

Moral Seascapes

On the Ethics and Aesthetics of Maritime Emergency

Edited by Jonathan Stafford, Henning Trüper, Burkhardt Wolf



Leuven University Press

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On the Ethics and Aesthetics of Maritime Emergency

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10. Mediterranean Seascapes: Migrations, Photography, and the Haunted Spectator

Chiara Giubilaro

Introduction

Located nineteen miles away from Portopalo di Capo Passero, a small town in southeastern Sicily, Italy, lies a sunken wreckage on the seabed. This wreckage is all that remains of the *F-174*, a vessel that departed from Malta on the night of December 26, 1996, and sank a few miles further in the Sicilian Channel while attempting to reach Italy. That night, 283 people lost their lives: it was the first documented sea massacre¹ along the Mediterranean migratory route. This event, coupled with its complex judicial and political ramifications, has been masterfully reconstructed in the inquiry conducted by journalist Giovanni Maria Bellu and documented in his work *The Ghosts of Portopalo*.² (*I Fantasmi Di Portopalo*, 2017)

Following the publication of the second edition of the book, Bellu reconstructed the various events related to the reception of the news surrounding the so-called “ghost shipwreck.” While the first inquiry, published in the Italian daily newspaper *La Repubblica* on June 6, 2001,³ remained in the media spotlight for only a few days, an entirely different scenario unfolded upon the publication of the images of the *F-174* wreckage, recorded by an ROV (remotely operated vehicle) in the depths of the Sicilian Channel. Released in *La Repubblica* on June 15, 2001,⁴ these images resonated profoundly, prompting widespread attention both in Italy and elsewhere. Bellu writes in this regard:

The clamor was immense, especially because of the images. They were immediately picked up by all Italian television stations, and after a few days, international broadcasters began to request them [...]. Apart from the horror, the ROV images did not add anything new to what had been known for years—confirmed by the first article—yet it was only because of those images that the world finally became aware of the Christmas shipwreck. (Bellu, 2017: 210)

In the weeks following their publication, the images of the *F-174* wreck video dominated both national and international media, surpassing the impact of the detailed journalistic inquiry carried out by Bellu in his previous articles. The video of the “underwater cemetery” would be extensively used by news programs to illustrate news about deaths along the Mediterranean route, becoming a key topos in the contemporary visual border regime of Mediterranean migrations.

The ghost ship of the Portopalo massacre is but one of countless vessels that have sunk in the Mediterranean Sea over the past three decades, along with the bodies of those trying to cross this deadly liquid frontier.⁵ The policies implemented by the European Union and its member countries have enacted a border regime along southern European coasts, combining geopolitics and biopolitics, and producing violent forms of differential inclusion. (De Genova, 2014; McMahon and Sigona, 2018; Mountz and Loyd, 2014) The echoes of these dramatic events reach us through speeches, texts, and images that, by retaining traces of the events, interfere with our capacity to build appropriate responses.

Photography, notably, constitutes the most pervasive medium through which migrations are daily brought to the forefront. Images of crowded bodies on boats, lying on beaches, and surveilled on decks, have progressively colonized screens and imageries, building up an immense collective archive frame by frame. In the following pages, I will attempt to reflect on the topography that these “visual events of place” construct, (Giubilaro, 2020) with particular emphasis on their ethical dimension. The regimes of spectatorship engendered by the photography of migration in the Mediterranean context are indeed imbued with profound ethical, political, and aesthetic ramifications. The aim of this intervention is to use the specter and its haunting force as a heuristic figure to reinterpret images of migration and their troubling effects on the viewer. In this respect, I draw inspiration from Jacques Derrida’s hauntological approach, as articulated in his *Specters of Marx* (Derrida, 1994) and more recently adapted by scholars in the visual culture realm. In the first section, I will thus try to outline the theoretical framework of this analysis and its potentialities when applied to the photography of migration. Through this analytical prism, the

focus then pivots towards the images of the Christmas shipwreck that occurred on December 26, 1996, to understand how visual practices, emotional politics, and ethical responsiveness can concretely interact.

