



Unveiling the Layers of Trauma: Arko Datta's Photographic Narrative of Qutubuddin Ansari and the 2002 Gujarat Riots

"I used to feel that my camera was a wall between me and what I was photographing. But gradually the wall started breaking and I started feeling vulnerable. It reached a point where I began to feel what the other person was feeling."

- Arko Datta

Abstract

Photography, as an art form and particularly through the lens of photojournalism, possesses an unparalleled ability to authentically convey the depths of trauma and loss. It serves as a powerful tool for bearing witness to the human experience in times of adversity, capturing poignant moments that words alone may struggle to articulate. To comprehend the impact of photographs is to understand the narratives they weave and the emotions they elicit. This research delves into the profound photographic narrative crafted by Arko Datta during the 2002 Gujarat riots, focusing on the iconic image of Qutubuddin Ansari. This research paper seeks to delve into the nuanced dimensions of the image, examining how Datta's composition and storytelling prowess contribute to a broader understanding of human resilience in the face of tragedy. Through an interdisciplinary lens that draws from visual studies, photojournalism theory, and the socio-political context of the Gujarat riots, this analysis aims to shed light on the transformative potential of photojournalistic narratives and their ability to transcend the boundaries of time and culture. In doing so, we navigate the intricate terrain of Datta's lens, unraveling the emotional intricacies embedded in the photograph and the profound impact it has had on shaping our collective consciousness.

Keywords: Photojournalism, Trauma Studies, Arko Datta, Gujarat Riots, Photography, Visual Studies

Photojournalism, with its potent visual language, holds a unique ability to vividly depict the rawness of trauma and loss. Through the lens, photographers capture the stark realities of human suffering, conveying the depth of emotional wounds and the profound impact of catastrophic events. These images serve as powerful testimonies, bearing witness to the pain, anguish, and resilience of individuals navigating through harrowing circumstances. The immediacy and authenticity inherent in photojournalistic storytelling allow viewers to connect on a visceral level, transcending geographical and cultural boundaries. In the face of tragedy, photojournalism becomes a crucial tool for fostering empathy, raising awareness, and prompting societal responses to address the collective wounds borne by communities affected by trauma and loss. The visual narratives crafted by photojournalists not only document the visible scars but also unveil the intangible aspects of human experience, serving as a potent force in fostering understanding and mobilizing support for those who endure the enduring echoes of trauma.

The frozen frame, that a photograph captures, represents a moment that has just slipped away, yet the photograph keeps that fleeting instance alive. Christian Metz's assertion that "Immobility and silence are not only two objective aspects of death, they are also its main symbols, and they figure it" supports the notion of photography's connection with mortality (83). This affinity with death is further explored in Barthes' in his seminal work, "Camera Lucida" wherein he delves into the unique impact of certain photographs that puncture through the veneer of representation and evoke a profound personal response. Barthes' exploration of the "punctum" sheds light on the elusive quality that transforms an image into a deeply resonant symbol of loss. Buch emphasizes the dual nature of photography, where the image's framing, staging, and focus intensify its presence by distancing it from reality, while, paradoxically, the real can never be fully represented as it disrupts the virtuality of the image (17). Insights from affect theories and trauma studies underscore the importance of studying photographs to comprehend and navigate through painful events.

Trauma, defined as a deeply distressing or disturbing experience by the Oxford dictionary, is characterized by its unexpected nature, leaving the subject unprepared and unable to assimilate the event (Iversen 3). Recognizing the need for representation, particularly through photojournalism, is crucial, as traumatic events can be documented photographically to serve as substitutes for experiences, allowing global audiences to bear witness and review incidents they have not personally encountered (Alfred & Marie 5). In photojournalism, the truth of situations is depicted, serving as a means to spread awareness and elicit support, aid, and relief for victims by evoking emotions in viewers. According to "Photography & Trauma" from The Dart Center, photojournalists play a crucial role as the eyes for those unable to witness traumatic events firsthand, conveying the who, what, when, where, and why through powerful images that can impact cognition and emotions profoundly (11).

