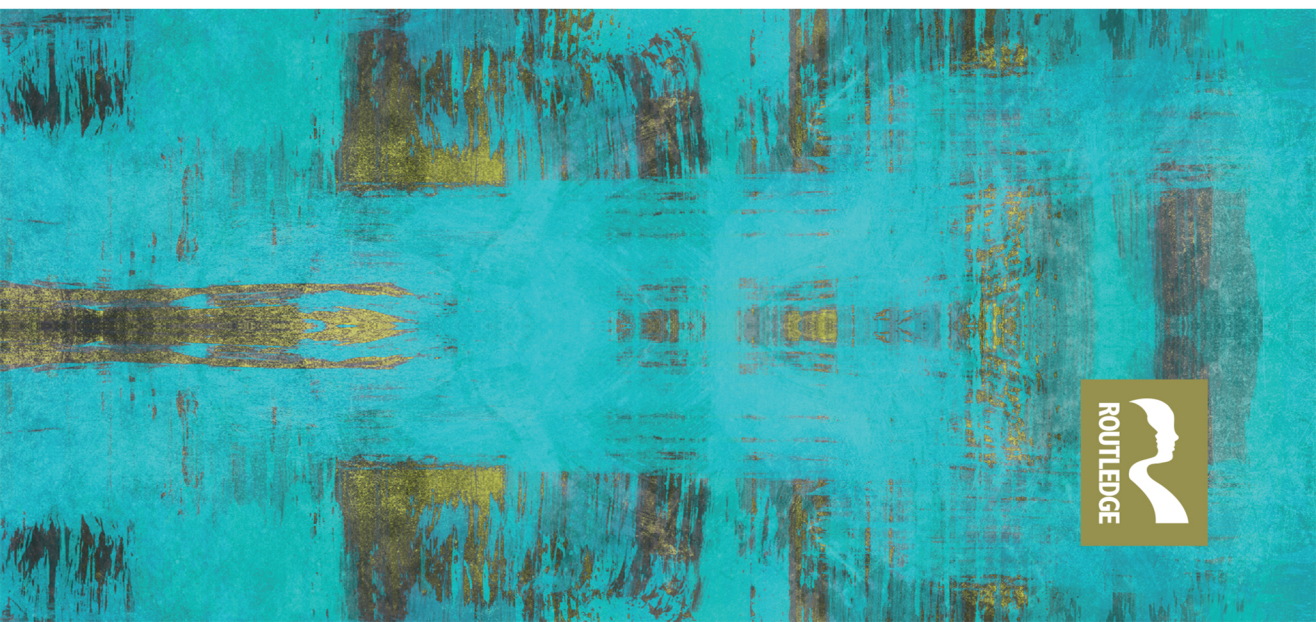
THE REPRESENTATION OF PERPETRATORS IN GLOBAL DOCUMENTARY FILM

Edited by
Fernando Canet



The Representation of Perpetrators in Global Documentary Film

The present book aims to explore how the perpetrator of crimes against humanity is represented in recent documentary films in different sociocultural contexts around the world.

In recent years the number of diverse forms of cultural productions focused on the figure of perpetrator has increased significantly, thus eliciting a turn toward this problematic figure. The originality of these narratives lies in the shift in point of view they propose: their protagonists, rather than being the victims of the atrocities, are instead their perpetrators. A significant number of documentary films examining crimes against humanity from the perpetrators' perspective have been released in the first two decades of this century. This current tendency together with the growing scholarly interest in the explorations of the perpetrator underscores the timeliness of the present book. It aims to explore how the perpetrator is represented in recent documentary films in different sociocultural contexts around the world. The perpetrator documentary films' objects of study in this book are contextualized in the following contexts: Indonesian, Cambodian, and Rwandan genocides; Chilean and Argentine dictatorship; Spanish Civil War and its aftermaths; Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Nazi legacy; South Africa Apartheid; and USA's state perpetrations. Among others, the documentary films analyzed are as follows: *The Act of Killing*, *The Look of Silence*, *S-21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine*, *National Bird*, *Fahrenheit 11/9*, *Waltz with Bashir*, *Z32*, *El Pacto de Adriana*, *El Color del Camaleón*, *70 y Pico*, and *El hijo del cazador*.