(Im)possible Spectatorship: Haunting Migration Photography

From 1996 to the present, our perception of events occurring along the migratory route in the central Mediterranean Sea has been consistently mediated by various types of images, which have played a key role in shaping cultural, political, and affective responses.⁶ Migration photography, in particular, represents one of the domains in which visual norms and social norms are most closely intertwined. Although the relationship between media and migration has been extensively explored, particularly in the past two decades, (King and Wood, 2001; Moore et al., 2012) photography seems to have received comparatively less scholarly attention than other visual media, such as cinema (Berghahn and Sternberg, 2010; Loshitzky, 2010) or cartography. (Cobarrubias, 2019; Lo Presti, 2019; Tazzioli, 2016) Existing literature on migration photographs largely revolves around visual content analysis.⁷ This technique, widely employed in visual sociology, focuses on what lies within the frame of the image in terms of composition, perspective, and focus. (Rose, 2001) While this approach sheds light on some visual patterns governing migration photography and their implications on our perception, on the other hand it has in my opinion overlooked some aspects that deserve to be considered. Specifically, all that occurs outside of the frame—production processes, circulation mechanisms, exhibition spaces—remains somewhat underengaged. Consequently, questions related to the photographer's position (commissioning, funding, devices, etc.) and image production spaces (accessibility, conditions, relational networks), as well as consumption circuits, media vehicles, and exhibition venues, have not found adequate resonance in visual content analysis approaches, leaving these articulated geographies of vision largely unexplored. To gain a better grasp of these complex visual economies (Poole, 1997) and avoid essentializing tendencies in the analysis of photography, (Edwards, 2014) we should also engage with the material processes involved in its production and audiencing. A geographic approach to photography, shifting the focus from the visual object to the spaces in which it engages with observers, can thus unlock new interpretative horizons. (Giubilaro, 2020) Each photograph is not only the product of a specific visual event, arising from the relationship between the photographer and his/her subject(s), but is also the origin and catalyst for countless other visual performances, one for each interaction between the image and its viewers. (Bal, 2006) Critically mapping some visual performances without

neglecting the materiality of their events of place (Massey, 2005) entails constructing a topography of looking, aimed at investigating the shifting and transformative field in which images, subjects, and spaces relate to one another.⁸ (Rose, 2000)

In the topography of looking that migration photography mobilizes, ethical considerations have a prominent role. Can we look at migration photography ethically? What does it mean to establish an ethical relationship with the photographic object and the subject(s) it portrays? The debate on the ethics of images, particularly those depicting suffering, encompasses a variety of themes and approaches that cannot be fully addressed within the scope of this contribution.⁹ What I would like to propose here is to rearticulate part of this debate around the hauntological approach and its spatial implications. Every visual event of place, every space of encounter between photograph and spectator, can eventually be the site for ethical questioning. Faced with images of suffering or drowning bodies, my gaze is solicited in diverse and unpredictable forms, modes, and intensities. My argument is that haunting can represent an aesthetic strategy, endowing visual encounters with ethical responsiveness and political potency. Transposing the hauntological approach to the visual domain can offer a perspective to reorient the reflection on the ethical implications of migration photography.¹⁰

In his reinterpretation of Marxism and its legacy in contemporary Europe, Jacques Derrida suggests the possibility of a shift from an ontological perspective, focused on what *is*, to a hauntological one, better suited to grasping all that escapes the logic of pure essence and is between visibility and invisibility, presence and absence, life and death. (Derrida, 1994) At the root of Derrida's proposal is the need to abandon totalizing claims and recognize what eludes our control, yet profoundly conditions our speech and actions, such as specters. Studies on images are also haunted by specters and ghosts. In his pioneering work on photography, Roland Barthes defined the subject/object of representation as the "spectrum" of photography, evoking the term to connect both with the aesthetic dimension of the "spectaculum" and with the return of the dead that permeates his reflections on photographic images. (Barthes, 2010: 11) This ambiguity between presence and absence and the resulting difficulty in definition also surface in foundational texts of contemporary visual culture studies. For instance, W.J.T. Mitchell, one of the main representatives of American visual culture studies, in his work *What Do Pictures Want?* employs the figure of the undead to capture the paradox of images—inert objects that are still capable of conditioning, persuading, and seducing those who face them: "No wonder that images have a spectral/corporeal as well as spectacular presence. They are ghostly semblances that materialize before our eyes or in our imaginations." (Mitchell, 2005: 55) Perhaps most