Traumatic events wield a profound and adverse influence on individuals, casting a shadow over their emotional, psychological, and social well-being. The aftermath of such experiences often leaves sufferers grappling with heightened emotional distress, ranging from anxiety and depression to profound grief. Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu contend, "That we feel photography can hardly be doubted. Photography excites a spectrum of feelings: faced with a violent image, you may respond with both horror and pity" (1). Moreover,

continual reminders of traumatic events through news channels, newspapers, or other media forms may induce psychological stress, potentially contributing to the development of mental disorders. Melanie McFarland, a staff writer for the Seattle Times, notes in her article, "In the blink of a shutter, photographic images can unearth emotions that even the most finely honed prose cannot capture" (1).

Currently, photojournalism holds an unparalleled ability to shape viewers' perceptions of events, potentially influencing or even crafting their narrative. It plays a pivotal role in representing loss and trauma, serving as a visual narrative that transcends linguistic and cultural barriers. In his book "Regarding the Pain of Others," Susan Sontag delves into the significance of images in conveying the harsh realities of human suffering and the ethical considerations surrounding their creation and consumption. Sontag argues that photographs can be both a powerful tool for empathy and a potential source of desensitization, underscoring the delicate balance that photojournalists must navigate. Moreover, Ariella Azoulay, in "The Civil Contract of Photography," explores the political implications of photography and its potential to bear witness to historical injustices and collective trauma. Azoulay emphasizes the role of the viewer in actively engaging with these images, urging a sense of responsibility and ethical reflection.

Furthermore, the discourse on the impact of photojournalism in representing loss and trauma gains additional depth when considering its application within the context of Indian photojournalism. In a country as diverse and culturally rich as India, where social, political, and economic disparities are pronounced, the lens of photojournalism becomes an even more crucial tool for bearing witness to the multifaceted narratives of pain and resilience. In the Indian context, Raghu Rai, one of the country's eminent photojournalists, has played a pivotal role in capturing moments that convey loss and trauma. The intersection of photojournalism and trauma in India is deeply explored by scholars such as Shahidul Alam, who in "My Journey as a Witness," discusses the power dynamics inherent in visual representation. Alam's insights into the role of the photographer as a witness and activist shed light on the transformative potential of images to mobilize social change, particularly in the face of trauma. Indian photojournalism, therefore, becomes a vital conduit for both local and global audiences to connect with the stories of loss and trauma unique to the subcontinent. It serves as a mirror reflecting the resilience of communities grappling with adversity, as well as a catalyst for fostering empathy and understanding across diverse cultural landscapes. One of India's finest photojournalist, who has been into this profession for more than twenty-five years and has been widely recognized for his colossal works, is Arko Datta.

Born in New Delhi in 1969, forty-nine years old Arko Datta became a photojournalist at age of 22 in 1991. He has always been "attracted to photography" and after studying Economics in his graduation, he did masters in 'Journalism and Mass Communication'. Burrell tells us that Datta always "dreamed of becoming a photographer when as an eight-year-old growing up in Delhi he was given his first box camera by his mother" (3). He also tells Bhowmik how he used his first camera to take photographs of construction workers outside his house. He adds, "I was fascinated and there began my tryst with photography" (1). "Datta has worked his way up through the ranks in the Indian newspaper industry. He started out with the *Indian Express* in

Chennai and then moved to *The Telegraph*” (Bhowmik 1). After that he also worked with a French news agency named *Agence France-Press* (AFP) and eventually in 2001, he joined *Reuters*, a prominent International news agency. As a photojournalist Datta has covered varied kinds of events and won international acclaim for many of his works. He is also the co-founder of *Udaan School of Photography* (which is based in Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata), where he teaches photography (Sahni 3). The school conducts various kinds of workshops and offers a variety of basic and advanced photography courses.