The Representation of Perpetrators in Global Documentary Film will be a key resource for academics, researchers, and advanced students of Filmmaking, Communication Studies, Media Studies, Visual Studies, Cultural Studies, and Sociology. The chapters included in this book were originally published as a special issue of *Continuum*.

Fernando Canet is Professor in Media and Communication Studies at Fine Arts College at Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain. He has been Visiting Research Fellow at Goldsmiths College, New York University, University of Kent, and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and he enjoyed a stay under the Erasmus-STA program at the Università degli Studi di Parma, Italy.

The Representation of Perpetrators in Global Documentary Film

Edited by
Fernando Canet

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN13: 978-1-032-56729-7 (hbk)
ISBN13: 978-1-032-56730-3 (pbk)
ISBN13: 978-1-003-43690-4 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003436904

Typeset in Myriad pro
by codeMantra

Publisher's Note
The creative works referred to in this book are for academic purposes only. The publisher, author(s), and editor(s) of this work recognise the right of the copyright holders on their creative works.
The publisher accepts responsibility for any inconsistencies that may have arisen during the conversion of this book from journal articles to book chapters, namely the inclusion of journal terminology.

Disclaimer
Every effort has been made to contact copyright holders for their permission to reprint material in this book. The publishers would be grateful to hear from any copyright holder who is not here acknowledged and will undertake to rectify any errors or omissions in future editions of this book.

Contents

Citation Information

The chapters in this book were originally published in the journal *Continuum*, volume 34, issue 2 (2020). When citing this material, please use the original page numbering for each article, as follows:

Chapter 1
Introductory Reflections on Perpetrators of Crimes Against Humanity and their Representation in Documentary Film
Fernando Canet
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 159–179

Chapter 2
Perpetrating and resisting fortress USA: documentary strategies of National Bird *and* Fahrenheit 11/9
Janet Walker
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 180–196

Chapter 3
Witnessing the perpetrator: testimony and accountability in current Israeli documentary film
Shmulik Duvdevani and Raz Yosef
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 197–209

Chapter 4
From 'exorcism' to engagement: the private sphere of perpetratorship in twenty-first century South African documentary film
Michelle E. Anderson
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 210–225

Chapter 5
Remembering perpetrators through documentary film in post-dictatorial Chile
Daniela Jara
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 226–240

Chapter 6
Against family loyalty: documentary films on descendants of perpetrators from the last Argentinean dictatorship
Lior Zylberman
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 241–254

Chapter 7
Facing the perpetrator's legacy: post-perpetrator generation documentary films
Javier Moral, Gerd Bayer and Fernando Canet
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 255–270

Chapter 8
Refiguring the perpetrator in Rithy Panh's documentary films: S-21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine and Duch, Master of the Forges of Hell
Didem Alkan
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 271–285

Chapter 9
Using Bourdieu to understand perpetrators in The Act of Killing and The Look of Silence
Oki Rahadianto Sutopo
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 286–298

Chapter 10
'Forgiveness is something that can be seen from behind'. Visualizing a conversation with a perpetrator and a survivor of the 1994 Rwandan genocide in a reconciliation village
Antonio Traverso and Mick Broderick
Continuum, volume 34, issue 2 (2020) pp. 299–310

Notes on Contributors

Didem Alkan is Assistant Professor at the Department of Languages at the Xavier University of Louisiana, USA. Her research interests include Postcolonial Studies, Film Studies, Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and African Studies, in particular the representations of violence, trauma, gender, identity, and race. Dr. Alkan is currently Visiting Assistant Professor in French at Connecticut College, USA.

Michelle E. Anderson is Research Specialist at the University of Southern California, USA. In her thesis, she examined the role of media in South Africa's transitional justice process. Her academic background spans the fields of human rights and conflict studies, with experience in the USA, Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, and South Africa.

Gerd Bayer is Professor at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany. His publications are on early modern, contemporary, and postcolonial literature and on heavy metal. He has also written on Holocaust fiction and film and edited various collections of essays on this topic, most recently a special issue on contemporary Holocaust film in the journal *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*.

Michael Broderick is Adjunct Professor of Media and Communications at RMIT University, and Adjunct Professor of Media, Creative Arts and Social Inquiry at Curtin University. He has produced over 100 scholarly outputs including research monographs, edited collections, journal articles, book chapters, artworks, curated exhibitions and digital media productions.