explicitly, Nicholas Mirzoeff's article "Ghostwriting: Working out Visual Culture" delves into the forceful connection between image and spectrality, imbuing the notion with analytical depth. (Mirzoeff, 2006) When visual culture tells stories, he writes, they are stories of ghosts. Derrida's hauntological approach is here immersed in the unstable world of images, consolidating the analogy and analytically engaging with some of its implications. The image-specter hovers within an indistinct zone between material and immaterial, and its appearances are always subject to the singularity of a particular point of view and the historicity of a given moment, capturing the gaze and infesting the imagination. They control us, even when and where we do not want them to. Drawing on this body of work, Elizabeth Roberts has recently proposed reconsidering the relationship between geography and the visual through a hauntological approach. (Roberts, 2012) Landscapes, photographs, and artworks provide the backdrop for a decisive shift in perspective. Rather than focusing on the image itself, attention should be given to how images condition and govern us: "With each viewing or haunting the photograph mutates, transforms, performing as part of an assemblage of signification, material objects, affects, multisensory elements and context." (Roberts, 2012: 397) Only by questioning our role as spectators can we hope to establish an ethical relationship with the image and what it bears witness to. (Roberts, 2012: 396)

The hauntological approach, besides allowing us to reframe the visual around the unstable relationship with the spectator, can represent a strategic vantage point to analyze migration photography from a geographical perspective.¹¹ Indeed, the figure of the specter and its haunting force allows us to bring back into play some of the categories that are often evoked in the literature on migration and its media representation, opening up a space for theoretical investigation worthy of attention. First, the traditionally established dichotomy between presence and absence, visibility and invisibility, shows its limits, thus inviting reconsideration. The dual absence of the emigrant and the immigrant recounted by Abdelmalek Sayad (2002) or the juxtaposition between the scene of exclusion and the obscene of inclusion that Nicholas De Genova's spectacle of migrations returns (2013) find in the heuristic of spectrum a chance for recomposition: "The spectrum is first of all something visible. But it is of the visible invisible, the visibility of a body that is not present in flesh and blood." (Derrida and Stiegler, 1997: 55) The performativity of the spectrum and its appearances mobilizes another stream of the debate on migration photography. As we have already observed, the primary significance of the image-specter lies in the relationship with the subject encountering it. The spectral event finds its meaning *within* this space of relation: it is here that we can re-establish an ethical relationship with the stories that the image-specter invariably

carries with it. (Mirzoeff, 2006: 249) Not all gazes are haunted by image-specters, but only those that are able to recognize the sense of loss inscribed on their surfaces. Lastly, we turn to the third pathway opened by Derrida's hauntology in the realm of migration photography: specters infest spaces. Here, the focus extends beyond the relationship between the image-specter and the haunted subject to encompass the space in which that relationship materializes. Content analysis can and should be complemented by a critical analysis of the topography of looking implicated in migration photography. This analytical approach will account for the intricate weave in which visual events, spatial practices, and ethical dispositions combine with one another.

In the following section, I attempt to bring the hauntological approach to migration photography. To do so, I begin with the images of the December 26, 1996 shipwreck, where the *F-174* sank off the coast of Portopalo, resulting in the loss of 283 lives. I adopt a mixed methodology combining visual content and visual discourse analysis. (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) Moreover, in order to explore the space of production and exhibition of these photographs, the contexts where they traveled, and the relationships they variously entertained, I analyze the sites where these images were produced, as narrated by Giovanni Maria Bellu in his book, and the debate surrounding their reception, as reconstructed from newspapers, blogs, and social media. Finally, I supplement the analysis with some autoethnographic annotations (Askins, 2009; Holman Jones and Adams, 2010) to reflect on how my gaze as a white, European, and Western female spectator is solicited by these images and their haunting force, and the risks and potential these performances open up with regard to ethical and political responsiveness.

Torturous Gazes: Regarding the Mediterranean Shipwreck

We found the ship of the 'phantom shipwreck.' North: 36, 25', 31"; east: 14, 54', 34", international waters nineteen miles from Portopalo di Capo Passero, the extreme southern tip of Sicily and Italy. We discovered the largest cemetery in the Mediterranean: dozens and dozens of skeletons wrapped in rags at a depth of 108 meters. [my translation]

This is the incipit of the article written by Giovanni Maria Bellu and published on the front page of the newspaper *La Repubblica* on June 15, 2001.¹² The "phantom shipwreck" occurred off the coast of Malta five years earlier, during the night of December 25–26, 1996. Here, approximately 400 people from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka were transferred from

a larger vessel, the *Yohan*, to a smaller one, the *F-174*, which had come from Malta to transport the passengers to the coast of Sicily. However, during the transfer operations, a collision between the two boats caused a breach along the side of the *F-174*, which sank, resulting in the death of 283 people. Despite reports from survivors and victims' relatives, the news of the alleged shipwreck was met with skepticism by the authorities and soon vanished from the media discourse. It was only thanks to the report made by Salvatore Lupo, a fisherman who had found human remains in his nets off the coast of Portopalo di Capo Passero, and the obstinate work of journalist Giovanni Maria Bellu that the "phantom shipwreck" resurfaced.