Datta's photographs have been and continue to be published in the most reputed magazines and newspapers around the world such as “The New York Times, Washington Post, Guardian, International Herald Tribune, Time magazine, Newsweek, The Economist etc.” He also has a book on ‘Child Labour’ titled *Lost Childhood* under his name, which was sponsored by the *International Labor Organization*. Also, his works have been featured in Reuters' picture book titled *On the Road: The Art of the Journey* (2004). He has many awards and accolades to his credit including one of the most prestigious *World Press Photo* award. He won the *World Press Photo of the Year* award in 2004 in Amsterdam and was also declared as *Reuters Photographer of the Year* in London in the same year for his “his iconic picture of the human suffering caused by the Asian tsunami” (Ganguly 1; Bhowmik 1). After Pablo Bartholomew, Datta became the second Indian photojournalist to have won the highly esteemed *World Press Photo Award*. Bhowmik writes that Datta is “known among friends and colleagues as the 'guy who bags all the photography awards’” (1).

He has won two *Indian Express Photo Competition* prizes (one in the ‘General News’ category and the other in ‘Daily Life’ category), national photo prizes from the government of India, a prize in *Canon International Photo Competition*, two *Publish Asia* awards in Malaysia and an award titled ‘Best Photojournalist of the Year’ award from *Asian Photography*. Datta has also been a *Pulitzer Prize* nominee, a finalist in the “Breaking News Photography” in 2005 for his photograph of “a woman's anguish in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean tsunami”. In the Mumbai Press Photo contest held in 2004, Bhowmik tells us that apart from winning the *News Photograph of the Year*, he also won awards in four other categories: “Spot News, General News, Sports News and Daily News” (1). As a photojournalist, he tells Bhowmik during the interview that he has been highly influenced by Raghu Rai and likes to capture everyday lives and situations (2). He has however, also contributed immense amount of visual work in trauma situations and disasters, especially in the last two decades.

In the ever-evolving landscape of photojournalism, certain images transcend the confines of mere documentation, capturing the essence of human experience in its rawest form. Arko Dutta's photograph of Qutubdin Ansari stands as a poignant testament to the power of visual storytelling. Taken against the backdrop of the 2002 Gujarat riots, this iconic image encapsulates the complex interplay of trauma, resilience, and the indomitable human spirit. Dutta's lens not only freezes a moment in time but unravels a narrative that extends beyond the frame, inviting viewers into the heart of a profound and emotionally charged story. He

clicked one of his most iconic photographs during the three-days riots that ensued- that of Qutubuddin Ansari, a Muslim tailor, who, because of the photograph, became the face of Gujarat riots.

On 27th February, 2002, the train *Sabarmati Express* carrying many Hindu passengers on their way back from Ayodhya, was stationed at Godhra railways station. “An altercation between Hindu-nationalist activists on the train and Muslim tea vendors in the railway station had - at least that was the perception - sparked a fire inside the train coach” (Berenschot 18). The account given by Varadarajan reads that at “approximately ten minutes to eight in the morning” as the train left the station, it was “stoned by an irate mob and some twenty minutes later, a coach [S-6] had been burned to cinder along with fifty-eight helpless passengers [who were burnt and asphyxiated]” (3). What followed was a three days long communal (Hindu Muslim) rioting in the state of Gujarat. Deshpande writes in his book *Gujarat Riots: the True Story: The Truth of the 2002 Riots* that this train burning incident, “This mind-numbing horror was also the cause of many more horrors, many more events, many more riots, many more political changes. It was also the immediate cause of rioting”. The reality of what happened at the Godhra railways station will remain shrouded and a subject of controversy. The role of state level politicians, police and other leader of Gujarat in instigating and even supporting the riots, has not been denied. Varadarajan expresses what passed in these words:

Who the attackers were and what prompted them to such cruelty are unknown but the rulers of Gujarat promptly decided all Muslims had to be taught a lesson. ‘Retaliation’ was swift and merciless, some would even say clinical. Over the next few days, several hundred Muslims were killed in a state-wide carnage that is certain to become a part of our ‘past that will not pass’. (3)

The carnage that openly involved the state machinery was one of the most shameful incidents to have happened in India. It continued for more than 2 months after it broke out. “The whole police force with some honourable exceptions was communalized or abdicated its duty. The administrative apparatus was no different” (Engineer 1). Berenschot writes the detailed account of the mass killings and brutalities carried out in the state:

Throughout Gujarat, large mobs pillaged, looted, raped and killed for over three months, resulting in a great loss of lives and property. According to official figures 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus died, and 2500 people were injured as a result of extremely brutal acts or torture, burning, raping and maiming . . . Factories, shops, bore-wells, textile looms, rickshaws, warehouses etc. were burned in what seemed deliberate attempts to damage the livelihoods of the victims. More than 200,000 people were displaced. (18)

The current Prime Minister and the then Chief Minister of the state Narendra Modi was criticized of not just inaction but also of lending support to the Hindu rioters (Sud 16). In the words of Eamon Murphy, “A great deal of the responsibility for the communal violence can be attributed to the state’s ruling Hindu nationalist party, the *Bhartiya Janata Party* (BJP) and its Chief Minister, Narendra Modi, who initiated, encouraged and condoned it”. He further informs us that when Ehsan Jafri, a Muslim member of parliament, tried to contact the police commissioner, not only no help came from the police but also the “police inspector in charge at the scene told the mob that they had three to four hours to carry out the killings”. According to related information provided by Nitika Sud in her research paper “Secularism and the Gujarat State: 1960-2005”, “Modi called a meeting of senior police officers and bureaucrats on the night of February 27, 2002. At this meeting, he instructed the police to refrain from taking any action against the expected Hindu ‘reaction’ to the Godhra tragedy” (1272).

However, in 2012, a court in Ahmedabad cleared Modi of all accusations related to Gujarat riots and declared him innocent of being an accomplice or of not doing enough to stop the violence, on the basis of the report (that found no evidence against him in connection with the riots) by Special Investigation Team (SIT) set up by Supreme Court of India in 2009. Irrespective of the political aspect of the tragedy, what remains a fact is that nearly 2000 people lost their lives and as can be seen from the death toll, the number of Muslims who died was more than three times the number of Hindus. “The violence was, on the whole, extremely one-sided; as most of the incidents amounted to a coordinated assault by Hindu mobs and the police on isolated Muslim localities it is warranted to speak of an anti-Muslim pogrom” (Berenschot 18). On 1st March, 2002, as the riots were spreading across western Gujarat, Datta was covering the horrific happenings in Ahmedabad. He recalls the events that led him to take the defining image of the riots i.e. the photograph of Qutubdin Ansari as shown below, in the interview with Diksha Sahni, “[The atmosphere was that of civil war]. The sky was covered with smoke coming out from all the burning. It was darkness even at that hour. Occasional sounds of explosion of gas cylinders could be heard in the background” (1-2). The photograph is titled “Qutubuddin Ansari, The Face Of 2002 Gujarat Riots” and can be accessed at India Today’s website: www.indiatimes.com/news/india/qutubuddin-ansari-the-face-of-2002-gujarat-riots-wants-political-parties-to-stop-using-his-photo-253310.html.

The photograph, that was seen all around the world as the defining image of Gujarat riots depicts a terrified man with folded hands and tears in his eyes, begging for his life. Later identified as Qutubuddin Ansari, then 29 years old Muslim tailor stands in the photograph in a “checked shirt stained with blood, standing on a narrow veranda, with folded hands and mouth agape” (Pillai 4). In the words of Biswas, “His faintly bloodshot eyes are glazed with fear. His hands are folded in an expression of obeisance . . . It’s a disturbing study of fear and helplessness” (1). On 1st March, 2002, Arko and his fellow journalists and photojournalists had “hitched a ride with a van full of soldiers trying to bring the city under control” (Biswas 2). He further writes in his article, “When the van entered the highway before midday, Arko says, the sky was black with smoke from the fires and the road was strewn with bricks and stones. The military van moved

with its headlights on” (Biswas 2). When the van was crossing Bapu Nagar colony in Ahmedabad, The place where Ansari used to live, Arko noticed a burning house in whose balcony on the first floor a group of people including Ansari were trapped (Kumar 1). “The ground floor of the house was already completely ablaze” as the angry mob approached them (Sahni 1). Datta tells Biswas how saw Ansari, then looked at him through his “telephoto lens” and clicked “three or four shots possibly, all in a fraction of a second” (3). He also narrates to Sahni in the interview that, Ansari “was pleading, pleading for help” (2).