Fernando Canet is Professor in Media and Communication Studies at Fine Arts College at Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain. He has been Visiting Research Fellow at Goldsmiths College, New York University, University of Kent, and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and he enjoyed a stay under the Erasmus-STA program at the Università degli Studi di Parma, Italy.

Shmulik Duvdevani teaches at the Steve Tisch School of Film and Television at Tel-Aviv University, Israel. He is Scholar of Israeli cinema and documentaries. His book *First Person, Camera* 2010 provides a pioneering analysis of Israeli documentaries focusing on personal documentaries made during the 1990s and early 21st century. He teaches a course on Israeli cinema and the culture of modern Israel at TAU International Programme. He is also Chief Film Critic for Ynet, Israel's leading news site.

Daniela Jara is Associate Professor at the School of Sociology at Universidad de Valparaiso, Chile. Her work focuses on social and cultural memory in Chile and the intersubjective legacies of transitional justice. Her latest publications include *'Tracing*

Mapuche Exclusion from Post-dictatorial Truth Commissions in Chile: Official and Grassroots Initiatives' published in *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 2018 and *'Ética, estética y política del duelo: el Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos en Chile'* published in *A Contracorriente: una revista de estudios latinoamericanos*, 2018.

Javier Moral is Associate Professor at Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain. His PhD in Film Studies with an Outstanding Doctoral Thesis Award. He wrote the books *Double Representation. Life of Illustrious Artists on the Screen*, 2013, and *Lola Montes*, 2015. He has also published in different scientific journals.

Oki Rahadianto Sutopo is Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, within the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Yogyakarta, Indonesia. At UGM, he also holds the position of Executive Director of the Youth Studies Centre, YouSure. He was also Visiting Scholar at the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne, Australia, in March–April 2019.

Antonio Traverso is Senior Lecturer in Screen Studies at Curtin University, Australia. He has written *Political Documentary Cinema in Latin* America, 2014, and *Interrogating Trauma*, 2011. Traverso has authored numerous articles published with various journals as *Continuum*, *Critical Arts*, *Humanities*, *Latin American Perspectives*, and *Social Identities*.

Janet Walker is Professor of Film and Media Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA, and Affiliate of the Department of Feminist Studies. With research specializations in documentary film, trauma studies, and media and environment, Walker's books include *Trauma Cinema: Documenting Incest and the Holocaust* and co-edited *Sustainable Media: Critical Approaches to Media and Environment*. Walker is co-editor of the new, open access, University of California Press journal, *Media and Environment*.

Raz Yosef is Professor and Head of the Steve Tisch School of Film and Television at Tel Aviv University, Israel. He is also Visiting Professor at NYU and University of Michigan, USA. He is the author of *Beyond Flesh: Queer Masculinities and Nationalism in Israeli Cinema*, 2004; *The Politics of Loss and Trauma in Contemporary Israeli Cinema*, 2011, and *Deeper than Oblivion: Trauma and Memory in Israeli Cinema*, 2013. His work is on gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, trauma, and memory in Israeli national visual culture.

Lior Zylberman is Researcher in the Centre for Genocide Studies at the National University of Tres de Febrero (UNTREF) and Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), Argentina. He is also Researcher at the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET). His main areas of interest are cinema representations of genocide, memory and visual studies, and mass violence. His current research deals with the representation of genocide in documentary film.

INTRODUCTION

Introductory reflections on perpetrators of crimes against humanity and their representation in documentary film

Fernando Canet

ABSTRACT

In recent years the number of diverse forms of cultural productions focused on the perpetrators has increased significantly eliciting thus a turn toward this problematic figure. The originality of these narratives lies in the shift in point of view they propose: their protagonists, rather than being the victims of the atrocities, are instead their perpetrators. A significant number of documentary films examining crimes against humanity from the perpetrators' perspective have been released in the two first decades of this century. This current tendency, which I call 'perpetrator documentary film', together with the growing scholarly interest in the explorations of the perpetrator underscore the timeliness of the present special issue titled 'The Representation of Perpetrator in Global Documentary Film'. It aims to explore how the perpetrator of crimes against humanity is represented in recent documentary films (2000–2019) in different sociocultural contexts around the world. This article seeks three objectives: First, the contextualization of this especial issue within the already established perpetrator studies. Second, the introduction of different angles from which the complexity of the perpetrator might be explored. Lastly, outlining the special issue introducing the nine articles which together with this introductory article shape this special issue. The documentary films object of study in these articles are contextualized in the following contexts: Indonesian, Cambodian and Rwandan genocides, Chilean and Argentine dictatorship, Spanish Civil War and its aftermaths, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Nazi legacy, South Africa Apartheid and USA´s state perpetrations.

