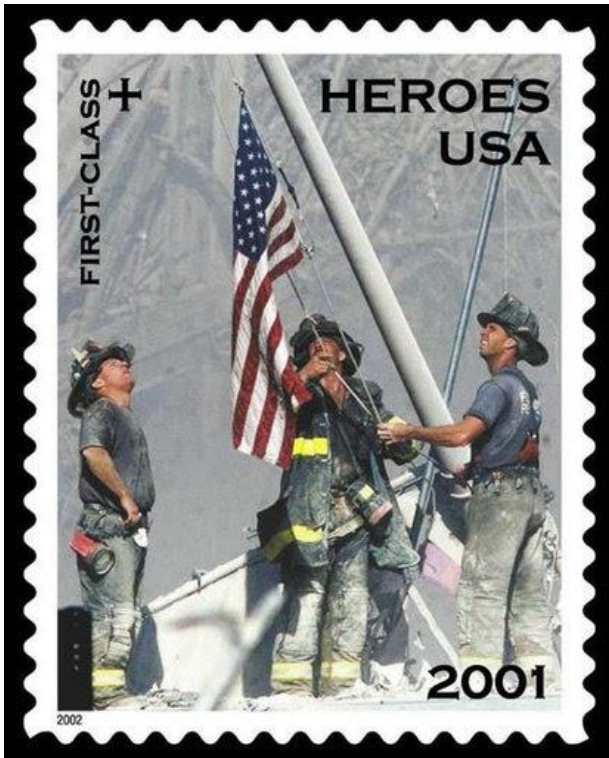


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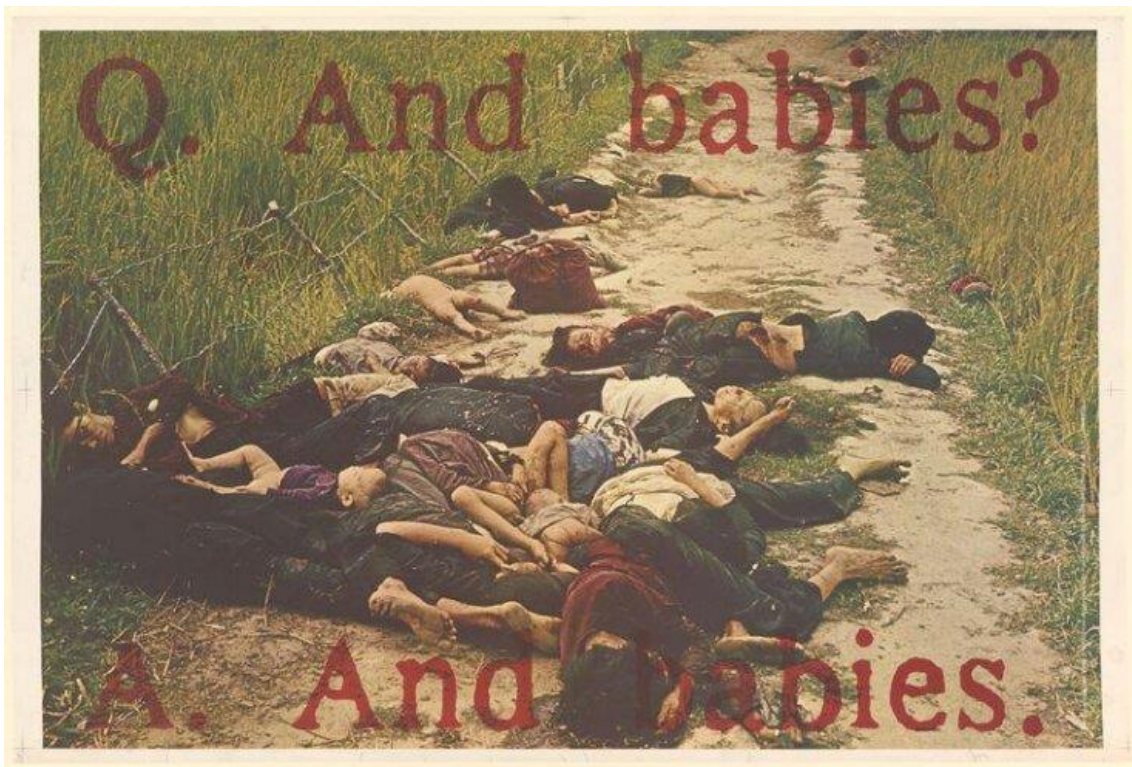


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Chapter 2: Institutional Territories



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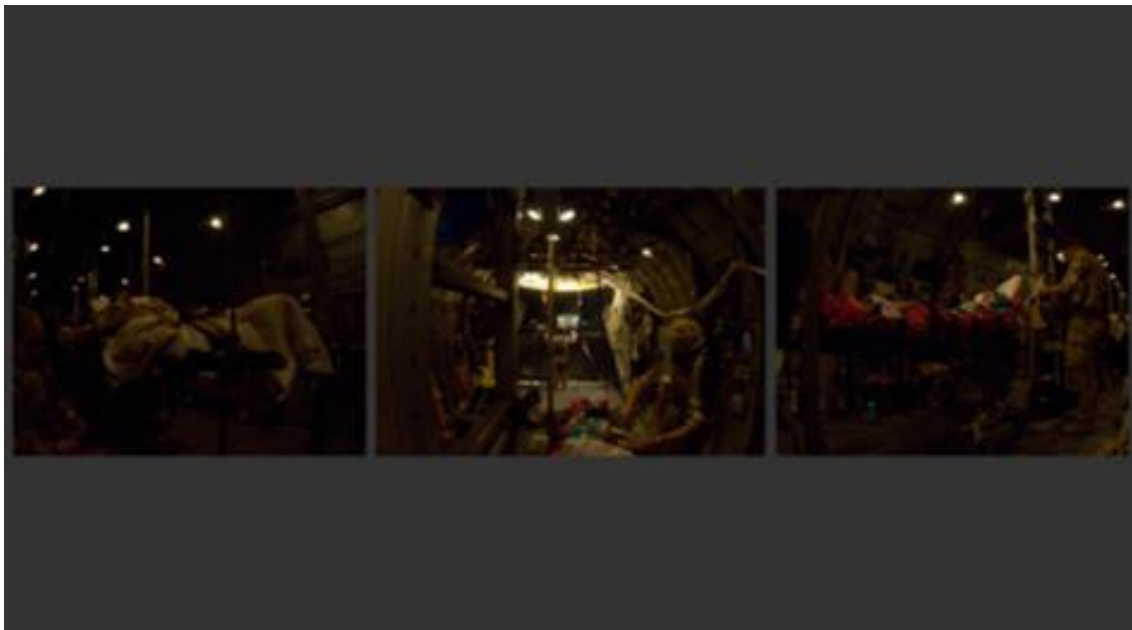


Figure 2.8 David Cotterrell, *Gateway II*, Afghanistan, 2009. Exhibited in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.



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Figure 2.13 Room 1 'Moments Later' showing Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, *The Press Conference, June 9, 2008, The Day Nobody Died, 2008* (L) and Luc Delahaye, *Ambush, Ramadi, 2006* (R). Photographs installed in *Conflict Time Photography*, Tate Modern, London, 2014.

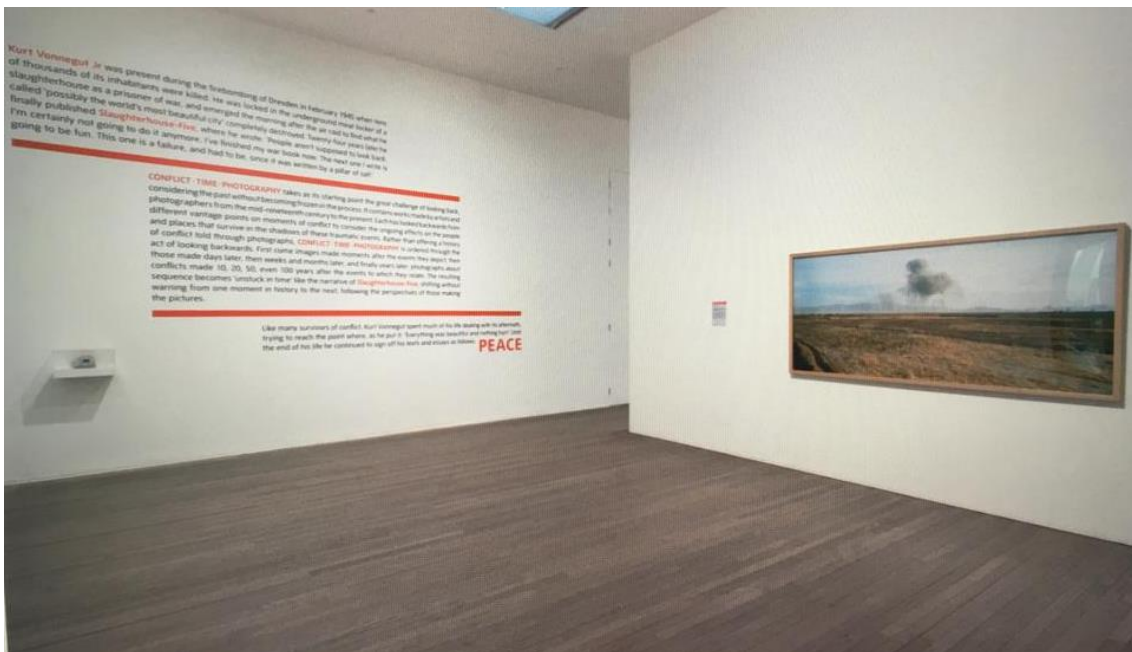


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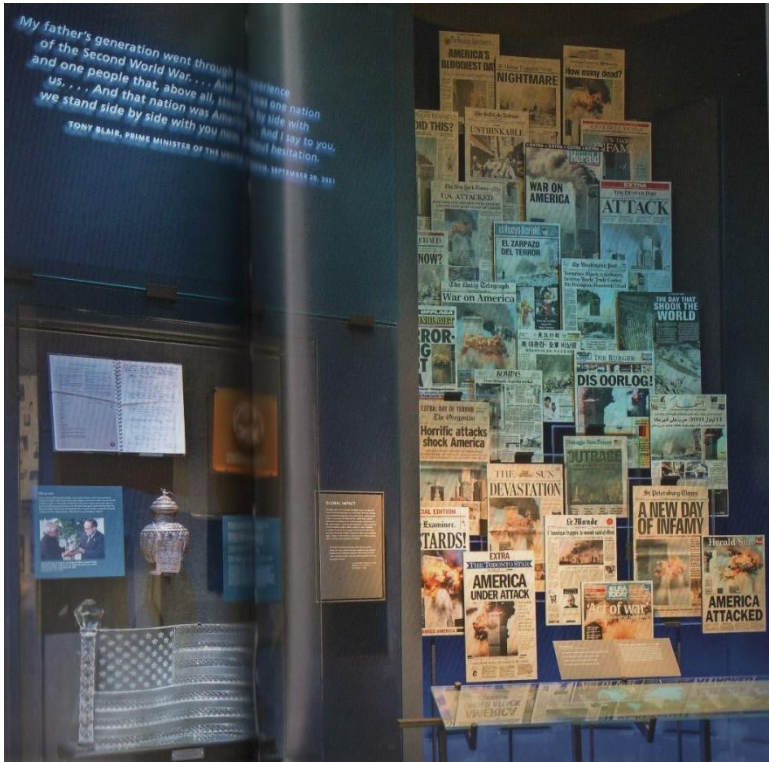


Figure 2.17 'Global Response' section in the *Historical Exhibition: September 11, 2001, 9/11 Memorial and Museum, New York, 2014*.



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Figure 2.25 Martha Rosler, *Election Lynndie*, 2004, photomontage. Exhibited in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.



Figure 2.26 Martha Rosler, *Election Lynndie*, 2004, photomontage installed in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.

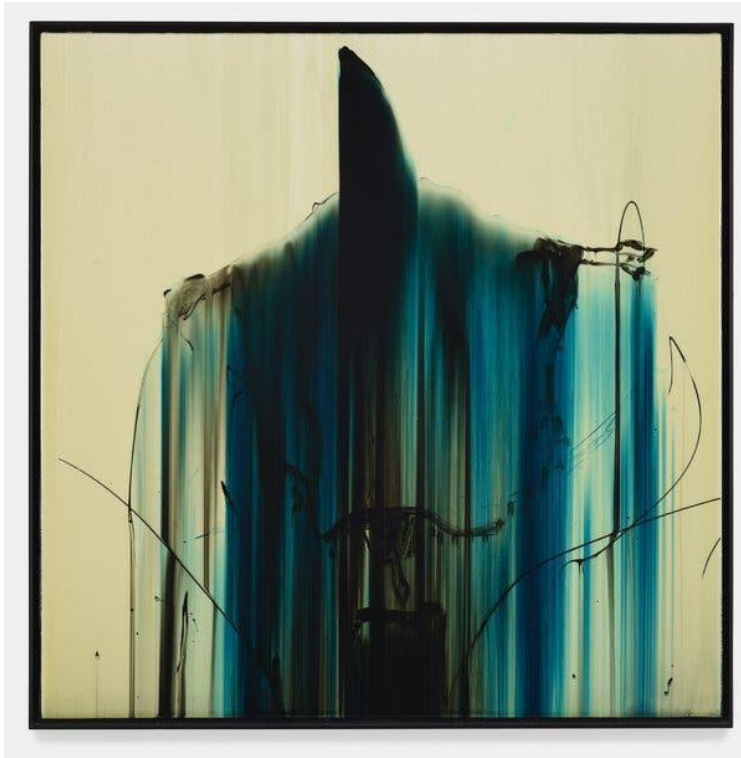


Figure 2.27 Rachel Howard, *DHC 6765, Study*, 2005, household gloss and acrylic on board. Exhibited in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.