Since Datta and his fellow beings had seen how the mob had been rioting in the city, burning shops and homes, he wanted to help the people caught up in the building. Biswas quotes Datta’s own narration, “Looking through the fog of smoke, we spotted the group of people trapped on the balcony of a burning house. We told the soldiers that we were not moving until they rescued them” (3). Ansari himself narrates the incident in these words to Biswas: “We were trapped on the first floor for over a day, and we couldn't go down because fire was raging below. And when I saw the military van pass by, I thought, 'This is our last chance'. I began shouting ‘Sahib! Sahib!’ to the soldiers and folded my hands, and when I did that they looked back and returned” (3). The soldiers stayed outside the building and made sure that they rescued them when the fire had gone down. The very next morning, the photograph captured by Datta got published on the “front pages of newspapers around the world” and became the face of the chaos that had overtaken the state” (Biswas 3; Bhowmik 1). Biswas informs us that the caption of the photograph published by Reuters News Agency, for whom Datta was working at that time, read, "An Indian Muslim stranded in the first floor of his house, along with a few other Muslims and surrounded by a Hindu mob begs to the Rapid Action Force (Indian paramilitary) personnel to rescue him at Sone-ki-Chal in Ahmedabad, March 01, 2002" (1-2).

The photograph is a powerful testimony to the terrors of communal riots. It is marked by a great emotional appeal and the plea for mercy, as seen in Ansari’s gesture and expression, both of which carry the visual weight of the image. The publication of the photograph had far reaching consequences for the viewers, the subject and the photojournalist. “The picture, splashed across newspapers, magazine and television channels, became so popular Mr. Ansari soon lost the luxury of anonymity. The photograph has haunted him since” (Sahni 2). Ansari had no idea that his photograph was being circulated and seen around the world. It was only after a week that “a foreign journalist hunted him down in a relief camp for riot victims, carrying a newspaper with the picture across an entire page” (Biswas 3-4). Ansari got into a lot of trouble because of the photograph. He was taunted by people for, “begging to be spared and for crying in public” (Sahni 2). He faced difficulties in finding a job since the employers wanted to steer clear of any troubles that might come by employing a famous face such as his. He had to leave his own town and decided to move to Malegaon in Maharashtra. “Over the next few years, he struggled to hide his identity and to keep a job. Wherever he went, people recognized him and journalists followed him for his story” and he says in his own words that, “It [the photograph] haunted me, and drove me out of my job, and my state” (Pillai 4; Biswas 4).

On seeing the photograph, his own children, Datta says, came to him and asked him why he was crying in the photograph. As a father, he tells Sahni that he had nothing to say for he didn't want his children to feel hatred or keep grudges against the Hindu community that they now work and live with. "I can't tell them that Hindus came to kill us . . . I don't want this to color their perspective", he says to Sahni (2). Datta's photograph of Ansari created a huge impact and was met with strong responses. It was not just the sad reality that Ansari lost "half-a-dozen jobs as people recognized him" but also the fact that the photograph was used by political parties "to woo Muslim votes" (Biswas 4). The photograph was misused to the extent that Biswas writes, "A group blamed for dozens of bomb attacks across India used the picture in an e-mail claiming to have carried out an attack. Muslim organizations freely put out adverts using the picture" (4). Sahni also confirms the misuse, by *Indian Mujahideen*, an Islamic terror group and quotes Ansari's on the same, which said, "The terrorists want to convey that my plight is being avenged, but I don't believe in the theory of revenge. I don't understand why they chose my photograph" (2).

The photograph also begot Ansari some moments of relief such as getting sympathy and help from strangers. Biswas writes about such instances, "An officer pulled him out of a queue for picking up papers to vaccinate his mother for her trip to Saudi Arabia for Haj, arranged for her inoculation quickly, and remained in touch with him. A resident of Poona wrote to him, giving him all his contacts and asking him to get in touch with him if he ever needed any help" (4). Ansari was also offered help by the West Bengal government and decided to take it but it was only for a short time period that he worked in Kolkata after which, he returned to Ahmedabad in 2005 on receiving the news of his mother's ill health (Sahni 2; Biswas 4).