The present special issue titled 'The Representation of Perpetrator in Global Documentary Film' aims to explore how the figure of the perpetrator of crimes against humanity is represented in recent documentary films (2000–2019) in different sociocultural contexts around the world. Traditionally, human rights violations have been explored from the victim´s perspective. However, in recent years there has been a growing realization that the point of view of the person who committed the violation also needs to be taken into account. The perpetrators, as agent of this act, have become a new focus of attention eliciting thus a turn towards their figure. Some of the first scholars who talked about this new tendency were Jonathan Dunnage in his *Memory*

Studies special issue´s editorial (2010), on transmission of memories relating to perpetrators, and Richard Crownshaw whose article 'Perpetrator Fictions and Transcultural Memory' introduced the idea of 'turn toward the figure of the perpetrator' related to the historical fiction (2011, 75).

It is understandable, as several scholars have already suggested, that this shift in focus could prove highly problematic (Adams 2011; Lusztig 2013; Buruma 2015; Pettitt 2017; Critchell et al. 2017). The reasons behind this concern are numerous: first, the perpetrator's perspective could end up taking precedence over that of the victim; second, the filmmaker could be accused of taking the side of the perpetrator being examined; and third, foregrounding the perpetrator's point of view could elicit a kind of emotional engagement that may undermine the viewer's moral judgement of their horrific acts. Dominick LaCapra (1998) has been one of the first scholars to point out this risk, warning us of this potential for subverted judgement and moral slippage.

Due in large part to the problematic nature of this approach, it is very common to find statements that clarify that dealing with perpetrators does not mean condoning, forgetting or even justifying their acts, but merely attempting a better understanding of the reasons why the atrocity was perpetrated (Browning 1992; Foster 2000; Waller 2002; Behlil 2013; Schlund-Vials and Martinez 2015; Critchell et al. 2017; Williams and Buckley-Zistel 2018). In addition, understanding is essential to prevent the recurrence of any kind of atrocity. For instance, the role that public education has in genocide prevention has been pointed out by several scholars (Smyth 1998; Elizur and Yishay-Krein 2009; Hollows and Fritzon 2012; Wade Beorn 2015; Pettitt 2017; Critchell et al. 2017; Anderson 2018), with Theodor W. Adorno's influential essay 'Education after Auschwitz' being one of the first in 1966. As Adorno eloquently asserts, '[t]he premier demand upon all education is that Auschwitz not happen again' (1998, 191) and to this end an examination of the perpetrator is indispensable because '[t]he roots must be sought in the persecutors' (1998, 193).[1] Also, regarding the Holocaust, Oleksandr Kobrynskyy suggests that Stefan Ruzowitzky´s documentary film *Radical Evil* (2013) main concern 'is to make a point about the continuing genocidal potential in contemporary societies … embedding of the Holocaust into a broader framework of human rights education' (2015, 221). This educational approach has been underlined by Susanne C. Knittel and Zachary J. Goldberg in their recent co-edited handbook of perpetrator studies (2020) opening a section titled 'Teaching about Perpetrators', in which, among others topics, Knittel offers her reading of the just mentioned Adorno's 'Education after Auschwitz'.

However, this preventive role is not the only aspect that should justify our engagement with the perpetrators. There is also a reparative function, which is related to improving the current condition of the victims. As Robert J. Lifton suggests, 'we must keep a watchful eye on perpetrators, even as we pursue our work to help victims and survivors' (1993, 11). I would like to nuance Lifton´s statement by suggesting a causal relationship between these two activities, namely, that engaging with the perpetrator is necessary for the reparation of past atrocities in the present. As I suggest elsewhere, we should engage with perpetrators because their participation is necessary for a divided society to resolve its conflicts in the present and achieve thus the reconciliation that will guarantee a peaceful collective in the future (Canet 2019a).