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Figure 2.29 Alfredo Jaar, *May 1, 2011*, 2011, LCD monitors and digital prints installation view, SCAD Museum of Art, Georgia, 2011.

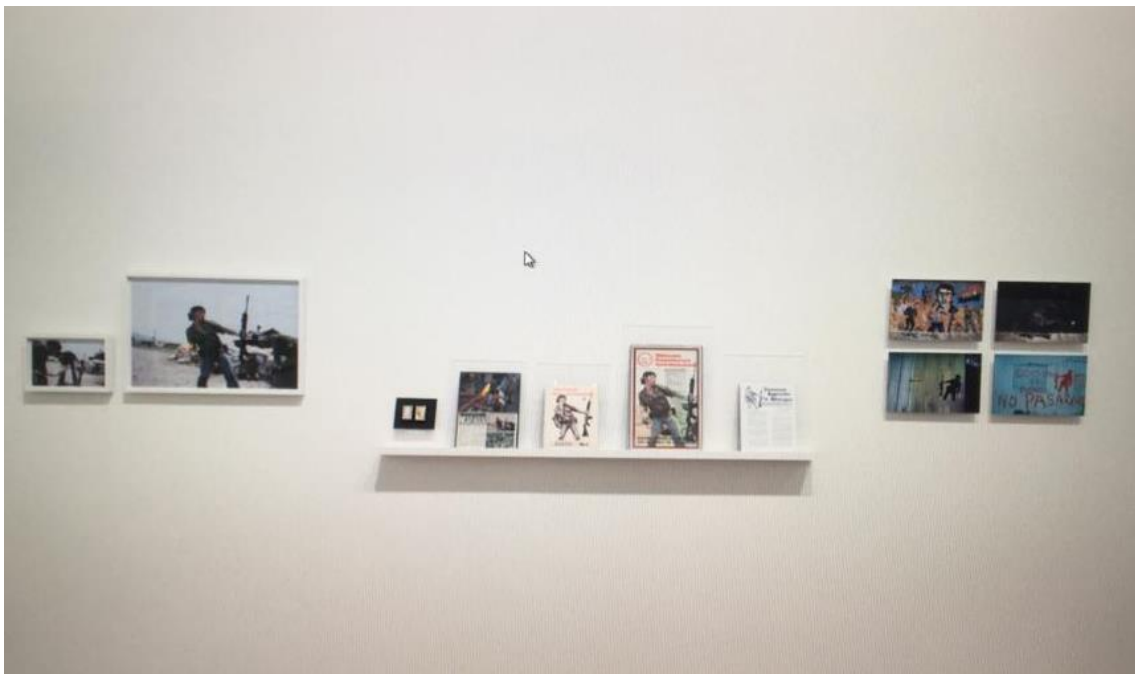


Figure 2.30 Susan Meiselas, *The Life of an Image: 'Molotov Man' 1927 – 2009*, installation of video on flatscreen monitor, matchboxes, transparencies and photographs installed in '25 Years Later' section of *Conflict Time Photography*, Tate Modern, London, 2014.



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Figure 2.32 *Caesar Photos: Inside Syrian Authorities' Prisons* at United Nations Headquarters, New York, 2015.



Figure 2.33 Indrė Šerpytė, *150mph (3)*, 2014-2015 (L), paint on board, installed in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.

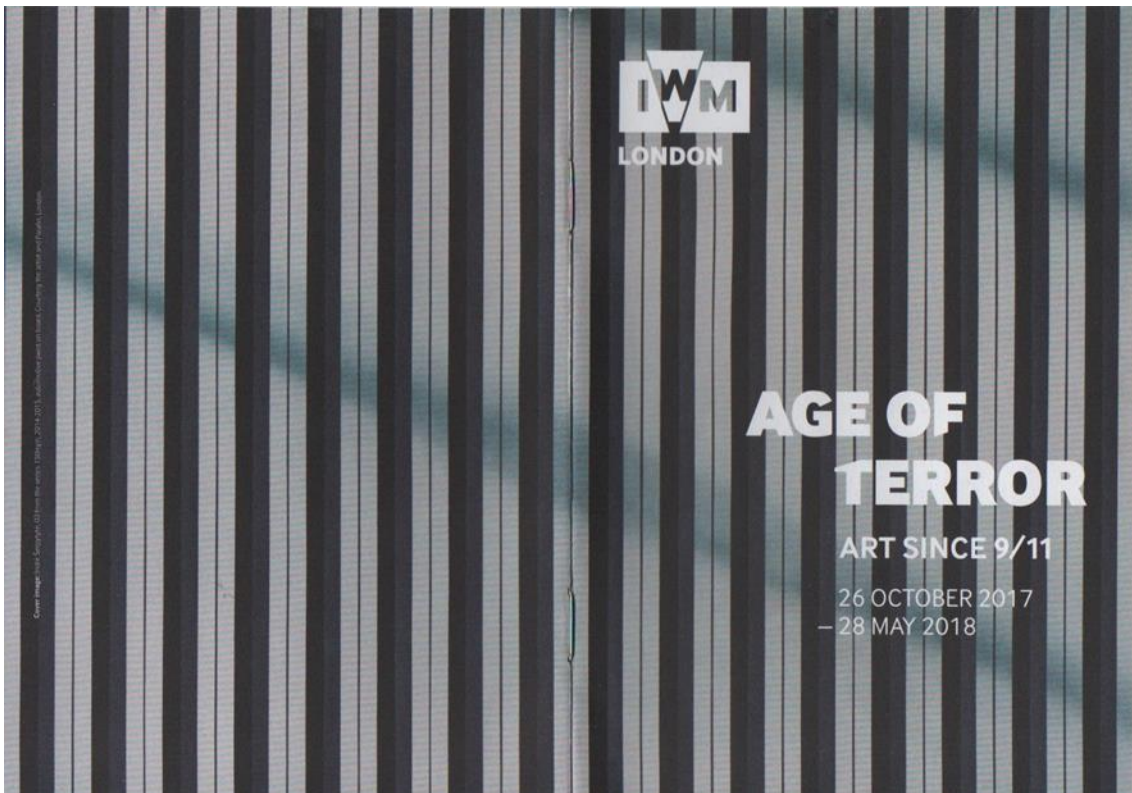


Figure 2.34 Gallery guide front cover with Indrė Šerpytė, *150mph (3)*, 2014-2015 (L), for *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.

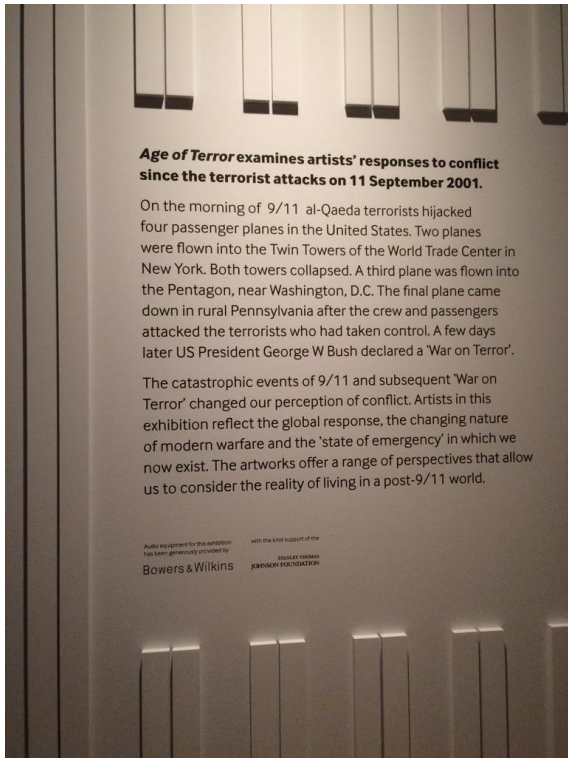


Figure 2.35 Introductory text with graphic design device using Indrė Šerpytytė, *150mph (3)*, 2014-2015 (L), in *Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11*, Imperial War Museum London, 2017.



Figure 2.36 Don McCullin, *The Battlefields of the Somme, France*, 2000, installed in atrium outside of *Conflict Time Photography*, Tate Modern, London, 2014.



Figure 2.37 Wynn Bullock, *Let There Be Light*, 1954, photograph. Vinyl installed in *The Family of Man*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955



Figure 2.38 Chloe Dewe Mathews, *Shot at Dawn*, 2014, photographs installed in '100 Years Later' section of *Conflict Time Photography*, Tate Modern, London, 2014.



Figure 2.39 *Wim Wenders: Photographing Ground Zero*, Imperial War Museum London, 2022.

Chapter 3: Reportage to Retrospective

Note to readers: the titles of Don McCullin's photographs are reproduced as written within the respective exhibitions, including where there are discrepancies between IWM and Tate.

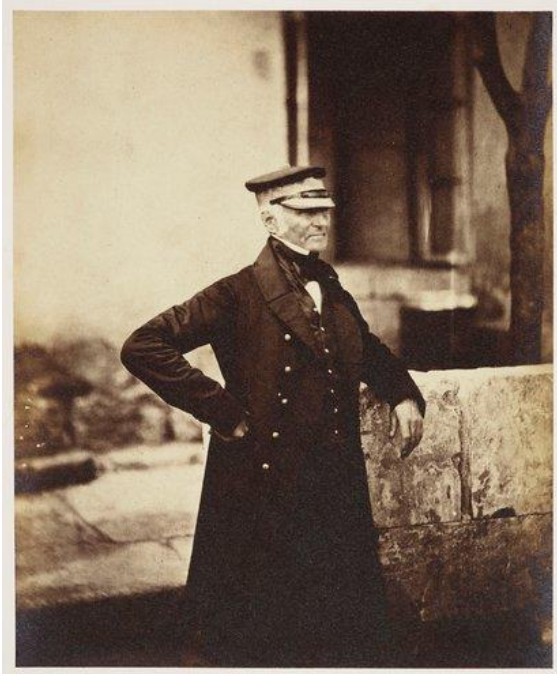


Figure 3.1 Roger Fenton, *General James Simpson (1792-1868)*, 1855, photograph. Exhibited in *Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea, 1855*, Royal Collection, London, 2018.



Figure 3.2 Illustration of General James Simpson from a photograph by Roger Fenton, 1855. Published in *The Illustrated London News*. Vol. 27 (July-December 1855). Exhibited in *Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea, 1855*, Royal Collection, London, 2018.

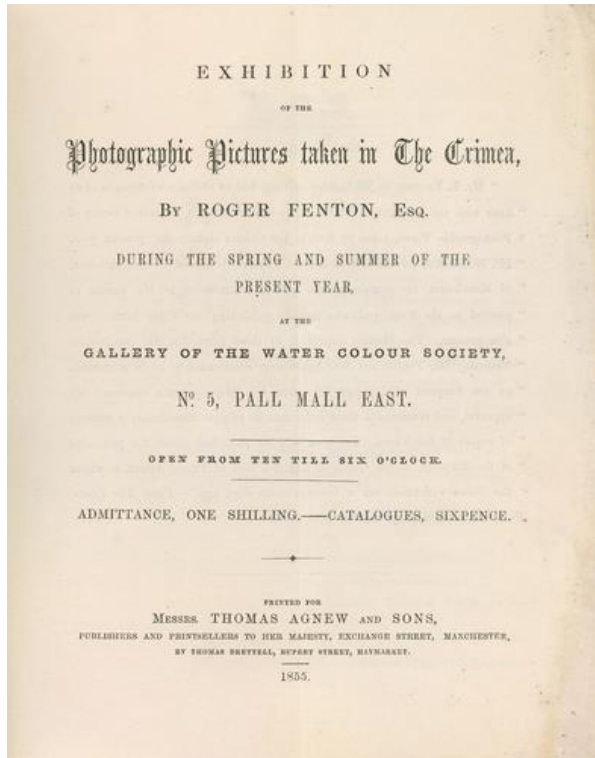


Figure 3.3 Thomas Agnew & Sons' pamphlet for exhibition of Roger Fenton's Crimean photographs, Gallery of the Water Colour Society, London, 1855.