A photograph is a powerful instrument for bringing about change and influencing people. This particular photograph wields immense power not just because of its highly impressive composition but also because it stirs the viewers' emotions. Datta states in the interview with Sahni that the reason the photograph is so striking is because it has the power to persuade people on emotional level. He says, "When we hear about the statistics or numbers of those affected by a riot or any tragedy, we don't empathize. When we see a human in that situation, we empathize, we feel the pain" (3). Ten years after taking this photograph, Datta, along with Biswas went to Ansari's house, not far from the house where the photo was captured, to meet him. On meeting Ansari, Datta told him, "I feel very bad, very sorry to hear that my pictures caused so much problems for you. I apologize" (Biswas 5). Ansari replied to Arko with the following words, "Nobody is to blame, brother. You did your job. I was doing mine, trying to save my life. Your picture showed the world what was happening here. What happened to me eventually was kismet, destiny. And as things stand, my life is on the mend. I have a beautiful family, I have work, I have my own little home" (Biswas 5-6).

There was a time when he said in an interview in 2003, "I am not an unknown face anymore. I am recognized like a criminal. My fault? That I begged for my life with folded hands. And my photo was printed, all over the world" (Sahni 2). Ansari's life underwent the ups and down but eventually, it is back on track. At present, he runs a tailoring shop with his co-workers and is able to meet his needs with the earnings. Datta himself was satisfied with his work as a photojournalist in Gujarat during riots, not because of the

recognition they brought him, especially Ansari's portrait, but because, his photographs were "produced in court cases as evidence" (Mathur 2). He tells Mathur in the interview, "For me, photojournalism is all about ethics and credibility. This photograph [of Ansari] will send the perpetrators to jail. They have been trying to prove that the image is fake or manipulated but they can't. It was shot with honesty and that is the achievement of this photograph" (Mathur 2). Datta also feels that whatever hardships Ansari faced after the publication of this photographs were not because of the photograph as such but because of "how everyone reacted to the picture" (Sahni 3). The photograph, embodies "the horror of one of the worst episodes of communal violence in India's history and has been called "the defining image of the Gujarat carnage" and "spoke of his [Ansari's] hope for survival" (Biswas 3; Sahni 1).

The job of a photojournalist requires utmost dedication to go into conflict zones, war zones and disastrous situations in order to fetch the news photograph. No matter what a photojournalist is going through in his or her personal life, in the field, he or she has to remain stable to execute his or her duty of covering the news. When Datta took Ansari's photograph he was "equally afraid" and ten years later on meeting Ansari, he (Datta) told him that he (Datta) was himself undergoing a "personal tragedy" during that time (Sahni 2; Biswas 6). While he was sent by his agency to cover the riots, his "mother was in the last stages of cancer" and he could not be beside her (Biswas 6). Biswas quotes Datta's words, "By the time I returned, she had slipped into a coma. I never got to speak to her. Three or four days later, she died. I have no siblings, and my father died when I was one. And I couldn't even exchange a last few words with my mum" (7). Such is the predicament of a photojournalist that he or she cannot let his or her own emotions respectively, interfere with the task at hand. It won't be incorrect to say that though Datta's photograph created struggle for Ansari but it also saved his life. "On one hand, Qutubuddin was empowered by my picture. On the other, he lost his privacy and a bit of his life", Datta says to Biswas (8).

Conclusion

In the exploration of Arko Dutta's photograph of Qutubdin Ansari, we have journeyed through the corridors of visual storytelling, uncovering the layers of human experience encapsulated within a single frame. Dutta's lens, wielded against the backdrop of the 2002 Gujarat riots, transcends the realms of traditional photojournalism, offering a profound meditation on the resilience and vulnerability of the human spirit in times of profound tragedy. It is evident that Dutta's photograph serves as a powerful catalyst for empathy, understanding, and reflection. The frozen moment of Qutubdin Ansari's anguish, etched in the pixels of the image, becomes a timeless testament to the collective human experience, urging us to confront the complexities of our shared history. Through an interdisciplinary lens, we have navigated the intersections of visual studies, photojournalism theory, and socio-political contexts, unraveling the multifaceted dimensions of this iconic image.