The editors of the *Journal of Perpetrator Research*, Kara Critchell, Sussane C. Knittel, Emiliano Perra and Ugur Ümit Üngör, opened their editorial introduction with the

observation that 'perpetrator studies is booming' (2017, 1).[2] They located the beginning of this trend twenty-five years ago, in the 1990s, when agents in both the cultural and academic arenas began in earnest to study the perpetrators of genocides, mass killings, and political violence over the past century (2017). Three decades later we can affirm that the exploration of the perpetrator of mass violence is now an established field of study. In this respect, the last five years have been especially important, marked by numerous milestones in the field.

The Perpetrator Studies Network was launched in 2015 by Knittel at the University of Utrecht. In September of that year, its first conference, 'Encountering Perpetrators of Mass Killings, Political Violence, and Genocide' was held at the University of Winchester in the UK. Two other academic events on perpetrator studies were also held in 2015,[3] and the following year a panel discussion was featured at a major international conference,[4] in addition to the second Perpetrator Studies Network conference, which dealt with the representation of perpetrators of mass violence. This topic had also been addressed six years earlier, in 2010, at the 'Representing Perpetrators' conference held at the University of Sheffield, organized by Jenni Adams and Sue Vice. Selected papers from this event were subsequently published, firstly in a special issue of *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* (2011), and then in an anthology titled *Representing Perpetrators in Holocaust Literature and Film* (2013).

In terms of publications, in 2015, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* published a special issue about collective harmdoing from the perpetrator's perspective (edited by Winnifred R. Louis, Catherine E. Amiot and Emma F. Thomas), and the *International Journal of Human Rights* published a special issue titled 'Perpetratorhood', edited by Cathy J. Schlund-Vials and Samuel Martínez. More recently, in 2018, there was the special issue of the journal *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* edited by Javier Argomaniz and Orla Lynch titled 'The Complexity of Terrorism – Victims, Perpetrators and Radicalization'. Further back, *Memory Studies* published its own special issue on the topic in 2010, entitled 'Perpetrator memory and memories about perpetrators' and edited by Jonathan Dunnage as I mentioned above.

Also worthy of note are the following books: *Perpetrators and Perpetration of Mass Violence: Dynamics, Motivations and Concepts* (2018), edited by Timothy Williams and Susanne Buckley-Zistel; Kjell Anderson´s *Perpetrating Genocide: A Criminological Account* (2018); from a gender perspective, Clare Bielby and Jeffrey Stevenson Murer´s *Perpetrating Selves: Doing Violence, Performing Identity* (2018); Paul R. Bartrop and Eve E. Grimm's *Perpetrating the Holocaust: Leaders, Enablers, and Collaborators* (2019); Michael Rothberg ´s *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (2019); and finally, the already mentioned *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (2020) edited by Knittel and Goldberg. These six publications constitute clear evidence of the significant growth of perpetrator studies in recent years.

All of these publications highlight how complex the study of the perpetrator is because it involves dealing not only with the actor (already complicated enough) but also with the act of perpetration, the object of that act (the victim), and, finally, the historical, geographical and sociocultural circumstances under which the act of mass violence was perpetrated. Hence, this field of study should reflect its 'multi-factorial' nature. Highly relevant to this point is the debate between dispositional and situational factors, as will be discussed below. For now, suffice it to say that this complexity requires multi-layered

theoretical approaches. Possible preliminary examples of this integrative approach are Foster´s explanations of motives and causes (2000), Foster, Haupt and de Beer´s relational model (2005), Waller´s model based on the actor, context of action and definition of the target (2002), and Hallows and Fritzon's action system conceptual framework model (2012). However, as Christophe Busch rightly suggests, we need more 'modeling efforts [. . .] that search to integrate and explain the complex interaction between the many (f) actors or causes at play' (2018, 29), being the interdisciplinary approach the most advisable method to address this complexity.[5]

The literature review reveals that the Holocaust is the key point of reference in perpetrator studies. This historical example was the case study chosen in the major publications of the 1990s, such us Raul Hilberg's *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (1992), Christopher Browning´s *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996). But it is also still the focus in recent publications, such as Guenter Lewy's *Perpetrators: The World of the Holocaust Killers* (2017) and the above mentioned book by Bartrop and Grimm. Thus, as also pointed out by the editors of the *Journal of Perpetrator Research* 'the roots of the field lie in the study of the Holocaust' and in the 'Nazi perpetrator' (Critchell et al. 2017, 22).