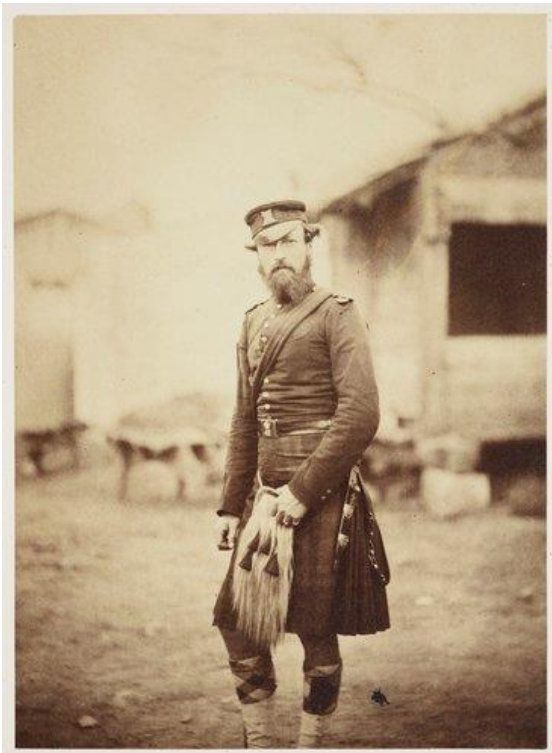


Figure 3.4 Roger Fenton, *Colonel Grant*, 1855, photograph. Exhibited in *Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea, 1855*, Royal Collection, London, 2018.



Figure 3.5 John Singleton Copley, *Hugh Montgomerie, 12th Earl of Eglinton, 1739 – 1819, 1780*, oil on canvas.



Figure 3.6 Thomas Jones Barker, *The Allied Generals with the Officers of Their Respective Staffs before Sebastopol*, 1986, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 14.1 cm.

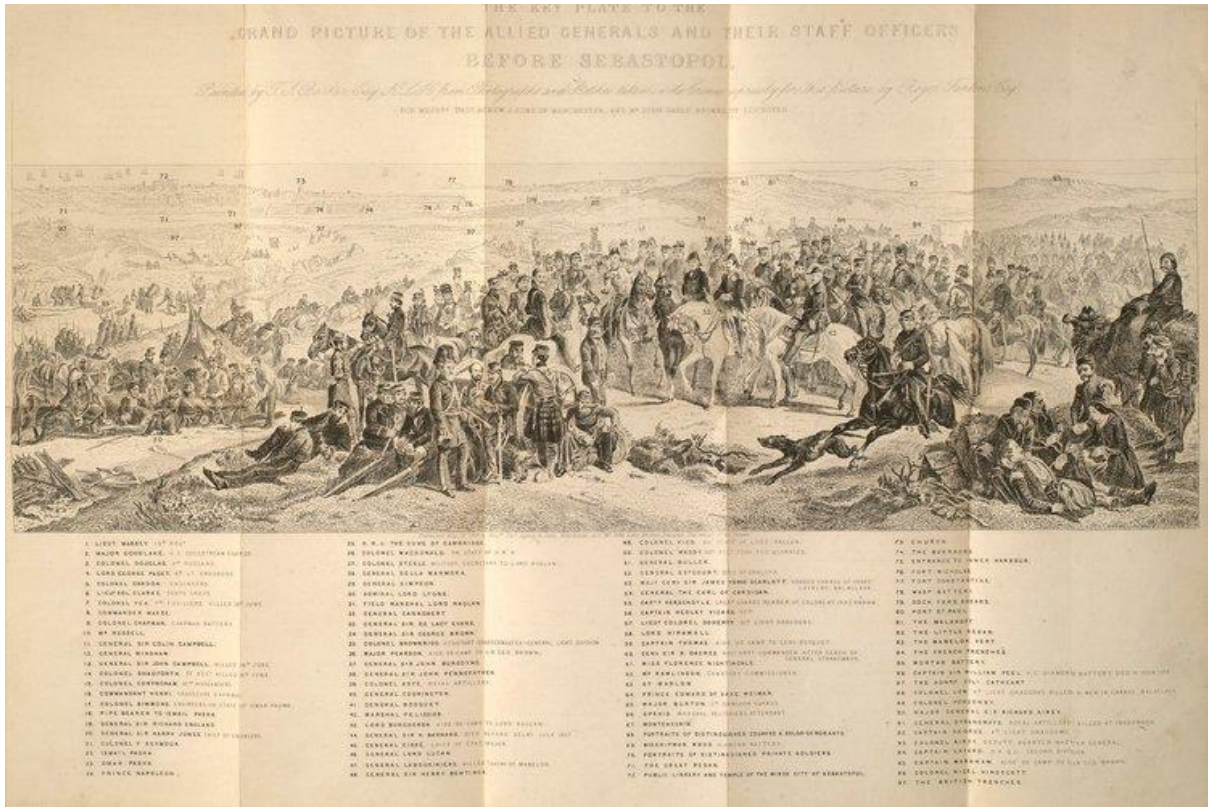


Figure 3.7 Key plate to Thomas Jones Barker's *The Allied Generals with the Officers of Their Respective Staffs before Sebastopol*, 1866, lithograph on cloth.



Figure 3.8 Roger Fenton, *Wounded Zouave and a Vivandière*, 1855, photograph. Exhibited in *Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea, 1855*, Royal Collection, London, 2018.



Figure 3.9 Don McCullin, *A starving child sucks fruitlessly on his mother's breast*, Biafra, 1969, photograph installed on left hand wall, third from left in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.

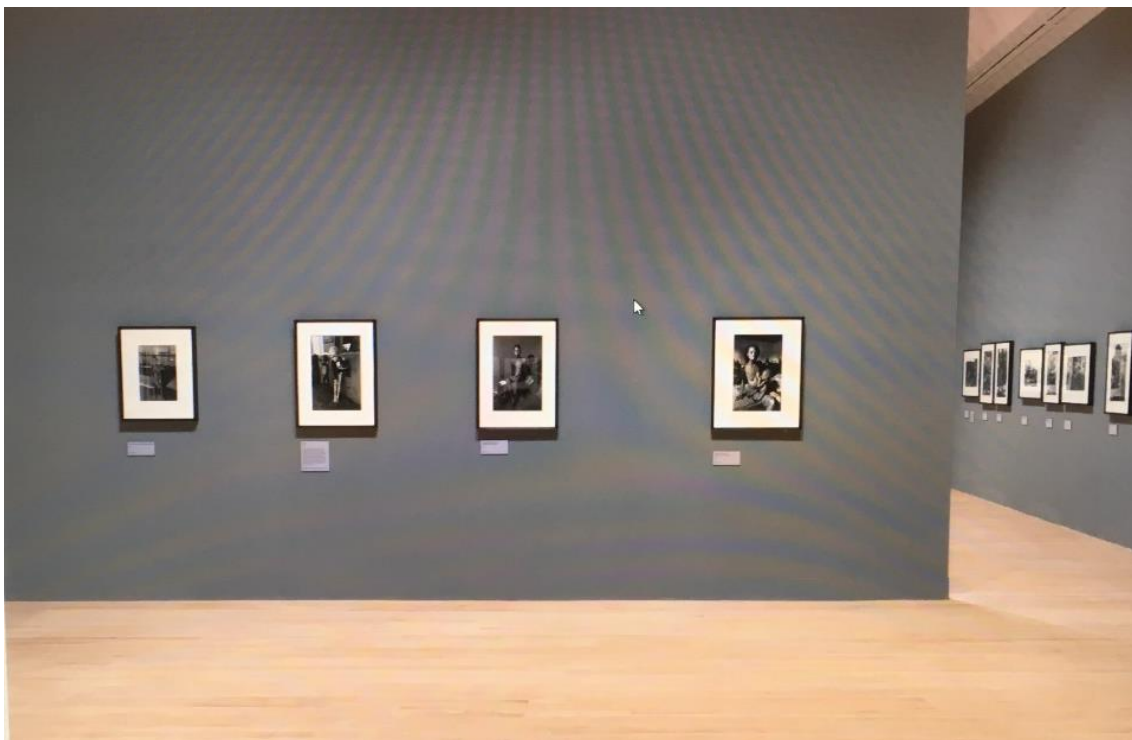


Figure 3.10 Don McCullin, *Starving 24-year-old mother with child*, Biafra, 1968, photograph installed fourth from left in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.11 Introductory text and portrait of Don McCullin at the entrance of *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.12 Introductory text and Don McCullin's photograph *Consett, County Durham, 1974* at the entrance of *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.13 Colour prints of Don McCullin's reportage installed in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.14 Facsimile contact sheet showing Don McCullin's selection of photographs from Hue, Vietnam 1968 for publication by *The Sunday Times Magazine*. Installed on wall in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.15 Facsimile contact sheet showing Don McCullin's selection of photographs from Hue, Vietnam 1968 for publication by *The Sunday Times Magazine*. Installed on wall in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.16 Facsimile contact sheet showing Don McCullin's selection of photographs from Hue, Vietnam 1968 for publication by *The Sunday Times Magazine*. Installed on wall in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum London, 2011.



Figure 3.17 Don McCullin, *Fighting in the Imperial Citadel* (A US Marine suffering severe shell shock waits to be evacuated from the battlezone), Hue, Vietnam, February 1968. Photograph installed second from left in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.18 'The Sunday Times' and 'Vietnam' sections in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.19 Portrait of Don McCullin in US Army kit and vitrine with helmet in 'Vietnam' section in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.20 Don McCullin, *Fighting in the Imperial Citadel* (A US Marine suffering severe shell shock waits to be evacuated from the battlezone), Hue, Vietnam, February 1968. Large photograph and vitrine with helmet in 'Vietnam' section in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum London, 2011.



Figure 3.21 Don McCullin, *Fighting in the Imperial Citadel* (A US Marine suffering severe shell shock waits to be evacuated from the battlezone), Hue, Vietnam, February 1968. Large photograph and vitrine with helmet in 'Vietnam' section in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum London, 2011.

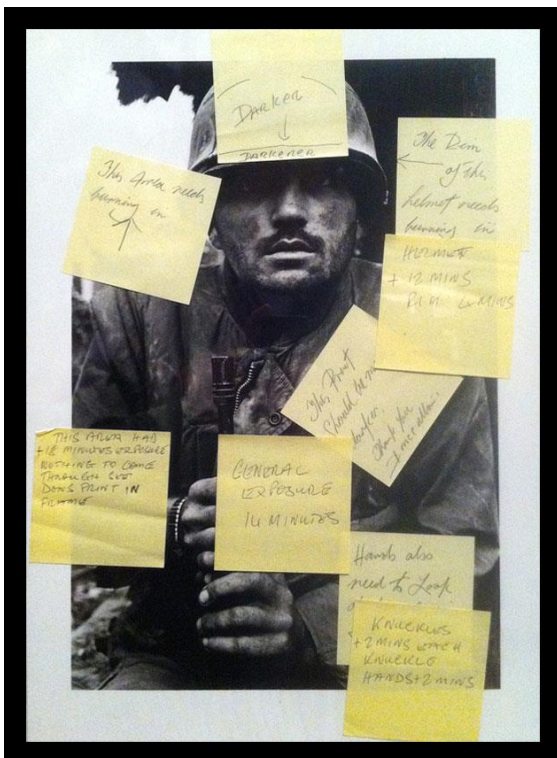


Figure 3.22 Photographer's reference print with notes by Don McCullin and printer indicating how the negative should be printed in the Darkroom. Exhibited in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museums (Manchester, 2010 and London, 2011).



Figure 3.23 Don McCullin photographed in front *Fighting in the Imperial Citadel* (A US Marine suffering severe shell shock waits to be evacuated from the battlezone), Hue, Vietnam, February 1968 at *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.24 Portraits of Don McCullin in the field installed in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.25 Don McCullin's Nikon camera installed in a vitrine in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.26 Don McCullin photographed in front of *Shell-shocked US marine, the Battle of Hue, 1968*, at *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.27 *BP British Art Displays: Don McCullin, Tate Modern, London, 2011.*



Figure 3.28 *The Sunday Times* spread showing McCullin's reportage from Cambodia in 1970 at *Don McCullin, Tate Britain, London, 2019.*

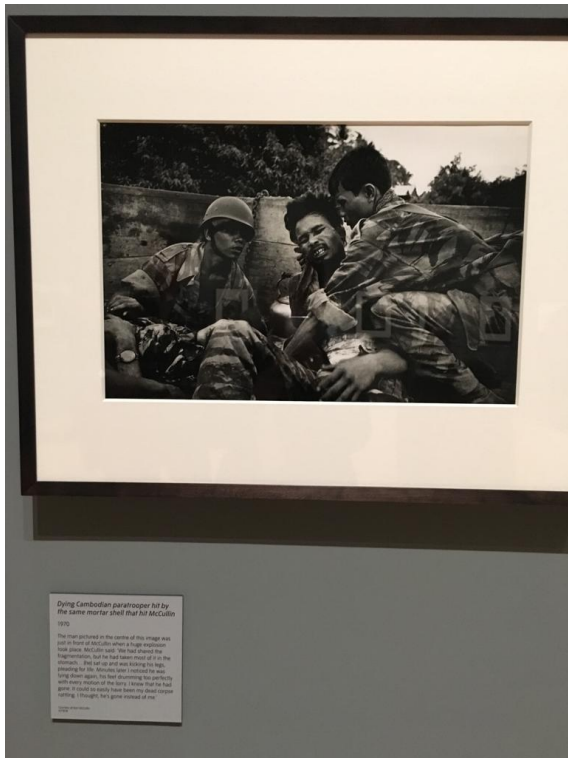


Figure 3.29 Framed print of *Dying Cambodian paratrooper hit by the same mortar shell that hit McCullin* (1970) from McCullin's *The Sunday Times* reportage from Cambodia in 1970 at *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.30 *Don McCullin: A Retrospective* in Galeria Julius Jakoby, Slovakia, 1993 (British Council Touring exhibition). Tate Archive, London, British Council Collection, TGA 200317/2/1/486-488.