Despite the news having already been published in *La Repubblica*, the turning point in the reconstruction of the Christmas shipwreck came a few days later. On June 13, 2001, an ROV, an underwater robot, was deployed at the location where Salvatore Lupo had previously discovered traces of the shipwreck. The operation was funded by *La Repubblica* and the weekly magazine *L'Espresso*. Both Lupo and Bellu were on board the vessel. After several attempts, the ROV bumped into the remains of the *F-174* and those who sank with it: a ribcage with a tennis shoe, a femur, a shirt, another shoe, a tibia, and then the broken wreck. After two days of filming, on June 15, Giovanni Maria Bellu wrote another article. The four slightly blurred images that accompanied it seemed to prevail over his words. Against a blue background, recognizable objects stand out on yellow surfaces: the torn side of the *F-174*, the deck of the vessel interrupted by a black frame opening onto the hold, a laced shoe resting on the seabed. Overlaid on these images are captions indicating the date and time of the footage and the ROV model.¹³ The images published in *La Repubblica* were accompanied by brief captions: "The torn side of the boat;" "Remains at the bottom of the sea." Faced with these frames, my gaze is entranced. I scrutinize them, wondering what they represent and seeking answers within and beyond the frame, in the faded forms and in the words of the captions.

In the aftermath of their publication, everyone wanted those images: "The images were everything, they were the whole story." [my translation] (Bellu, 2017: 212) The "phantom shipwreck" took center stage. The images were published in the main national and international newspapers within a few hours.¹⁴ The CNN website reported as headline news: "PORTOPALO, Sicily – A newspaper has published pictures it says are of a sunken ship and corpses of some 283 illegal immigrants who drowned as it went down off the Sicilian coast."¹⁵ The photographs became the core around which the shipwreck was narrated. For a few weeks, the images of the wreck infested the spaces where they were exhibited and the gazes of those who encountered them. On the day of their publication, the four Italian Nobel laureates issued an appeal asking for the recovery of

the victims' remains: "For Italy, it is a moral duty. Leaving the bodies at the bottom of the sea would be the ultimate outrage to their memory in a civilized Europe." [my translation] (Bellu, 2017: 206) The Presidents of the European Parliament and the European Commission also intervened in the debate. The images of the *F-174* produced a sort of shock in the discourse on migrations in the Mediterranean at that time. Patrick Farrell, the author of an iconic photo taken after the hurricane in Haiti in 2008, describes the difference in potential between these images and the others that usually pass before our eyes: "It's like a noise you hear but tune out. Then there's one loud pop! that you pay attention to. This picture is that."¹⁶ Like a loud and sudden sound, shock images can pierce our sphere of attention and provoke a strong emotional reaction. These photographs freeze us, filling us with suffering or indignation. (Berger, 2013) The shock triggers a sense of moral inadequacy that inhibits or blocks the possibility of becoming aware of the political responsibilities behind the image and the event it portrays. Thus, "[t]he picture becomes evidence of the general human condition. It accuses nobody and everybody." (Berger, 2013: 56) The emotional burden of shock images risks blocking our capacities for ethical responsiveness to human suffering. (Butler, 2009: 63) When I recognize the shape of a shoe in an image captured on the seabed of the Sicilian Channel, my gaze is filled with horror, but this strong emotional involvement takes precedence over my ability to (re)act. As Susan Sontag writes about shock images: "Images transfix. Images anesthetize." (Sontag, 1977: 15) Thus, shortly after their staging, the photographs of the "phantom shipwreck" lost their force, and with it, the efforts to keep the spotlight on what had presumably been the "largest shipwreck in the history of the Mediterranean since the end of the Second World War." [my translation] (Bellu, 2017: 4)¹⁷