However, there are unfortunately many other examples of senseless brutality that have served as case studies, such as the Armenian genocide (1915–1923), or the more recent cases of the Indonesian (1965–1966) and Cambodian genocides (1975–1979).[6] Again, the 1990s was a significant decade in this respect: specifically, 1994, when South Africa's apartheid regime was abolished with the country's first democratic elections, while, on the other hand, the Rwandan genocide took place. Next to the Holocaust, these two latter contexts are probably the most widely studied by the academic community. Finally, another significant case in this decade was the Bosnian conflict (1992–1995).

Many studies have focused on these contexts as a single case study.[7] Nevertheless, a new trend of comparative studies has emerged in recent years, with the examination of multiple contexts instead of only one. Scott Straus calls his contribution to the book edited by Williams and Buckley-Zistel: 'Is a comparative theory of perpetrators possible?' (2018). This volume and a number of other publications constitute valuable steps towards answering this question, as they address different historical and geographical contexts (Dunnage 2010; Adams 2011; Schlund-Vials and Martínez 2015; Anderson 2018; Bielby and Murer 2018; Knittel and Goldberg 2020). Efforts in this line are necessary in order to develop general theories and conceptual models on perpetrators that move beyond the particularities of any specific context. This does not mean that the study of the specific context is not relevant; on the contrary, as stressed above, it is an important factor for consideration. Yet it is also important to find common elements across different contexts that can contribute to the development of general assumptions about perpetrators and the atrocities they commit.

Another feature that defines the study of the perpetrator is the interrogation of multiple varieties of sources, from the study of official documents to direct observation, by way of representation of perpetrators. When eventually some perpetrators are tried for their crimes, the court hearings offer a source for study, either in the form of direct observation or by studying the court transcriptions. Historical examples are the Nuremberg (1945–46)

and Eichmann trials (1960–61). For instance, Eichmann's trial was the source and direct observation the method for Hannah Arendt's famous and controversial study *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963).[8] Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) offer another valuable public source, South Africa's TRC being without doubt one of the most extensively studied.[9] In both types of sources, the public testimonies of the perpetrators are the object of study.

While perpetrators can also give their testimonies in more private circumstances through letters and diaries or even autobiographies, such as Olivia Forsyth's *Agent 407: A South African Spy Breaks her Silence* (2015),[10] the most common way is by interviewing them. In this case the researcher has to deal with the perpetrator face-to-face (Hatzfeld 2005; Anderson 2018), or to analyse interviews recorded by others. For example, King and Sakamoto (2015) studied interviews recorded as part of the Healing of Life Wounds programme, which promoted individual and group healing among the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda.

The recording of these interviews facilitates public access to perpetrator testimonies, in addition to their testimonies at trials or commissions if these are recorded and broadcast. For example, the perpetrators´ testimonies in the South African television programme Truth Commission Special Report[11] and the public television broadcast of the Letelier case trial in Chile.[12] Indeed, making perpetrator testimonies available to the general public is one of the roles that documentary filmmakers serve when they decide to study the perpetrators as part of their social commitment to exposing injustices. However, perpetrators´ testimonies are not only important for the creators of non-fictional narratives but also for their colleagues of fictional proposals, who often draw on historical facts to create their literary or cinematic works. Perpetrator testimonies in their different forms thus constitute a valuable source of material for researchers.[13]

The exploration of how the perpetrators and their acts are being depicted in diverse forms of cultural representation is another useful aspect of perpetrator studies (Adams 2011; Critchell et al. 2017; Knittel and Goldberg 2020). The originality of these narratives lies in the shift in point of view they propose: their protagonists, rather than being the victims of the atrocities, are instead their perpetrators. According to several scholars, there has been a considerable increase in the number of narratives exploring memory from the perpetrator's perspective in recent decades (Crownshaw 2011; Dunnage 2010), even to the point of constituting a genre of their own, as Pettitt suggests (2017), which has been labelled 'perpetrator fiction' (Crownshaw 2011, 75; Eaglestone 2011, 13; Pettitt 2016, 1301). Bernhard Schlink's *The Reader* (*Der Vorleser*, 1995)[14] and especially Jonathan Littell's novel *The Kindly Ones* (*Les Beinveillantes*, 2006; translated into English in 2009)[15] are probably the best-known examples of this trend and the most frequently studied cases. Both books, like the pioneering *The Nazi and the Barber* (1971 in English),[16] are stories that take the Holocaust as their starting point. More recently, other contexts have been the object of literary representation, such as Rwanda, which has been studied by Nicki Hitchcott (2018).