Figure 3.31 Don McCullin's Nikon camera installed in a vitrine in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.32 Don McCullin's Nikon camera installed in a vitrine in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.33 Don McCullin, *Cyprus*, 1964, photograph. Exhibited in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museums (Manchester, 2010 and London, 2011), and *Don McCullin*, Tate (London, 2019 and Liverpool, 2020).



Figure 3.34 Don McCullin, *A Turkish Cypriot woman mourns the death of her husband at Ghaziveram*, 1964, photograph in timeline fourth from left in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.35 Don McCullin, *A Turkish Cypriot woman mourns the death of her husband at Ghaziveram, 1964*, photograph in timeline first from left in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.36 Cyprus section in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010. Photograph of Don McCullin carrying a civilian to safety in Cyprus by John Bulmer to the left of the map in the introductory panel.



Figure 3.37 John Bulmer, *A woman in Cyprus grieving her husband and son*, Cyprus, 1964, photograph.



Figure 3.38 John Bulmer, *The Battle of Gaziaran*, Cyprus, July 1974, photograph exhibited in *Human Rights Human Wrongs*, The Photographers' Gallery, London, 2015.



Figure 3.39 Photograph of Don McCullin carrying a civilian to safety in Cyprus by John Bulmer, 1964. Exhibited in *Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin*, Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, 2010.



Figure 3.40 Don McCullin, *Congolese soldiers tormenting prisoners before their execution*, 1964, photograph. Exhibited in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019 and Tate Liverpool, 2020.



Figure 3.41 Don McCullin, *Congolese soldiers tormenting prisoners before their execution*, 1964, photograph installed third from left in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.



Figure 3.42 Don McCullin, *Congolese soldiers tormenting prisoners before their execution*, 1964, photograph installed bottom left in *Don McCullin*, Tate Liverpool, 2020.



Figure 3.43 'Southern Frontiers' section in *Don McCullin*, Tate Britain, London, 2019.

Chapter 4: Contesting Narratives



Figure 4.1 Susan Meiselas, *Kurdistan*, 1991-2000, photographs.

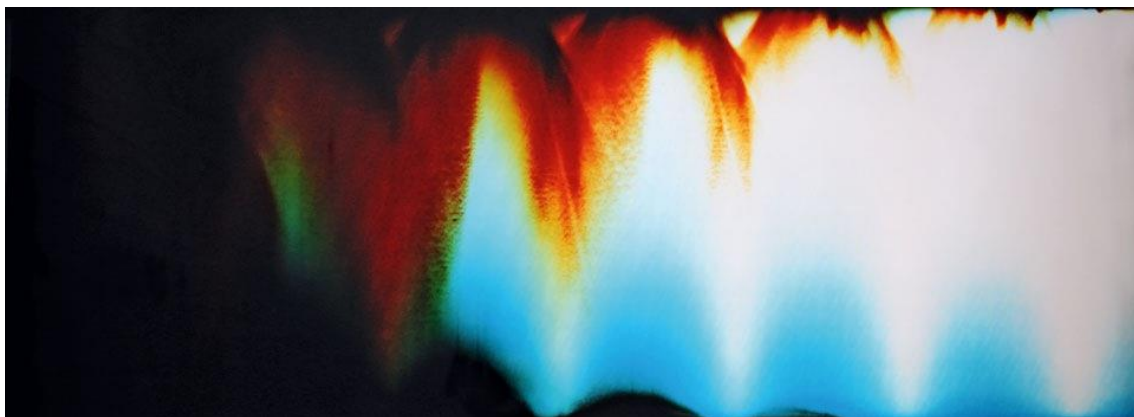


Figure 4.2 Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, *The Day Nobody Died*, 2008, photograph. Exhibited in *Conflict Time Photography*, Tate Modern, London, 2014.



Figure 4.3 Assemblage including photograph of *Degenerate Art Exhibition* in the newly opened Holocaust Galleries at Imperial War Museum London, 2021.



Figure 4.4 Lietukis Garage Massacre lightbox photograph installed in *Through Our Eyes*, Holocaust Exhibition and Learning Centre at the University of Huddersfield, 2020.



Figure 4.5 *The Eye as Witness: Recording the Holocaust*, Lakeside Arts University of Nottingham, 2020.



Figure 4.6 *Road to Victory*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1942.

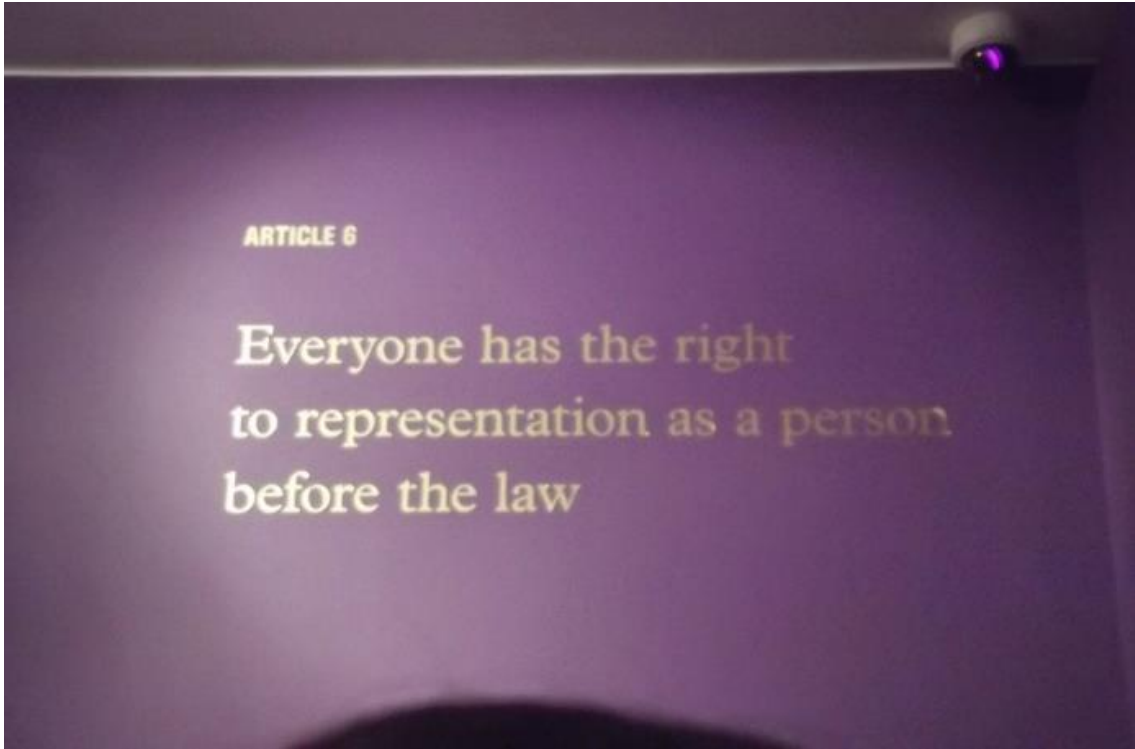


Figure 4.7 Article Six pull quote installed in *Human Rights Human Wrongs*, The Photographers' Gallery, London, 2015.



Figure 4.8 *Human Rights Human Wrongs*, The Photographers' Gallery, London, 2015.



Figure 4.9 Donovan Wylie photographed in front of his photographs at *Donovan Wylie: Vision as Power*, Imperial War Museum London, 2014.



Figure 4.10 Film still from Harun Farocki, *Eye/Machine III* (2003).



Figure 4.11 Allan Sekula's article 'The Instrumental Image: Steichen at War' in *Artforum* 14 (1975) showing a WW2 ariel photograph by Edward Steichen.



Figure 4.12 John Singer Sargent, *Gassed*, 1919, oil on canvas, Imperial War Museum London.

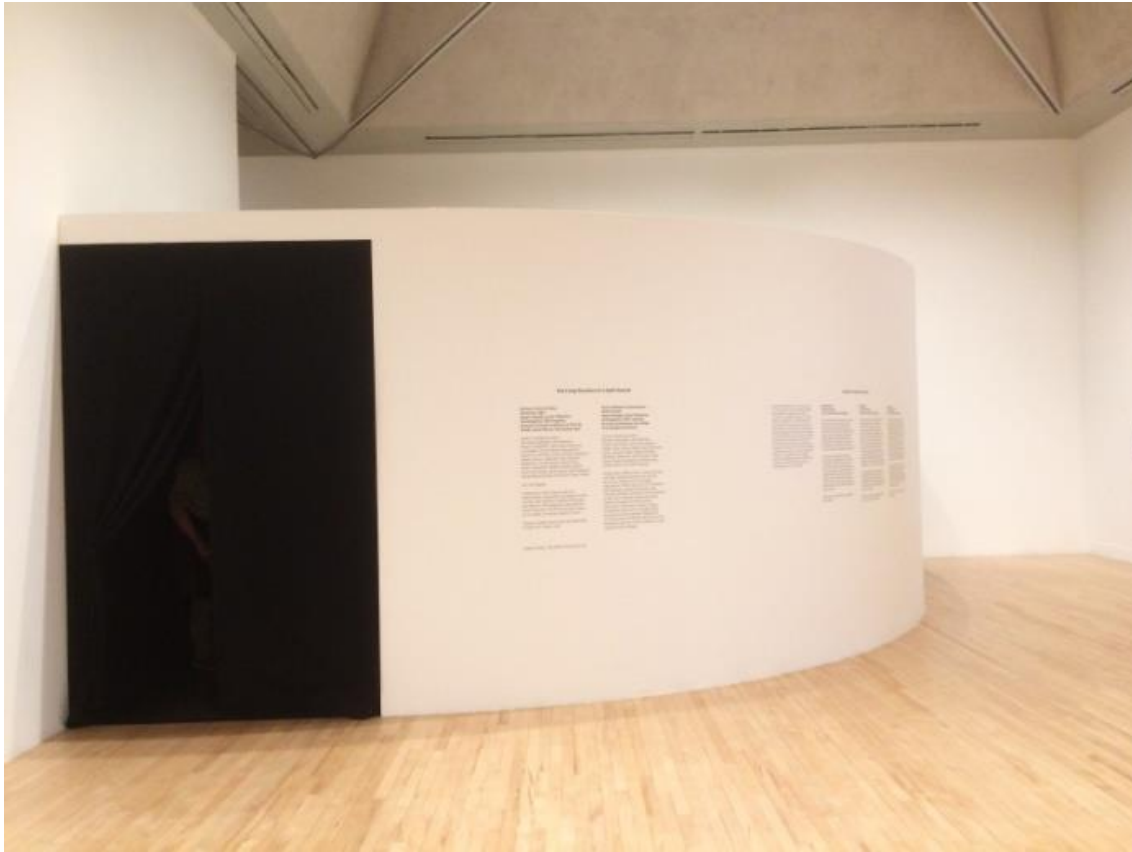


Figure 4.13 Exit wall Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.



Figure 4.14 Edmund Clark, *Negative Publicity*, 2016, framed poster print installed in entrance room at *Edmund Clark: War of Terror*, Imperial War Museum London, 2016.

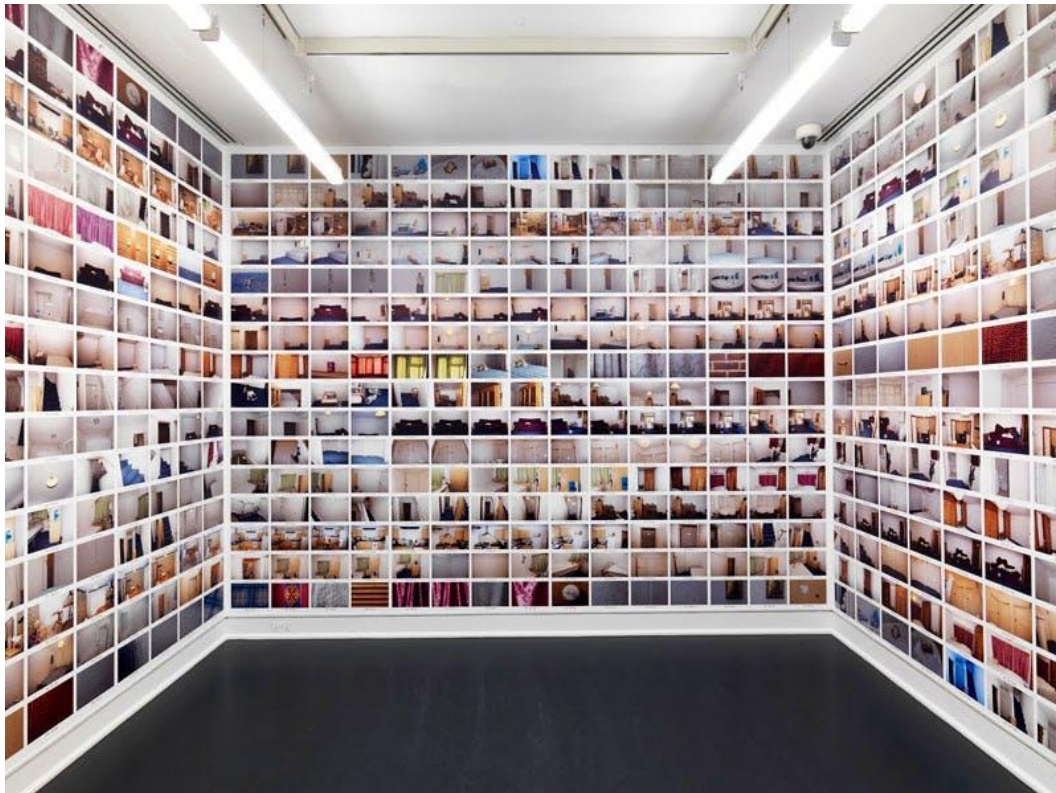


Figure 4.15 Edmund Clark, *Control Order House*, 2012, photographs installed in *Edmund Clark: War of Terror*, Imperial War Museum London, 2016.



