Changing Lenses: Using participatory photography for wide-angle intergroup perspectives on peace and conflict for social change

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Abstract

The potential for art in peacebuilding has shown success but not complete acceptance in the peacebuilding field. Participatory photography’s method of photovoice has shown effective as a unique participatory action research tool able to allow users to communicate deeply on sensitive subjects with potential to influence larger social change. Participatory photography programs involving intergroup conflict or tensions presents an important relational component for practitioners and stakeholders to respond to, however the factors which lead to successful collaborative action, an ambitious outcome is not yet known. This thesis examines why some participatory photography programs involving intergroup conflict or tensions can reach collaborative social action more easily than others. A structured focused comparison tests a theorized positive relationship between program duration and achievement of collaborative social action. The findings give moderate support to the hypothesis, as a low program duration shows a challenge to reach collaborative social action and a mid-range program duration proves able to achieve a high level of collaborative social action. On the other hand, an extreme high program duration can reach social action but it is not collaborative. Analysis considers some other factors affecting collaborative social action such as context and program design factors, which suggests the need for further testing to inform better practical designs of future participatory photography programs.
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1.0 Introduction

The utility of creative arts working to reduce conflict-related tensions present unique options for peacebuilding approaches which can benefit conflict-affected groups and individuals, peacebuilding practitioners and artists. Beyond conventional peacebuilding approaches, the arts are equipped to work through conflict periods of low or moderate tensions as well as post-conflict reconciliatory processes. Arts can help unlock reflections that are sometimes hard to capture through conventional peacebuilding approaches. Conflict-affected persons may find greater agency in their own peacebuilding capacities through using art to stimulate expansive knowledge, reimagine attitudes and adapt behaviours.

Art’s place in peacebuilding has generally been placed in transitional periods of conflict-response and has been useful in reconstructing lives, building resilience and developing a new way forward. There is a substantial chain of literature substantiating art’s success in responding to war or conflict-inflicted trauma and healing using different types of art such as dance (Brunson, Conte & Masar 2002; Prevots 1999), theatre (Boal 1979; Fox 2000; Rousseau et al. 2007; Battery Dance Company 2015), music (Satloff 2004; Ko Din 2016; Pellegrini 2011;) as well as art therapy (Carthout 2007; Lustig et al 2004; McArdle et al. 2007). However, in more conflict-intensive environments such as refugee camps, there is less availability and quality of useful data on artistic projects (UNHCR 2011).

Participatory photography benefits from its adaptability to be an appropriate response to different fields although was initially used mainly in the health sector (Wang & Burris 1997; Wang et al. 1998; Wang 1999) targeting individuals and groups with various health challenges ranging from illness, surviving sexual violence, smoking, bereavement, psychosocial wellness and others. At the same time, participatory photography emerged as a multifaceted method utilized to drive social change, a goal first achieved through the work with Wu et al. (1995) working with rural women in China’s Yunnan Province, who took photographs to document social and political issues that were raised with policy makers.

In light of participatory photography’s ability to empower there have been few cases where such initiatives confront intergroup conflict-related tensions by engaging diverse groups to achieve collaborative social action. Participatory photography programs which take aim at
peacebuilding often simplify the process through selecting a homogenous participant group composition. The program conditions in which social action is achieved is important yet understudied area, which is critical in a more complex setting where diverse group members face additional challenges to carry out collaborative social action. Therefore, this thesis attempts to answer the following research question: Why do some participatory photography programs addressing conflict achieve collaborative social action and others do not?