As far as examples among fiction films are concerned, three publications could be mentioned: first, Matthew Boswell's essay (2011) on Oliver Hirschbiegel's film *Downfall* (2004); second, Ingrid Lewis's monograph on the representation of women as perpetrators, victims and resisters in European Holocaust fiction films made in Europe (2017); third, Gerd Bayer´s recent edited special issue on contemporary Holocaust films published by

Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History in 2019. This special issue addresses the major critical areas of interest related to the contemporary debate about Holocaust film, including how perpetrators and bystanders are represented not only in fiction films but also in propaganda and documentary films. Regarding the former, for example, Daniel Magilow explores in his article how Atom Egoyan tackles the context of recent trials of elderly Holocaust perpetrators in his recent fiction film *Remember* (2015). Other three recent films, *Labyrinth of Lies* (2014), *The People vs. Fritz Bauer* (2015) and *The General's File* (2016), are the cases of study in Elizabeth M. Ward´s article.

With regards to documentary films in Bayer´s special issue, Brad Prager focuses on generational responsibility in his article about Thomas Harlan´s film *Notre Nazi* (1984). Likewise, the intergenerational memory is the topic explored by Liat Steir-Livny's article on Chanoch Ze'evi's *Hitler's Children* (2011). Another special issue of *Holocaust Studies* mentioned above, Adams and Vice (2011), includes the exploration of non-fictional works too. Vice analysis of the outtakes of Claude Lanzmann's documentary *Shoah* (1985) and Eleanor Kent explores Ali Folman's *Waltz with Bashir* (2008). In Schlund-Vials and Martinez's co-edited special issue, (2015), also mentioned above, Needham, Quintiliani and Lemkin's article focuses on the Cambodian genocide through an analysis of the documentary film *Enemies of the People* (2009). Three years later, in 2018, McGregor, Melvin and Pohlman edited a book about the Indonesian genocide which includes Dragojlovic's chapter on Oppenheimer´s *The Act of Killing* and *The Look of Silence*. The first scholar to write a complete book on what she defines as 'perpetrator documentaries' was Raya Morag (2013, 3), whose book, *Waltzing with Bashir: Perpetrator Trauma and Cinema* (2013), explores how the new wave of Israeli documentary film deals with the acts of violence committed by Israeli soldiers against the Palestinians. The Cambodian genocide is the context examined in her last book titled *Perpetrator Cinema: Confronting Genocide in Cambodian Documentary* (2020).

Ari Folman´s *Waltz with Bashir* and especially Joshua Oppenheimer´s *The Act of Killing* are the two documentary films that have had the greatest impact within the academic community. There are two probable reasons for this: first, their controversial nature in both aesthetic and ethical terms; and second, their status as Academy Award nominees. Oppenheimer´s *The Act of Killing* has been the subject of two special issues, the first being an issue of *Film Quarterly* in 2013, and the second, following the format of a roundtable, of *Critical Asian Studies* in 2014. Errol Morris's *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008) has also been the object of a special issue, in this case of the journal *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media* in 2010. This film and Rithy Panh's films *S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003) would rank as the most significant works in the sample after Folman's and Oppenheimer's. Other cases have had a lower impact, due in some cases to their more recent release.

Other forms of representation like curatorial practices and memorial sites are also worthy of mention. Bielby and Murer's anthology (2018) ends with a section called 'Perpetration in the Museum', which is structured around three chapters written by Gabriel Koureas, Birga Meyer and Susanne Luhmann, respectively, and a final interview with two museum curators. These chapters deal mainly with the representation of the Nazi perpetrators, which is also the topic of Caroline Pearce's article; although in her case the focus is the German memorial sites.