Figure 4.16 Edmund Clark, *Negative Publicity*, 2016, book page installation and film installed in *Edmund Clark: War of Terror*, Imperial War Museum London, 2016.

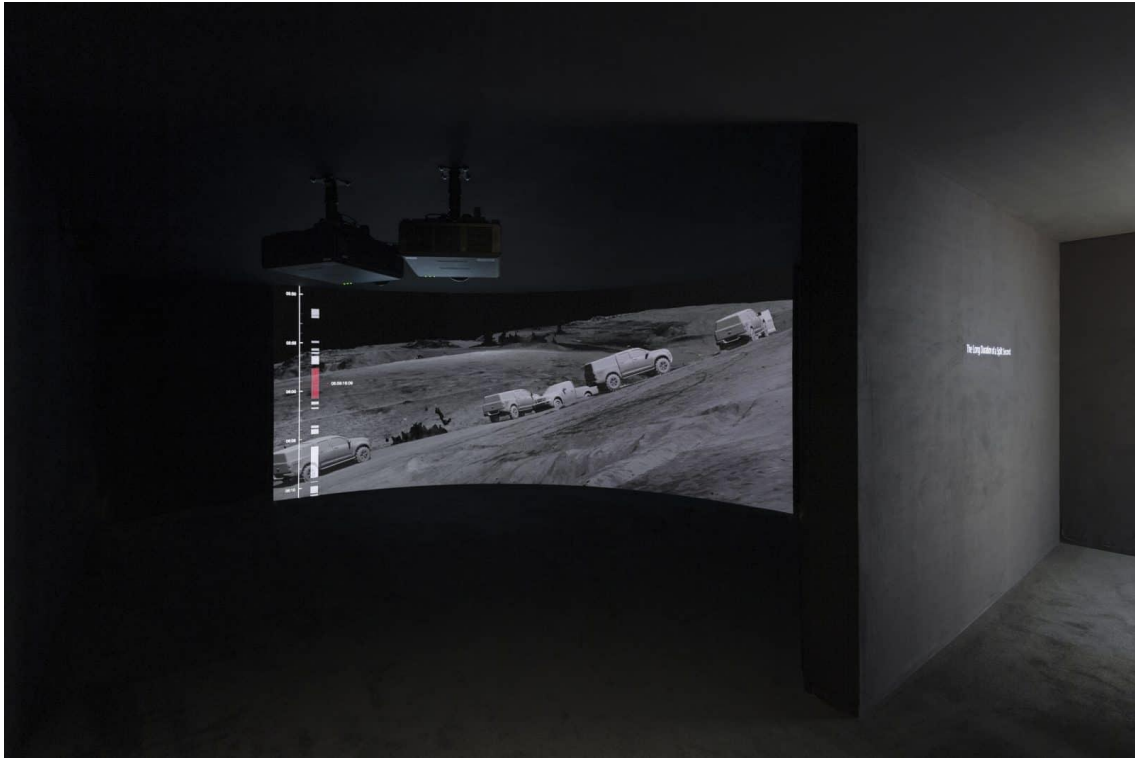


Figure 4.17 Entrance video in Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.



Figure 4.18 Main gallery space in Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.



Figure 4.19 Social media stills and model in Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.



Figure 4.20 Video in front of British Royal Air Force (RAF) aerial photographs taken in the Negev/Naqab desert in 1945 in Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.



Figure 4.21 Wall text and video in front of British Royal Air Force (RAF) aerial photographs taken in the Negev/Naqab desert in 1945 in Forensic Architecture's installation *The Long Duration of a Split Second* in Turner Prize 2018, Tate Britain, London 2018.

Appendix A: Exhibition Matrix

List of exhibitions containing conflict photographs: those opened between 2010 and 2020 are highlighted in grey, the core case studies are highlighted in green.

Title	Institution	City	Country	Year Opened
The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations	Crystal Palace	London	UK	1851
Roger Fenton's Crimean photographs	Gallery of the Water Colour Society	London	UK	1855
Exhibition of the Photographic Society of London and the Société française de photographie	South Kensington Museum	London	UK	1858
The British Exhibition of War Pictures	Grafton Galleries	London	UK	1917
Australian War Pictures and Photographs	The Kodak Salon	Sydney	Australia	1918
Women's War Work	Whitechapel Gallery	London	UK	1918
Photography 1839–1937	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1937
Sixty Photographs: A Survey of Camera Esthetics	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1940
War Comes to the People	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1940
BRITAIN AT WAR	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1941
TWO YEARS OF WAR IN ENGLAND: PHOTOGRATHS BY WILLIAM VANDIVERT	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1942
Road to Victory	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1942
PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE CIVIL WAR AND THE AMERICAN FRONTIER	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1942
TUNISIAN TRIUMPH: WAR PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIOT ELISOFON	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1943
La Grande deliverance de Paris	Musee Carnavalet	Paris	France	1944
KOREA: THE IMPACT OF WAR IN PHOTOGRAPHS	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1951
Family of Man	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1955
Photographs from the Museum Collection	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1958

Robert Capa: War Photos	Smithsonian American Art Museum	Washington DC	USA	1960
New Documents	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1967
The Concerned Photographer	Riverside Museum	New York	USA	1967
The Concerned Photographer	Ginza Matsuya Department Store	Tokyo	Japan	1968
Spectrum: The Diversity of Photography - Don McCullin: The Destruction Business	Institute of Contemporary Art	London	UK	1969
America in Crisis	Riverside Museum	New York	USA	1969
Information	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1970
The Concerned Photographer	The Photographers' Gallery	London	UK	1971
Viet Nam: A Photographic Essay	The Brooklyn Museum	New York	USA	1972
Great British Press Show	The Photographers' Gallery	London	UK	1972
Executive Order 9066	Whitney Museum of Art	New York	USA	1972
The Concerned Photographer	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	1972
The Concerned Photographer 2	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	1973
Toward the Margin of Life: From Primitive Man to Population Crisis	Center for Inter-American Relations	New York	USA	1973
From the Picture Press	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1973
From the Picture Press	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1973
The Health and Safety Game: Office Worker's Nerve	Whitney Museum of Art	New York	USA	1976
Pictures on a Page	The Photographers Gallery	London	UK	1978
Photographs by Don McCullin	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	1981
Photographs by Don McCullin	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	1981
Mediations: Nicaragua	Camerwork	London	UK	1982
Mediations: Nicaragua	Side Gallery	Newcastle	UK	1982
"Luchar!: An Exhibition for the People of Central America "	Taller Latinoamericano/ The Latin American Workshop, Inc	New York	USA	1982
Timeline: A Chronicle of U.S. Intervention in Central and Latin America	MoMA PS1	New York	USA	1984
New Photography	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1985

Hotel Polen, Ania Bien	San Francisco Museum of Modern Art	San Francisco	USA	1987
British Photography: Towards a Bigger History	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	1987
Resistance (Anti-Baudrillard)	White Columns	New York	USA	1987
In Our Time	Hayward Gallery	London	UK	1989
Don McCullin: A Retrospective	British Council	Easter Europe Tour		1993
Susan Meiselas: Photographs	Hasselblad Center	Goteborg	Sweden	1994
Police Force: Paul Seawright	The Photographers' Gallery	London	UK	1995
Warworks: Women, Photography and the Art of War	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	1995
Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941-44		Vienna	Austria	1995
Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence	San Francisco Museum of Modern Art	San Francisco	USA	1997
Photographs from S-21: 1975–1979	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	1997
Without Sanctuary: Photographs of Lynchings from the Collection of James Allen and John Littlefield	New York Historical Society	New York	USA	2000
Making Choices	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	2000
Open Ends	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	2000
Simon Norfolk: For Most of It I Have No Words: Genocide, Landscape, Memory	IWM London	London	UK	2000
Here is New York: A Democracy of Photographs	116 Prince Street, SoHo, Manhattan	New York	USA	2001
Belfast Week: Castles of Ulster	Institute of Contemporary Art	London	UK	2001
The September 11 Photo Project	305 West Broadway	New York	USA	2001
Great Eyewitness Photographers	Barbican	London	UK	2001
New York September 11 by Magnum Photographers	New-York Historical Society	New York	USA	2001
Here is New York: A Democracy of Photographs	Guardian offices	London	UK	2002
After September 11: Images From Ground Zero	Museum of London	London	UK	2002
Life of the City	MoMA PS1	New York	USA	2002
Documenta 11	Documenta	Kassel	Germany	2002

Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944	Institute for Contemporary Art in Berlin	Berlin	Germany	2002
Cruel + Tender: The Real in the Twentieth Century Photograph	Tate Modern	London	UK	2003
Requiem: By the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina	NCSU Libraries	Raleigh	USA	2004
INCONVENIENT EVIDENCE: Iraqi Prison Photographs from Abu Ghraib	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2004
Experiments with Truth	The Fabric Workshop and Museum (FWM)	Philadelphia	USA	2004
The Maze	The Photographers' Gallery	London	UK	2004
Roger Fenton: Photographs 1852-60	Tate Britain	London	UK	2005
The Art of 9/11	Apex Art	New York	USA	2005
Making History: Art and documentary in Britain from 1929	Tate Liverpool	London	UK	2006
Making History: Art and Documentary in Britain from 1929 to Now	Tate Liverpool	Liverpool	UK	2006
Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic of Pain	Williams College Museum of Art	Boston	USA	2006
In the Face of History: European Photographers in the 20th Century	Barbican	London	UK	2006
Act of State: 40 Years of Palestine Occupation	Minshar Art Gallery	Tel Aviv	Israel	2007
Blind Faith: Contemporary art and human rights	Glasgow Gallery of Modern Art	Glasgow	UK	2007
Paul Seawright: Invisible Cities	Ffotogallery	Cardiff	UK	2007
How We Are: Photographing Britain from the 1840s to the Present	Tate Britain	London	UK	2007
War and Remembrance	Museum of Fine Art Houston	Houston	USA	2007
The Art of Lee Miller	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	2007
Cornell Capa: Concerned Photographer	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2008
Contact: George Rodger's War Photographs	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2008
Susan Meiselas: In History	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2008
Alfredo Jaar: The Politics of Images	The South London Gallery	London	UK	2008
Memory of Fire: The War of Images and Images of War	Photoworks	Brighton	UK	2008
Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2008
Paul Seawright: UXB	MAXXI	Rome	Italy	2008

This is War! Robert Capa: At Work / Gerda Taro / On the Subject of War	Barbican	London	UK	2008
The Incommensurable Banner	Fabrica	Brighton	UK	2008
Deutsche Borse: Donovan Wylie	The Photographers' Gallery	London	UK	2009
David Cotterrell: Aesthetic Distance	Danielle Arnaud Gallery	London	UK	2009
Living with the Wall: Berlin 1961-1989	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2009
Requiem: By the Photographers Who Died in Vietnam and Indochina	Hallie Ford Museum of Art	Salem	USA	2009
Then & Now: Evolving Art Practices	Lewis Glucksman Gallery	Cork	Ireland	2009
Conflicting Account: Paul Seawright	MACA	Portadown	Northern Ireland	2009
Facing Death: Portraits of Cambodia's Killing Fields	Photofusion	London	UK	2009
The Sublime: Image of Destruction	Brighton Photo Biennale	Brighton	UK	2009
Constituent Violence 1947- 1950	Zochrot	Tel Aviv	Israel	2009
Fall Out: War and Conflict in the British Council Collection	Whitechapel Gallery	London	UK	2010
Queen and Country: A Project by Steve McQueen	National Portrait Gallery	London	UK	2010
Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2010
Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin	Victoria Art Gallery	Bath	UK	2010
The Gulf War 1990 -1991: Photographs by John Keane	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2010
EXPOSED: Voyeurism, Surveillance and The Camera	Tate Modern	London	UK	2010
EXPOSED: Voyeurism, Surveillance and The Camera	San Francisco Museum of Modern Art	San Francisco	UK	2010
Bringing the War Home	Impressions Gallery	Bradford	UK	2010
Anti-Photojournalism	La Virreina Centre de la Imatge	Barcelona	Spain	2010
Taryn Simon: A Living Man Declared Dead and Other Chapters I- XVIII	Tate Modern	London	UK	2011
Photography: New Documentary Forms	Tate Modern	London	UK	2011
MY 9-11: ONE MAN'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE UNEXPECTED EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2011	Charles West Gallery	New York	USA	2011
Donovan Wylie: Outposts	National Media Museum	Bradford	UK	2011