Participatory photography involving diverse conflict groups are linked to a process aimed at contact and change. The method irrespective of group composition is conceptualized under the term ‘Photovoice’ (which will be the model focused in this study) was laden in identification, representation, community enhancement through photography, reflecting the users’ reality, promoting critical dialogue and knowledge, as well as reaching policymakers (Wang and Burris 1997). Introducing diverse conflict-affected groups together into a participatory photography lends to Allport’s (1954) contact theory hypothesis, which states that increased intergroup contact can reduce prejudice and hostility, as well as increase knowledge through a new appreciation and understanding. Building social capital between diverse groups may generate new ideas, knowledge and other benefits which are based on differences that a group may not benefit from by bonding with their own (Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003). Paulo Freire’s concept of praxis which involves the process of reflecting, gaining critical awareness and struggle for social advancement can explain the chain of events leading to a social change (Freire 1968). Although advocates for participatory photography in peacebuilding and development are widespread, critical scholars (Johnston 2016; Mitchell 2011; Tanjasiri et al. 2011; Wallerstein & Bernstein 1998) have warned of the danger that photovoice projects create in leading participants toward false hopes that such projects will achieve policy and/or social change. Other scholars worry about the sensitivities of participatory photography: its countervailing potential within environments of post-conflict mistrust and suspicion (Prins 2010), the risk that new camera technology places as a safety on its users (Denov et al. 2012), or potentially conflict-inciting triggers the images can initiate (Baú 2015). A noted participatory photography researcher and practitioner, Birthe Reimer (2016) introduced the Comprehensive Conflict Engagement Model (CCEM) which addresses her stated disconnect of conflict theory
and practice, suggesting that to comprehensively reduce conflict, long-term practical interventions must address its bases – internal, relational and structural (Reimers 2015). An emphasis for this study is made on the relational base, due to the obvious gap in participatory photography interventions addressing intergroup conflict or intergroup tensions, where at least two conflict or tension-directing parties are under the intervention. Upon further examination of photovoice projects affected by persons in conflict often cover shorter periods such as weeks or few months, therefore most participatory photography programs are challenged to reach their aim, policy change or social action. For conflict-sensitive participatory photography programs which include groups which have opposing tensions, social action should be collaborative; agreed and implemented by all parties. The anticipated mechanism at work is that two factors: having intimate intergroup interaction in photography and dialogue which should be procedurally arranged as per the photovoice model of participatory photography, as well as a higher program duration of participatory photography programs, both lead to greater chances of collaborative social action. Predicted causality leads to the hypotheses that: *longer program durations of a participatory photography programs increase the chance of achieving collaborative social action.*

To test this hypothesis, a structured focused comparison was conducted to develop analysis on the anticipated phenomena on three participatory photography interventions: first, a case of warring tribe members which were part of Kenya's 2007/2008 post-election violence; second, a case of multi-ethnic intergroup tensions over truth-telling and public record of Guatemala’s civil war ending in 1996; third, a case of intergroup tensions between residents and refugees in the United States in 2014. The findings showed a moderate level of support for a positive relationship on collaborative social action, although in the process uncovering a high number of alternative explanations, which may structure future designed hypotheses.

The outline of the research is organized by section: Following this, the second section covers previous literature on the topic, followed by the third section on theory which identifies the research gap, outlines the theoretical framework guiding this study and states a hypothesis to predict the impact of participatory photography programs for inter-group conflict-affected persons. The fourth section explains the research design and operationalization of concepts.
used. The fifth, sixth and seventh sections highlight findings case by case to examine the hypothesis and the eighth section covers the analysis of the findings. The ninth and final section concludes.

2.0 Previous Literature
2.1 The Challenge of a Reimagined Peaceful World Through Art

Creative arts present diverse and stimulating processes allowing the human mind to become more knowledgeable, to reflect and then reimagine oneself and one’s world. A definition for background and academic purposes can be found in Arai’s definition as “a human experience of producing such a symbolic representation as well as the experiential process which facilitates the production” (2013, 149). Reference to the power of art in society was captured in Plato’s The Republic (1955), in Book X, where Plato cited his fear of art’s potential in how it could influence an audience¹, therefore suggesting it be removed from society altogether. The same fear that worried gods and philosophers, conversely offers optimism for its positive potential to change and transform humans to act differently, which is an important aspect of conflict transformation, a process whereby conflicts convert into peaceful outcomes.

Art’s convergence with peacebuilding is not new; for centuries past arts have been used to express human experiences that have sometimes led to peace, and at other times violence (Shank and Schirch 2008). An approach to peacebuilding requires tools that are well-planned and complex enough to address human spirit (Shank and Schirch 2008) and therefore arts appear as a natural connector of peace. Peacebuilding scholar Cynthia Cohen has noted the utility of art in reconstructing lives and adapting to change, something critical to transitional periods of conflict environments (Cohen 2005). Furthermore, it is suggested the arts can help by ‘mediating tensions’ by creating an exchange that did not preexist (ibid, 6).