However, there is another image that accompanied the narrative of the "phantom shipwreck" that received a different degree of exposure compared to the images of the wreck. It was this image that for me marked the beginning of the long process of recognition of what happened on Christmas night in 1996. It is the photo ID of Anpalagan Ganeshu, a 17-year-old boy from Sri Lanka.¹⁸ Found by Salvatore Lupo in his fishing nets, the ID card was later handed over to Giovanni Maria Bellu, becoming a key object in his journalistic work of inquiry. It is a black-and-white photo of a young boy posing in three-quarter profile. His gaze fixed ahead does not meet the camera lens. He does not look me in the eyes as I observe the photo; his gaze is directed elsewhere. On the photo are some Tamil words highlighted in green and some numbers, a date. This photograph infests the space of our interaction. Like a ghostly presence, it comes back to my mind even when and where I don't expect to see it. The aesthetics of the fragment and the enigma contained in it strike me and stimulate my imagination, raising questions

without providing answers. In this perpetually unresolved relationship with the image perhaps lies its ethical possibility: “This ethical relationship requires critical ambiguity and delayed interpretation. We might first question how an image affects us, how it speaks to us, examine its ‘expressive authority’, before we fix what it means.” (Roberts, 2012: 396) The enigmatic trace of the other infests the space of encounter, inviting us to relate to the subject of representation in ways that cannot result in empathic communion or full recognition. Like background noise accompanying the vision, an element of strangeness allows the Other to remain other than me. Its visible yet absent specter pervades visual and affective spaces, promising to come back and demand accountability for these lives and deaths, in Portopalo as in Lesbos, in Lampedusa as in Zuwara.

Conclusions

In a deferred and passionate dialogue with Susan Sontag regarding the capacity of images to stimulate the work of interpretation, Judith Butler finds in a passage from *Regarding the Pain of Others* (Sontag, 2003) an opportunity for rethinking our relationship with photography: “Let the atrocious images haunt us.” (Sontag in Butler, 2009: 97) Images can cause bewilderment or relief, they can enrage or gladden us, they can meet indifference or arouse attention. However, sometimes certain images capture our gaze to the point of haunting our imagination: they obsess and torment us, returning even when and where we do not wish to see them. It is precisely in this haunting force that, according to Butler, recognition of loss can manifest (Butler, 2009: 97): “If we are not haunted, there is no loss, there has been no life that was lost.”

In this contribution, I have sought to reflect on the network of relationships in which migration images are immersed, focusing in particular on the ethical possibilities that can arise in the encounter between photography and the spectator. To understand what spaces of ethical responsiveness these visual events of place offer, I have chosen to look at these performances of vision by adopting a hauntological approach. Images can sometimes haunt gazes and imageries. My argument is that only by recognizing and making room for this haunting force can we engage in an ethical relationship with images of suffering. In this sense, the hauntological approach can represent an aesthetic strategy, a peculiar way of inhabiting visual places and their ethical implications. The pivot of this strategy lies in a reversal of how we traditionally think about our relationship with photography. Scholarly literature on photography, particularly migration photography, invites us to think of photographs as objects of vision, interpretation,

and analysis. They are the surfaces on which we direct our gaze and build our discourse. The hauntological approach asks us to overturn this perspective. Photographs, by virtue of their spectral presence that oscillates between material and immaterial, are also a subject capable of hitting our gaze and imagination. It is not merely an object that we control as viewers and scholars, but sometimes a subject that, in turn, observes, questions, and challenges us. Visual places, the here-and-now of our encounters with photographs, can be haunted, especially when we look at images of suffering. It is here that our relationship with photography can become a space for critical questioning. The image of Anpalagan Ganeshu, with its resolute pose and composed gaze, strikes and questions me. It raises questions without the possibility of answers, eluding my interpretative work. And above all, it returns even when and where I do not expect to find it. This image, like others I encountered during my research on migration photography, has haunted my looking and contributed to spaces of ethical responsiveness and political action. It is in this impossible and ceaselessly deferred relationship that I face and feel my responsibility for the loss.

If each visual event of place has a fragile content, as its meaning is linked not only to the subjectivity of the spectator but also to the contingency of the here and now of its exhibition, then our critical work must be shielded from abstractions and generalizing pretenses. The haunting force is not a characteristic of the image but an attribute of its relationship with each of us. The photo ID of Anpalagan Ganeshu has the power to haunt my gaze, but it does not necessarily have the same effect on other gazes and other spectators.