Volunteer: Paul Seawright	Kerling Gallery	Dublin	Ireland	2011
THE TWIN TOWERS AND THE CITY: PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAMILO JOSÉ VERGARÁ	Museum of the City of New York	New York	USA	2011
Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin	IWM London	London	UK	2011
Burke + Norfolk: PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN	Tate Modern	London	UK	2011
Here is New York: Remembering 9/11	New York Historical Society	New York	USA	2011
JOEL MEYEROWITZ: REMEMBERING 9/11 10 YEARS LATER	Edwyn Houk Gallery/New York University Open House	New York	USA	2011
Here is New York: Revisited	School of Visual Arts, SVA Flatiron Gallery	New York	USA	2011
JOHN BOTTE: THE 9/11 PHOTOGRAPHS	Gallery at Calamut	New York	USA	2011
Al Braithwaite: Twinned Towers	Leila Heller Gallery	New York	USA	2011
What Matters Now? Proposals for a New Front Page	Aperture Gallery	New York	USA	2011
Memory Remains	IWM London	London	UK	2011
Sep-11	MoMA PS1	New York	USA	2011
Anti-Photojournalism	Foam	Amsterdam	Netherlands	2011
Remembering 9/11	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2011
1979, a Monument to Radical Moments	La Virreina Centre de la Imatge	Barcelona	Spain	2011
Topography of War	Le Bal	Paris	France	2011
From Palestine to Israel	Mosaic Rooms	London	UK	2011
Remembering 9/11	New York Historical Society	New York	USA	2011
Witness to Tragedy and Recovery	Pace University	New York	USA	2011
A reply from Norway's Youth after 22 July	The Falstad Centre		Norway	2011
Everything Was Moving: Photography from the 60s and 70s	Barbican	London	UK	2012
Frontline: A Year of Journalism and Conflict	Somerset House	London	UK	2012
Simon Norfolk: For Most Of It I Have No Words	Open Eye Gallery	Liverpool	UK	2012
Etched Memory: Icons of American Photography	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	Austin	USA	2012
War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath	Museum of Fine Art Houston	Houston	USA	2012
Light from the Middle East: New Photography	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	2012

Observance and Memorial: Photographs from S-21, Cambodia	Royal Ontario Museum	Ontario	Canada	2012
Cecil Beaton: Theatre of War	IWM London	London	UK	2012
Ori Gherst: This Storm is What we Call Progress,	IWM London	London	UK	2012
W. Eugene Smith and James Nachtwey	Museum of Fine Art Houston	Houston	USA	2012
Northern Ireland: 30 Years of Photography	The MAC	Belfast	Northern Ireland	2013
Dennis Brack: A Career in Photojournalism	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	Austin	USA	2013
Phantom Home: Ahlam Shibli	Jeu de Paume	Paris	France	2013
Phantom Home: Ahlam Shibli	Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA)	Barcelona	Spain	2013
Phantom Home: Ahlam Shibli	Museu de Arte Contemporanea Serralves	Porto	Portugal	2013
Dominic Nahr: Captive State	Ryerson Image Centre	Toronto	Canada	2013
Catalyst: Contemporary Art and War	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2013
Sebastiao Salgado: Genesis	Natural History Museum	London	UK	2013
War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath	The Brooklyn Museum	New York	USA	2013
War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath	The Corcoran Gallery of Art	Washington DC	USA	2013
War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath	The Annenberg Space for Photography	LA	USA	2013
Making it Up: Photographic Fictions	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	2013
Iraq: Photographs by Sean Smith	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2013
Melanie Friend: The Home Front	Impressions Gallery	Bradford	UK	2013
Alfredo Jaar: The Politics of Images	Ryerson Image Centre	Toronto	Canada	2013
Donovan Wylie: Vision as Power	IWM London	London	UK	2013
Allan Sekula's Waiting for Tear Gas (white Globe to Black)	Tate Modern	London	UK	2013
Human Rights, Human Wrongs	Ryerson Image Centre	Toronto	Canada	2013
Bringing the War Home	Winchester Art Gallery	Winchester	UK	2013
Truth and Memory: British Art of the First World War	IWM London	London	UK	2014
SHOT AT DAWN: Chloe Dewe Mathews	Stills: Scotland's Centre for Photography	Edinburgh	Scotland	2014
Syria: Humanity in Conflict	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2014

IWM Contemporary: Mark Neville	IWM London	London	UK	2014
Xavier Ribas: Nitrate	MACBA	Barcelona	Spain	2014
The Great Refusal: Protesting 1948-1984	Hayward	London	UK	2014
The Power of His Camera: Spider Martin and the Civil Rights Movement	Dolph Briscoe Center for American History	Austin	USA	2014
Richard Mosse: The Enclave	The Vinyl Factory	London	UK	2014
Drawn by Light: The Royal Photographic Society Collection	Media Space, Science Museum	London	UK	2014
Infidel: Tim Hetherington	Photofusion	London	UK	2014
Ruin Lust	Tate Britain	London	UK	2014
Conflict Time Photography	Tate Modern	London	UK	2014
Reflections of War	Flowers Gallery	London	UK	2014
Re-Framing History	Galerie Lelong & Co.	New York	USA	2014
Forensis	Haus de Kulturen der Welt	Berlin	Germany	2014
The Sensory War	Manchester Art Gallery	Manchester	UK	2014
Beyond Ground Zero: 9/11 and the American Landscape, Photographs by Jonathan C. Hyman	9/11 Museum	New York	USA	2015
Lee Miller: A Woman's War	IWM London	London	UK	2015
SHOT AT DAWN: Chloe Dewe Mathews	Irish Museum of Modern Art	Dublin	Ireland	2015
Lost to History: Covering Conflict in the Age of the Eternal Present	The Gallatin Galleries	New York	USA	2015
Caesar Photos: Inside Syrian Authorities' Prisons	United Nations Secretariat Building	New York	USA	2015
The Aftermath of Conflict: Jo Ractliffe's Photographs of Angola and South Africa	Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York	USA	2015
Forensics: The Anatomy of Crime	Wellcome Collection	London	UK	2015
Images of Conviction: The Construction of Visual Evidence	Le Bal	Paris	France	2015
Burden of Proof: The Construction of Visual Evidence	The Photographers Gallery	London	UK	2015
Drawn by Light: The Royal Photographic Society Collection	The National Science and Media Museum	Bradford	UK	2015
Peter Kennard: Unofficial War Artist	IWM London	London	UK	2015
The Forensic Turn	FORMAT	Derby	UK	2015
Walid Raad: Retrospective	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	2015

Conflict Time Photography	Museum Folkwang	Essen	Germany	2015
Human Rights, Human Wrongs	The Photographers Gallery	London	UK	2015
Rendering The Unthinkable: Artists Respond to 9/11	9/11 Memorial Museum	New York	USA	2016
SHOT AT DAWN: Chloe Dewe Mathews	Ivory Press	Madrid	Spain	2016
Hope at Ground Zero: FEMA Photographs by Andrea Booher	9/11 Museum	New York	USA	2016
Macondo: Memories Of The Colombian Conflict	The Gallatin Galleries	New York	USA	2016
Edward Barber: Peace Signs	IWM London	London	UK	2016
Edmund Clark: War of Terror	IWM London	London	UK	2016
Walid Raad: Retrospective	Jumex	Mexico City	Mexico	2016
Sergey Ponomarev: A Lens on Syria	IWM London	London	UK	2017
Soul of a Nation: Art in the Age of Black Power	Tate Modern	London	UK	2017
Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11	IWM London	London	UK	2017
People Power: Fighting for Peace	IWM London	London	UK	2017
Richard Mosse: Incoming	Barbican Curve	London	UK	2017
Susan Meiselas: Mediations	Fundacio Tapies	Barcelona	Spain	2017
Jason Larkin: Past Perfect	Flowers Gallery	London	UK	2017
Afghanistan: Reflections on Helmand	IWM London	London	UK	2017
Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea 1885	Royal Collections Trust	Edinburgh	UK	2017
An Incomplete History of Protest: Selections from the Whitney's Collection, 1940–2017	Whitney Museum of Art	New York	USA	2017
"No Man's Land:" Women's Photography and the First World War	Impressions Gallery	Bradford	UK	2017
Dreams of Solentiname	80WSE	New York	USA	2017
In Our Time	Magnum Print Room	London	UK	2017
Evidentiary Realism	NOME Gallery	Berlin	Germany	2017
A Green and Pleasant Land	Towner Art Gallery	Eastbourne	UK	2017
History Through a Lens	Victoria Art Gallery	Bath	UK	2017
Sergey Ponomarev: A Lens on Syria	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2018
Aftermath: Art in the Wake of World War One	Tate Britain	London	UK	2018
War and Power: Disasters of War	British Museum	London	UK	2018

People Power: Fighting for Peace	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2018
Counter Investigations: Forensic Architecture	ICA	London	UK	2018
Martha Rosler: Irrespective	Jewish Museum	New York	USA	2018
Renewal: Life after the First World War in Photographs	IWM London	London	UK	2018
Susan Meiselas: Mediations	Jeu de Paume	Paris	France	2018
Susan Meiselas: Mediations	The San Francisco Museum of Art	San Francisco	Spain	2018
Art Against War: Peter Kennard and the CND Movement	Museum of Sheffield	Sheffield	UK	2018
Shadows of War: Roger Fenton's Photographs of the Crimea 1885	Royal Collections Trust	London	UK	2018
Trevor Paglen: Sites Unseen	Smithsonian American Art Museum	Washington DC	USA	2018
"No Man's Land:" Women's Photography and the First World War	Bristol Cathedral	Bristol	UK	2018
"No Man's Land:" Women's Photography and the First World War	The Turnpike	Leigh	UK	2018
Dorothy Lange and Vanessa Winship	Barbican	London	UK	2018
Turner Prize 2018: Forensic Architecture	Tate Britain	London	UK	2018
[Control] No Control	Hamburger Kunsthalle	Hamburg	Germany	2018
Roman Vishniac Rediscovered	Jewish Museum London	London	UK	2018
Broomberg & Chanarin: Divine Violence	Pompidou	Paris	France	2018
David Goldblatt	Pompidou	Paris	France	2018
Artists Respond: American Art and the Vietnam War, 1965-1975	Minneapolis Institute of Art	Minneapolis	USA	2019
Artists Respond: American Art and the Vietnam War, 1965-1975	Smithsonian American Art Museum	Washington DC	USA	2019
Artists Respond: American Art and the Vietnam War, 1965-1975	Minneapolis Institute of Art	Minneapolis	USA	2019
Robert Capa: D-Day in 35mm	IWM London	London	UK	2019
Trevor Paglen: From 'Apple' to 'Anomaly'	Barbican Curve	London	UK	2019
Abd Doumany: No More Flowers	PARC	London	UK	2019
Heartfield: One Man's War	Four Corners	London	UK	2019
Allan Sekula: Photography, A Wonderfully Inadequate Medium	Marian Goodman Gallery	London	UK	2019
Theater of Operations: The Gulf Wars 1991-2011	MoMA PS1	New York	USA	2019

Triple Chaser: Whitney Biennale	Whitney Museum of Art	New York	USA	2019
"No Man's Land:" Women's Photography and the First World War	Bishop Aukckland Town Hall	Bishop Auckland	UK	2019
What Remains	IWM London	London	UK	2019
Don McCullin	Tate Britain	London	UK	2019
Tell me about yesterday tomorrow	Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism	Munich	Germany	2019
Visible Justice	LCC London	London	UK	2019
Conversations on Conflict Photography	The Gallatin Galleries	New York	USA	2019
Michael Rakowitz	Whitechapel Gallery	London	UK	2019
Britain and Photography: 1945-79	Tate Britain	London	UK	2020
#ICPConcerned: Global Images for Global Crisis	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2020
An-My Lê: On Contested Terrain	Carnegie Museum of Art	Pittsburgh	USA	2020
The Eye as Witness: Recording the Holocaust	Bradford Peace Museum	Bradford	UK	2020
The Eye as Witness: Recording the Holocaust	IWM North	Manchester	UK	2020
Engineer, Agitator, Constructor: The Artist Reinvented	Museum of Modern Art	New York	USA	2020
War Inna Babylon: The Community's Struggle for Truths and Rights	Institute of Contemporary Art	London	UK	2020
Don McCullin	Tate Liverpool	Liverpool	UK	2020
In Pursuit of Images	Architecture Association	London	UK	2020
Women War Photographers	Fotomuseum Wintertaur	Zurich	Germany	2020
Another Eye	Four Corners	London	UK	2020
Life Magazine and the Power of Photography	Museum of Fine Arts in Boston	Boston	USA	2020
Life Magazine and the Power of Photography	Princeton University Art Museum	Princeton	USA	2020
Sarah Charlesworth: Modern History	Paula Cooper Gallery	New York	USA	2021
The Eye as Witness: Recording the Holocaust	Lakeside Arts Centre	Nottingham	UK	2021
Close Enough: Robert Capa	Photo London	London	UK	2021
Jasper de Beijer: The Admiral's Headache	Asya Geisberg Gallery	New York	USA	2021
Documents from the Edges of Conflict	University for the Creative Arts	Farnham	UK	2021
My name is Sara	Four Corners	London	UK	2021

Holocaust Survivors	IWM London	London	UK	2021
Art for the Future: Artists Call and Central American Solidarity in the 1980s	Tufts University Art Galleries	Massachusetts	USA	2021
"NATO": Chronicle of Cruelty	The State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia	Moscow	Russia	2022
Children of War: Moments of War Horrors Through the Lens of Photographers	Ukrainian National Museum	Chicago	USA	2022
Close Enough: New Perspectives from 12 Women Photographers of Magnum	International Center of Photography	New York	USA	2022
America in Crisis	Saatchi Gallery	London	UK	2022
TELL THEM ABOUT BATTLES, METEORS AND EGGPLANT CAVIAR	Stimultania	Strasbourg	France	2022
Ukraine in Focus	Victoria and Albert Museum	London	UK	2022
Ukraine Now	Wieden+Kennedy London	London	UK	2022

Appendix B: Interview Methodology and Thematic Analysis Approach

Interviews with curatorial actors are crucial to my PhD research interrogating how conflict photographs have been curated within temporary exhibitions. They inform the analysis of my core case studies by revealing details about curatorial actors and decisions not recorded or available in institutional archives. Furthermore, interviews have facilitated a broader research impact by revealing the networks between US and UK curators that influence curating in British museums so that my thesis contributes to knowledge with international relevance. Insights from the interviews are incorporated throughout my four thesis chapters in relation to specific examples of curating conflict photographs. This appendix firstly presents the methodological considerations towards conducting and analysing the interviews. Secondly, it briefly outlines thematic findings that have informed my main analysis. Finally, a concluding section summarises the applications of these findings for my exhibition case studies and their implications for future research.