Dutta's photograph not only documents a historical moment but challenges us to interrogate our own role as witnesses to the narratives of trauma and resilience. It underscores the responsibility of both photographers and viewers in acknowledging the transformative potential of visual narratives in shaping societal consciousness. In the ever-expanding realm of photojournalism, this analysis seeks to contribute to a broader dialogue on the ethical, cultural, and emotional implications of visual storytelling, emphasizing its capacity to bridge gaps, foster empathy, and promote a deeper understanding of our shared humanity.

Works Cited:

- “Photography & Trauma”. *Dart Center for Journalism & Trauma*, 18 Feb. 2009, <https://dartcenter.org/content/self-study-unit-3-photography-trauma?section=all>.
- “Trauma.” *English Oxford Living Dictionaries*. en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/trauma
- Alfred & Marie. “Photography, Trauma & Memory in Austerlitz.” *Alfred & Marie*, 03 June 2016, www.alfredmarie.com/posts/en/austerlitz.html
- Azoulay, Ariella. *The Civil Contract of Photography*. Zone Books, 2008.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Berenschot, Ward. “Rioting as Maintaining Relations: Hindu-Muslim Violence and Political Mediation in Gujarat, India.” *A Micro-Sociology of Violence: Deciphering Patterns and Dynamics of Collective Violence*, edited by Jutta Bakonyi and Berit Bliesemann de Guevara, Routledge, 2014, pp. 18-37.
- Bhowmik, Sanghamitra. “Snapper on the Spot.” *The Telegraph*, 12 Mar. 2005, www.telegraphindia.com/states/west-bengal/snapper-on-the-spot/cid/1272209.
- Biswas, Soutik. “The face of the Gujarat riots meets his 'saviour'”. *BBC NEWS*, 27 Feb. 2012, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-17150859.
- Brown, Elspeth H. and Thy Phu, editors. *Feeling Photography*. Duke University Press, 2014.
- Buch, Robert. *The Pathos of the Real: On the Aesthetics of Violence in the Twentieth Century*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.
- Burrell, Ian. “Tragedy in focus”. *Independent*, 10 Jan. 2005, www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tragedy-in-focus-14218.html
- Deshpande, M.D. *Gujarat Riots: The True Story : The Truth of the 2002 Riots*. Partridge Publishing, 2014.
- Engineer, Asghar Ali, editor. *The Gujarat Carnage*. Orient Longman Private Limited, 2003.
- Ganguly, Sanjib. “Arko Datta, Photojournalist, Reuters”. *Flickr*, 07 Aug. 2008, www.flickr.com/photos/photoprofiler/2741447717.
- Iversen, Margaret. *Photography, Trace, and Trauma*. University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- Kumar, Lalit. “Godhra Riots: Qutubuddin Ansari (Iconic Photograph)”. *Writely Expressed*, 02 Dec. 2010, lalitkumar.in/blog/godhra-riots-iconic-photograph/
- Mathur, Abhinandita. “Returning the gaze”. *Mumbai Mirror*, 06 Nov. 2016, mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/others/sunday-read/Returning-the-gaze/articleshow/55271140.cms?

- Mcfarland, Melanie. "Prize Photos: Focusing On Six Images That Had Rare Impact". *The Seattle Times*, 18 July 1999, community.seattletimes.nwsourc.com/archive/?date=19990718&slug=2972340.
- Metz, Christian. "Photography and Fetish." *October*, vol. 34, 1985, pp. 81-90.
- Pillai, Sneha. "7 photographs that shook India" *The Week*, 19 Aug. 2016, www.theweek.in/webworld/features/society/7-photographs-that-shook-india.html
- Sahni, Diksha. "Picture Focus: Ansari and the Anatomy of Fear." *The Wall Street Journal*, 28 Feb. 2012, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/BL-IRTB-14571>
- Alam, Shahidul. *Shahidul Alam: My Journey as a Witness*. Skira, 2011.
- Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. Picador, 2003.
- Sud, Nitika. "Secularism and the Gujarat State: 1960-2005." *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 42, no. 6, 2008, pp 1251-1281.
- Varadarajan, Siddharth, editor. *Gujarat, the Making of a Tragedy*. Penguin Books India, 2002.