The invitation of this contribution is to make room for the image and our relationship with it, to be traversed by its affective implications and interrogate its political implications. Cultivating ethically responsive gazes means learning to inhabit this space of encounter with awareness of our positioning and the responsibilities that follow. What is happening in the Mediterranean Sea is the product of a specific border regime, which continues to let vessels sink in one of the most heavily surveilled seas in the world. The visual archive of these tragedies is multifaceted. For these images to open spaces of ethical and political responsiveness, we must critically position ourselves before them and allow ourselves to be haunted. When an image catches our attention, invading our affective atmospheres and disturbing its assets, the sense of suffering and vulnerability that is always connected to the human condition may find a chance for recognition—a recognition that is at once necessary and impossible, sought even though inaccessible. (Dauphinée, 2007: 143) Only by keeping this contradiction open and facing its radical ambiguity can we aspire to establish an ethical connection with those images and build spaces for ethical responsiveness and political recognition.

Notes

1. The choice to use the term “massacre” instead of the more widespread “shipwreck” responds to the need to avoid the risk of normalising these events, as highlighted by Daniele Salerno (Salerno, 2015), among others.
2. Giovanni Maria Bellu’s *The Ghosts of Portopalo* inspired a TV miniseries produced by RAI Fiction in 2017 under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The series had a 25 percent viewership share, with over six million viewers.
3. See <https://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/palo/palo/palo.html> (accessed July 3, 2024).
4. See <https://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/palo/trovati/trovati.html> (accessed July 3, 2024).
5. According to the most recent International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates, 57,407 people have lost their lives attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea since 2014. See: <https://missingmigrants.iom.int/>.
6. The most famous case is the tragic images of Alan Kurdi taken by Nilufer Demir, and their digital journeys, as described in Vis and Goriunova, 2015.
7. An established stream of scholarship on migration photography has been developed, not surprisingly, in Australia since the early 2000s, see Gale, 2004; Stratton, 2007; Perera, 2010; and Bleiker et al., 2013. Other works investigating the relationship between visual and migration through content analysis are Gariglio et al., 2010; Chouliaraki and Stolić, 2015; Lenette and Miskovic, 2018; Bischoff et al., 2010; Falk, 2010; and Batziou, 2011. There are also many studies on Lampedusa, perhaps the most densely constructed location in the aesthetics of migrations. Notable among these are Mazzara, 2015; Rinelli, 2016; and Odasso and Proglia, 2018.
8. These reflections are part of a larger research project entitled “Migrant Imaginations. Mapping the Visual Geographies of Migrations” (Giubilaro, 2018; 2020).
9. On the entanglements between ethics and images of pain, it is worth mentioning some contributions from visual culture (Berger, 1971; Sontag, 1977; 2003), social sciences (Boltanski, 2004; Sliwinski, 2004; Dauphinée, 2007), and Holocaust studies (Apel, 2002; Zelizer, 1998), and the volume edited by Grönstad and Gustafsson, *Ethics and Images of Pain* (2012). On the ethics of migration photography, see also Chouliaraki, 2006; Perera, 2010; Chouliaraki and Musarò, 2017; Chouliaraki and Stolić, 2019.
10. While the relationship between ethics and migration photography has been explored across several disciplines, it is in the field of photography studies that the most engaging reflections on it have been developed: see Phu 2018; Zarzycka 2018; Bassnett 2021; Egea, 2023. For a critical overview see also Giubilaro, 2020.
11. On the geographies of haunting, see Bell, 1997; Holloway and Kneale, 2008; Pile, 2005; Pinder, 2001.
12. See <https://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/palo/trovati/trovati.html>.
13. The frames can be viewed at <https://www.repubblica.it/online/cronaca/palo/trovati/trovati.html>. I have chosen not to show the images on these pages in the belief that even the academic literature on migration photography is exposed to the risk of fetishization and commodification of images of suffering.
14. Major media publications included *The Guardian*, the *New York Times*, *CNN*, the *Irish Times*, and *Al Jazeera*.
15. <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/06/15/italy.ship/index.html>.
16. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/09/150903-drowned-syrian-boy-photo-child/en-pictures-world/>.
17. Although the investigation had led the Public Prosecutor’s Office of Siracusa (Italy) to open a manslaughter investigation against the crew of the vessel, after the wreck was found in international waters this was filed in the face of silence from the authorities and institutions.
18. See <https://www.antiwarsons.org/img/upl/Anpalagan.jpg>.

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