1. Methodological Considerations

Having worked with conflict photographs in various curatorial capacities since 2008, I drew on my network to conduct fifteen interviews with seventeen curatorial actors for my thesis research. My positionality shaped the selection as I was able to access curators, photographic practitioners and museum professionals who, like me, have been involved in curating conflict photographs in temporary exhibitions. These professional contacts enabled me to scrutinise observations from archival research and press analysis and test my thesis that there has been a paradigm shift in curating conflict photographs from 2010-20.

The interviews were semi-structured. Eight were undertaken in person, eight were rescheduled virtually due to COVID-19 restrictions and two were conducted by email.¹ All but one interview was one-to-one, with the exception being the Museum of Fine Arts Houston whose curatorial team of three chose to be interviewed together. The interviewees' names, positions, curatorial roles and interview type are set out in the following table in the order in which I interviewed them:

¹ A research trip to the US to interview the curators based in New York and Houston in person was cancelled owing to the COVID-19 lockdowns throughout 2020 and 2021.

#	Interviewee	Title & Institution	Curatorial role & Exhibition(s)	Interview type & date
1	Aïcha Mehrez	(Former) Assistant Curator of Contemporary British Art, Tate Britain	Museum curator <i>Don McCullin</i> , Tate Britain, London (2019) and Tate Liverpool (2020)	In person 2019
2	Hilary Roberts	Head Curator, IWM Photograph Archive (1996-2011) Research Curator of Photographs (2013+), IWM	Museum curator <i>Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin</i> , Imperial War Museum North and Imperial War Museum London (2010 and 2011) <i>Edmund Clark: War of Terror</i> , Imperial War Museum London (2016)	In person 2019
3	Shoair Mavlian	(Former) Assistant Curator, Photography and International Art, Tate	Museum curator <i>Conflict Time Photography</i> , Tate Modern, London (2014) <i>Don McCullin</i> , Tate Britain, London(2019)	In person 2019
4	Rebecca Newell	Head of Art, IWM	Museum curator <i>Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11</i> , Imperial War Museum London (2017)	Email 2019
5	Kathleen Palmer	(Former) Head of Art, IWM	Museum curator <i>Edmund Clark: War of Terror</i> , Imperial War Museum London (2016) <i>Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11</i> , Imperial War Museum London (2017)	In person 2019
6	Edmund Clark	Photographer	External co-curator, artist/photographer <i>Edmund Clark: War of Terror</i> , Imperial War Museum London (2016)	In person 2020
7	Ariel Cane	Researcher, Forensic Architecture	External co-curator, researcher <i>Turner Prize 2018</i> , Tate Britain, London (2018)	In person 2020
8	Dorothy Bohm	Photographer	Photographer <i>People at Peace</i> , Institute of Contemporary Art, London (1969)	In person 2020
9	Timothy Prus	Curator, Archive of Modern Conflict, London	External curator 'A Guide for the Protection of Public in Peacetime', in <i>Conflict Time Photography</i> , Tate Modern, London (2014)	Telephone 2020

10	Linsey Young	Curator of Contemporary British Art, Tate Britain	Museum curator <i>Turner Prize 2018</i> , Tate Britain, London (2018)	Email 2020
11	Jan Seidler Ramirez	Executive Vice President of Collections & Chief Curator, 9/11 Memorial Museum	Museum curator <i>Historical Exhibition and Rendering the Unthinkable</i> , 9/11 Memorial Museum, New York (2014 and 2017)	Video call 2020
12	Susan Meiselas	Photographer	Photographer, curatorial collaborator <i>Mediations</i> , The Photographers' Gallery, London (2019)	Video call 2020
13	Anne Wilkes Tucker	(Former) Gus and Lyndall Wortham Curator of Photography, Museum of Fine Arts Houston	Museum curator <i>War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath</i> , Museum of Fine Arts Houston (2012)	Group video call 2020
13	Will Michels	Photographer and Glassell School of Art instructor, Museum of Fine Arts Houston	Museum curator <i>War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath</i> , Museum of Fine Arts Houston (2012)	Group video call 2020
13	Natalie Zelt	(Former) Curatorial assistant for photography, Museum of Fine Arts Houston	Museum curator <i>War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath</i> , Museum of Fine Arts Houston (2012)	Group video call 2020
14	Tamar Hemmes	Assistant Curator, Tate Liverpool	Museum curator <i>Don McCullin</i> , Tate Liverpool (2020)	Video call 2020
15	Emma King	(Former) Director, Holocaust Heritage and Learning Centre, Huddersfield	Museum curator <i>Through Our Eyes</i> , Holocaust Heritage and Learning Centre (2018)	Video call 2020

1.1 Interviewees

Before outlining the interview approach, three observations are relevant to the interviewees. Firstly, twelve out of seventeen were internal institutional staff and so the collective insight is skewed towards those working within rather than with museums. These internal actors provided behind the scenes knowledge of the institutions and access to all phases of exhibition development. Their comments are revealing about curating in public/national museums with permanent collections and specific mandates. As contracted employees, their positionality should be noted as they act in some

ways as ambassadors for the institutions, a role that can be understood as structuring, framing and, in some cases, limiting what they divulge. The observations and experiences of the four external interviewees' – photographic practitioners who worked with museum curators on exhibitions of their work – highlight how internal agendas were registered, reconciled or challenged by independent actors. Their comments help determine the latitude for dealing with difficult subjects as an outside voice, as they were not subject to the same codes of conduct as institutional employees. Having viewpoints on specific exhibitions from internal and external co-curators gives rich material and a unique perspective on how exhibition-making plays out when it is not just controlled from within an institution.

Secondly, thirteen of the seventeen interviewees were female. Speculations on gender in the cultural sector is beyond the scope of this study, but it seems important to acknowledge, especially given that only one of the twelve internal institutional staff was male. The dominance of female cultural professionals at the interface of curating conflict within museums counters notions of war being a masculine preserve, or indicates that moderately paid curatorial roles go to women. On the other hand, that three of the four external photographic practitioners working to create conflict images were male suggests that production is still associated with men. Given such possible assumptions, it is important to underline that this set of interviews is a small sample of people working in this field, that the gender imbalances may in part reflect my network and that this study does not comprehensively map the demographic of the different stakeholders within the curatorial process. The gender split does show that women working on conflict photographs occupy significant space in art and history programming in a moderating rather than producing role.

Thirdly, five of the twelve institutional staff (indicated by 'former' in the table above) were, at the time of interview, no longer in the curatorial roles that they had performed during the exhibitions that they were interviewed about.² These interviewees had more critical distance from the institutions than current employees, allowing them to be more reflexive, like the external interviewees without the ambassadorial responsibilities of employees. These 'former' staff members also reiterate the shifting nature of the cultural sector and its turnover, as people move into different roles internally and externally, taking institutional knowledge with them. Staff turnover shifted personal institutional dynamics and institutional knowledge, although the change of

² Aïcha Mehrez subsequently left Tate.

curatorial actors would not have been visible to the public. These three factors point to the fluctuating networks of exhibitions and the conditions in which they were produced across this decade. They also act as a reminder of the different temporalities related to curating exhibitions: three to five years is a reasonable time for developing and delivering an exhibition in large institutions, yet can be a significant duration for an individual career.

1.2 Interview Methodology

In advance of confirming my interviews, each prospective interviewee was contacted via email, directly when I had prior contact or after being e-introduced by mutual acquaintances. My initial email outlined the context for this research, specified the reason I wanted to interview them and provided a copy of my ethics form to review and sign. If they agreed – all did – they were offered a choice of interview formats (in person, on a video call or via email as indicated in the table above) and were offered guide questions, which most requested. During in person and video call interviews, I had a set of questions on hand, and asked them if they would prefer to structure the conversation around each question or to use them as a starting point. Most preferred to use the questions as a jumping off point for freer formed conversation around their role in exhibition-making. At times I interjected to clarify or expand on a point made, or to ensure that my research aims were covered.

All spoken interviews, in person or virtual, were recorded with permission of the interviewee and I made written notes and observations during the conversation. After each interview, I transcribed the audio recording, listening back a number of times to produce a transcript which was sent back to the interviewee for record, comment and approval. Before conducting the thematic interview analysis, I familiarised myself with the interviews through the transcribing process, reading back through my written notes, highlighting the transcripts and using the findings to inform my draft case study chapters through numerous iterations.

1.3 Thematic Analysis

Once I had conducted the full set of interviews and my case study chapters had been drafted multiple times, I undertook thematic analysis by coding each interview transcript. Following a qualitative approach, I highlighted key insights about the curatorial process and commonalities that

emerged throughout the different interviews, as well as sections of text where recurring references were made or topics raised that were pertinent to my key research questions:

- What does curating conflict photographs within public museums reveal about the role of the curator in the public understanding of conflict?
- What are the similarities and differences between how art and history museums curate and contextualise conflict photographs?
- What can the curatorial rationale, interpretive and material presentation of conflict photographs reveal about institutional agendas and the actors involved?
- How were different understandings of conflict situations interpreted and presented in relation to the museum’s public position, and what can this tell us about curating conflict?

The highlighted content was revisited to identify common themes, such as personal stakes or curatorial manoeuvring. These themes were reviewed again against the research questions and honed to more accurately convey what was present in the interviews about the dynamics of curating conflict.

Once the themes were in place, I created a key to summarise how each contributed to my research aims. The themes were then sorted into three groups to structure my findings. The groupings, themes and definitions are as follows:

Group	Theme	Definition
The Stakes	Institutional Stakes	Why the institution engaged with the exhibition at the given time in relation to its programme, mandate and sector.
The Stakes	Professional Stakes	Professional involvement in conflict photography over time through exhibitions or research; development of sector networks and internal champions; opportunity of exhibition.
The Stakes	Personal Stakes	The emotional labour of working with difficult histories and conflict photographs; personal connections to conflict and art as a catharsis for witnessing traumatic events, or trauma shaping practice.
The Context	Museum Forum	Perceiving the exhibition as a space to make conflict and its injustices publicly visible; exhibition as a counterpart/complement/antithesis to limitations of photojournalism; institutional role in truth production.
The Context	Political Agenda	References to the institution or institutional role as a neutral entity; delegating to artists to present challenging viewpoints; parameters of the institution.
The Context	Institutional Specialism	Appropriateness of hosting conflict photographs; assumptions of criticism for addressing certain subjects; contextual rub with permanent collections; opportunities and weaknesses of institutional context.
The Exhibition	Curatorial Manoeuvring	Curating and creating the exhibition; the curatorial rationale; development of content; stakeholders; design decisions; and curatorial manoeuvring to realise exhibition.

The Exhibition	Public Interface	Experiencing the exhibition including the role of front of house staff; visitor observations; press reviews.
The Exhibition	Programming	Programming the exhibition and related events: exhibitions as temporary offer; programming developed alongside.

The three groupings enabled me to draw together interviewees' comments to analyse the motivations, the architecture and the stakeholders that coalesce to make exhibitions.

2. Thematic Findings

A brief overview of each group – The Stakes, The Context, The Exhibition – and its themes will now be given to outline the findings produced by thematically analysing the interviews as a body of sources. Specific exhibition insights are woven throughout the main thesis chapters, so this summary will not detail individual comments.

2.1 The Stakes

By identifying, grouping and breaking down the stakes of exhibition-making into institutional, professional and personal themes, the analysis supports my research questions looking at the motivations of institutional programming and the actors involved.

Institutional Stakes

The interviewees suggest that a combination of the following heighten institutional stakes in programming conflict at a given time: timeliness in relation to current events or anniversaries; curators spotting a gap, paradigm shift or history that they could argue the institution was uniquely placed to address; audience development aims; commercial viability and commitment to showcasing certain collections or expertise. Such factors are important for influencing executive teams as conflict exhibitions rarely prove appealing to sponsors and so necessitate in-house investment from museums with limited resources.

Professional Stakes

Professionally, temporary exhibitions provide a relatively rare opportunity for curators to enter the public spotlight. References to the professional stakes of curating the exhibitions illuminate how professional ambitions and project objectives can be aligned or out of step; how existing research

interests shape exhibition proposals; the influence of internal champions within executive positions; and the importance of previous curatorial outputs in convincing senior staff to work with conflict. Various degrees of personal influence and professional standing affect a curator's ability to realise their concepts from proposal to delivery. When curators leave museums part-way through an exhibition's development, former curators' reflections on the 'finished product' indicate that the resulting vacuum of expertise creates conditions where an exhibition thesis can lose focus and become more generalised to the institution's mission rather than critical to the medium or subject matter.

Amongst interviewees there were limited degrees of separation between curators with medium specialisms, especially with awareness of others' expertise, collections and exhibition outputs. A number of curators critiqued peers' works on similar subjects, showing the professional danger of having one's curatorial theses diluted or diverted and the challenge of upholding authority about a subject within the competitive field of subject specialisms. The professional stakes also reveal strong networks between curators, and significant US-UK relations that impact on curatorial development.

Personal Stakes

An unanticipated theme was the articulation of personal stakes in the exhibitions. A number of curators referenced personal factors that inform their professional positionality including familial links to the military as motivators for working with conflict photographs or early exposure to images of war, such as via colour supplement magazines as a child, as informing their career paths. A handful reported that the requirement of working according to governmental categorisations of specific conflicts generated discomfort to their mixed-nationality heritage as they were personally unable to put forward alternative understandings of conflicts within national platforms.

The subjects of emotional labour and a duty of care for exhibition collaborators also emerged strongly. Frequent comments reflect the arduous nature of working with difficult subjects, the commitment required to develop an exhibition idea and bring it to life over a long duration, and an added sense of responsibility for curators working with artists as collaborators or co-curators. American curators most coherently addressed and reflected on the psychological impact of working with conflict photographs for a sustained period of time, describing a 'moral weight' of these difficult objects and subjects as both a driving force in the exhibition-making and as something that has left a

lasting legacy. Unprompted remarks likening curatorial experiences to 'PTSD' and stating a reluctance to curate war again illuminate the emotional register of curating conflict and its lasting effect across different levels of experience. Practical factors contribute to the challenge of the content, with aspects like limited travel budgets necessitating concentrated days looking at archives of atrocity photographs, and high staff turnover meaning that non-specialist curators were drafted in to complete exhibitions with little consultation. Attention has been directed at the traumatic impact of war on photographers, but there was no evidence of the personal stakes of the exhibition-making process being included in the development or evaluation of exhibition projects, suggesting an institutional blind spot that potentially leads to a dereliction of duty of care from senior staff, or the institution.

2.2 The Context

A closer analysis of the context of producing exhibitions against perceptions of the museum forum, political agenda and institutional specialism, evidence foundational agendas that conditioned the framework in which exhibitions were assembled. This group elucidates how national institutions engaged with contested subjects whilst reconciling their state-sponsored position of neutrality.

Museum Forum

Many museum curators' comments gave weight to the notion that today museums should be a place for public discourse, a forum, as an alternative to or in dialogue with the press and government. They perceive exhibitions as sites for more critical engagement with conflict than observed elsewhere to function as: an alternative to news media and space to unravel how conflict photographs have been mediated; a place to show histories that counter dominant (Western) narratives and mainstream media preoccupations; somewhere to present evidence of breeches of human rights including by sovereign powers; and an opportunity to address gaps in the visual record of a conflict to expose and correct partial historical records about conflicts. Comments from external curators express a desire for political agency, with exhibitions designed as vehicles for truth production. But there was certainly no concerted sense from museum curators that their exhibitions were campaigning or activist tools. The internal and external curators' aspirations for working in a gallery show a common notion of the museum as a site for addressing conflict in a nuanced and critical way and hint at the prevailing difference between these positions.

Political Agenda

Most museum curators reference or allude to the requirement to curate from a 'neutral' stance, pointing to a deep-seated perception amongst internal actors that part of their role is to frame the exhibition contents so that any political position from photographers is distanced from the museum. The interviews suggest that curators in national contexts feel able to ask questions about conflict, but, as public employees, cannot publicly answer them, and instead select artists to table challenging viewpoints. These remarks show a clear understanding, if not policy, of using artists and artworks to pose questions and address controversial subjects to which it is difficult for institutional employees to state a declared position. However, the extent to which collaborating curators and artists are aware of these manoeuvres to delegate responsibility is less clear.

Institutional specialism

The organisational specialism – history, art or photography – constructs a framework that exhibitions either adhere to or deviate from, and a key part of internal curators' role is to negotiate and navigate through museums' remits and aspirations. External curators expressed an awareness of the opportunity afforded by national museum exposure to reach new audiences and raise their profile that offset the parameters of these platforms. With content framed outside of institutional norms, such as history museums showing contemporary art, internal curators experience frictions between temporary content and permanent displays more acutely than external collaborators. They also make curatorial adjustments, modify content and devise PR messaging in anticipation of negative feedback, particularly from press critics.

2.3 The exhibition

The final grouping of themes provide insight into practical determinations and manifestations of the exhibition. These themes give a richer sense of exhibitions as tangible entities shaped and activated to different ends. Comments that attest to the interpellation of imagined audiences, to the requirements of front of house staff, and to complementary programming, are important reminders of the transient registers on which exhibitions play out beyond the gallery itself. Information about such elements is often not recorded in archival documentation associated with curating and so resides most insightfully in curator's memories, and can therefore be lost with the passing of time or staff turnover.

Curatorial Manoeuvring

Curatorial manoeuvring focuses on the exhibition itself: refining the curatorial rationale, the development of content, the articulation of curatorial frames, the influence of stakeholders, design decisions and interpretation approaches. Such elements form the basis for much of the dialogue in my case study chapters, and so will not be discussed in close detail here, however a few commonalities are useful to point out. The interviews showed: the importance of the role of internal curators to use their institutional knowledge to guide external collaborators through institutional processes and politics; the frequency of history museums adding extra interpretation as a counterpoint to more politically stated artist texts; rarely acknowledged curatorial filters that account for omissions or inclusions and reiterate the different agendas within history and art contexts. Comments about the content also reveal principles and ethical decisions towards conflict photographs that are not necessarily visible in the exhibition space, suggesting that in art contexts curators include atrocity photographs with the aim of fully addressing the experience of the artist, whereas in history contexts curators scrutinise and largely avoid photographs that could be seen as gratuitously violent.

Public interface

This theme addresses the public interface of exhibitions in terms of audience expectations, the role of front of house staff, perceived visitor experience and reviewers' thoughts. Comments show how curatorial decisions were based on assumptions about future audiences and knowledge of past audiences that translated into galleries. Museum curators articulated their awareness of the potentially emotionally draining experience of visiting an exhibition, exacerbated by distressing contents, and some of the ways that this was addressed or discussed, for example in the provision of furniture and counselling services for audiences. Their comments foregrounded physical exhaustion over mental exhaustion, suggesting that this is considered the main toll of exhibiting conflict photographs and reiterating the fact that there appears to be a poor grasp of the different manifestations of the psychological impact of exhibiting conflict for the audiences, let alone curatorial teams. Acknowledgement of the implications of invigilating conflict photographs for front of house staff was barely mentioned, apart from describing the role of these staff member as important for visitors' understanding of the museum's position towards difficult content. Such scant references to front of house staff are put into relief when we recall the personal stakes of conflict exhibitions, because they were the people that not only upheld the public face of the museum, they also had to communicate with and, at times, comfort visitors.

Programming

Additional programming, such as events, screenings and learning activities are discussed as critical counterpoints to exhibition content. However these were delivered with varying degrees of resource in terms of budget and dedicated programming teams. Curators saw programming as a method for expanding or adding to themes within galleries; addressing deficiencies within the content; responding to topical events during an exhibition's run, and as a way of connecting with audiences beyond museum thresholds. But programming can be disconnected from curators and their vision for an exhibition, potentially subverting the essence of the exhibition contents with the topics of events being chosen for their popular appeal rather than critical alignment. The influence of curators towards programming is also hindered by the toll of exhibition-making, as a number of interviewees described being too exhausted to properly engage with events by the time an exhibition opened.

3. Research Implications and Applications

The findings from my thematic interview analysis contribute crucial information to the driving question of this PhD. The interviews also point to an aspect of curatorial practice that needs more critical attention in the future in profiling the impact of curating conflict on professionals who work with conflict photographs in the context of cultural institutions, as they have none of the trauma training or networks of support that operate in the news field. Beyond formal evaluation reports, there are rarely mechanisms in place to reflect on experiences of creating exhibitions about conflict as curators often move quickly on to the next task. But, as these interviews show, their experiences remain resonant and sometimes damaging. It was not my intention to surface painful reflections via interviews, but the volume of unprompted comments mean that the personal stakes cannot be ignored in this research as this points to the differences in curating conflict from art and history contexts with different degrees of awareness and training around the issues raised by the content. This research cannot remedy the lasting effects of curating conflict, but the interviews suggest that there is a certain catharsis to speaking about processes after the event of the exhibition and that future research into this aspect of curating conflict photographs could be helpful for museum staff.

In application to my core thesis, it is worth highlighting an essential ambition articulated by all the interviewees: to use the exhibition space to make a point. Each exhibition assembled conflict photographs in a way that revealed hidden or ignored processes and consequences of conflict, or reframed conflict photographs to give them a new art or historical inflection. The extent to which these points carried forth into the final exhibition varied, and the comments suggest a trend of

rationalisation that resulted in a simplification of originating concepts in the final iteration.³ Either way, what did come through in the interviews is that however conflict photographs were curated and configured in the galleries, the exhibitions were remediating conflict photographs or showing conflicts through new photographs to produce new knowledge.

A common structuring device of making photography's role in understandings of conflict visible through the curation or camera raises the question of whether the curatorial theses were intended to produce new knowledge about war, photography or art? In most case studies the three subjects intercepted but were given different emphasis via curatorial frames that affected how the exhibition was presented. The interviews support the notion of three key typologies of exhibitions that explain curatorial approaches. These typologies are now summarised in application to a core case study:

- **Thesis: communicating research in the fields of art or photographic history.**

For example, in *Don McCullin: Shaped by War*, IWM's Hilary Roberts set out to position McCullin's photography in a series of exhibitions on photographers whose lives and practice were inherently influenced by their experiences of conflict, and to move beyond the impression of McCullin as a heroic photojournalist by contextualising his professional and personal experiences.

- **Experiential: presenting a persuasive encounter through material choices in the gallery.**

This was the case with the co-curated exhibitions, *Edmund Clark: War of Terror* at IWM and Forensic Architecture's Turner Prize exhibition at Tate. In both cases, the artists created content to make suppressed aspects of war visible in the exhibition space and designed the galleries to place visitors in an embodied relationship in order to persuade them of certain accounts and potentially inspire action.

- **Connoisseurial: aligning contents with institutional specialism to suggest that the exhibits speak for themselves according the exhibition context.**

Tate's *Don McCullin* retrospective was connoisseurial, using the context of the art gallery to

³ Simplification does not necessarily mean a failing of exhibitions as a vehicle for communicating a point. Multi-disciplinary actors are assembled to work together so that the process of rationalisation leads to an exhibition that is more successful at communicating knowledge than it might otherwise have been. Whilst the impact of the process of exhibition development on shifting the initiating idea can only be gleaned in relation to specific case studies, this analysis signals the curatorial compromises and pedagogical losses along the way. The simplification of an idea might actually make a topic more palatable to general audiences, whilst reducing the complexity of the thesis intended for the specialist constituencies for which an exhibition was intended to cater.

insert McCullin into the art historical canon by emphasising his practice as a master printer and his reportage as fine art.

To fully understand how exhibitions are transformed from idea to reality, and what is lost or gained along the way, these typologies are a useful beginning for analysis that seeks to highlight the overlaps and inconsistencies that coalesce in the finished output. The rationale of an exhibition is often (not always) presented as natural or self-evidence in the given context, even when the curator is making a new or alternative argument. By interrogating how exhibitions curated within art and history contexts compare with regard to their typologies and rationales, my research shows that exhibitions are rarely what they purport to be and highlights where there are convergences and divergences.

The typologies can be applied to the core case study exhibitions as follows:

Thesis chapter	Case study	Curatorial rationale	Typology
Chapter 2	<i>Conflict Time Photography</i> Tate Modern	make visible how trauma is processed through photography over time	Thesis: history of photography
Chapter 2	<i>Age of Terror: Art Since 9/11</i> IWM London	make visible how 9/11 politicised art practice	Thesis: history of art
Chapter 3	<i>Shaped by War: Photographs by Don McCullin</i> IWM North & London	making visible how war shaped both life and practice	Thesis: history of photography
Chapter 3	<i>Don McCullin</i> Tate Britain & Liverpool	make visible and celebrate the work of a master practitioner and printer	Connoisseurial: history of art
Chapter 4	<i>Edmund Clark: War of Terror</i> IWM London	make visible the daily impact of the 'War on Terror' and its structures of control	Experiential
Chapter 4	Forensic Architecture Turner Prize, Tate Britain	make visible the long history of colonial violence and its persistent presence	Experiential

In the case study chapters, I construct a more elaborate model of the dynamics of the curatorial process informed by my interviews. I argue that throughout the course of the decade there has been a paradigm shift in curating conflict as actors within the assemblage of conflict exhibitions push institutional agendas from the inside out through temporary exhibitions.