Art’s readiness must be strategic for entering the peacebuilding field, whereby Shank et al. (2008) reference some types of art-based peacebuilding scenarios. First, waging conflict nonviolently occurs usually where great power imbalances occur and public awareness of such

¹ Plato’s references were made from the potential to distort reality in a negative way, but nonetheless had recognized art’s power to shift societal thinking.
is low; as a result, conflict parties may wage engage nonviolently (Shank et al. 2008). Here, nonviolent action, such as for example murals, cartoons, or hip-hop music\(^2\) may seek to raise social awareness and support for the cause and in turn collective action surges. Second, *reducing direct violence* is a challenging period for arts to respond, as arts may have the ability to perhaps temporarily prevent further violence. An example of this is the music-based revolution in South Africa whereby white security forces expressed fear at the chanting and dance of the oppressed, surging black South African civil society (Shank et al. 2008). Third, *transforming relationships* is a key for intergroup understandings of change going forward, transitioning by a combination of experiencing trauma, healing, building knowledge gaps, channeling negative energy to a positive source, demanding justice, or forming agreements (Shank et al. 2008). Finally, *building capacity* is more of a long-term phase of art-driven peacebuilding, which educates, builds skills and targets structures that can protect peace and prevent further conflict (Shank et al. 2008). For example, the use of theatre in Pakistan has been employed by the Interactive Resource Centre to raise awareness for marginalized groups on their human rights through acting upon social issues like honour killings, gender equality and others (ibid).

NGOs frequently lead structured art-based programming activities and sometimes artists are contracted, therefore bridging the realm of structured project management (usually the organization) and the technical practice of art (usually the artist). However, art with a purpose such as activism is not always structured into a formal program. In addition to literature on the range of creative arts in peacebuilding earlier cited, this section will cite several known examples of successes, which will be mentioned within the context of their aims. Graphic designer Ronny Edry of Israel used graphic design and imagery to overcome barriers of national dialogue and high tensions between Israel and Iran (Said 2012). In March 2012, Edry designed a meme of love and anti-war sentiment towards Iran which received mostly positive viral attention from the two nations, and also worked on a digital platform whereby Iranians and

\(^2\) Highly associated in the US with social issues such as class, race and political power. Examples include Public Enemy, Talib Kweli, Mos Def, Kendrick Lamar and others using their music to challenge US government policies.
Israelis could connect and learn about each other, with the ability to stay connected on Facebook (Said 2012). The prominent Chinese artist and activist Ai Weiwei is known for his effective use of sculpture, film and other artistic mediums to critically engage on humanitarian issues, with special attention scrutinizing his home country China’s stance and activity on human rights and democracy (Urbain and Opiyo 2015, 5). In 2016, Indian visual artist and activist Shilo Shiv Suleman was invited to Pakistan by local sexual rights activist Nida Mushtaq to create visual art reflected on underrepresented perspectives of sexual violence and other challenges facing marginalized communities. Their collaboration served to unite Pakistani communities through collective contributions on murals by police and community residents to create more awareness on important, unresolved societal challenges (Krishna 2016). In addition to the power of awareness and action there are personal therapeutic benefits such as through methods such as art therapy that can help explore feelings and experiences, address emotional conflicts, foster awareness, improve self-esteem and other benefits (American Art Therapy Association 2013). Music is another medium which has substantial power and multifaceted uses to respond to conflict, including to educate, give a vocal outlet to voiceless persons and as a form of memorialization (Opiyo 2015). Noted South Sudanese artist Emmanuel Jal is a singer-songwriter, former child soldier, and a world renowned advocate for peace and justice for Sudan, South Sudan and around the globe (The Kennedy Center 2017), with lyrical content touching on the perils of war he experienced while promoting a more peaceful future. Octopizzo, a Kenyan hip hop artist from the Kibera slum in Kenya has worked with UNHCR on a project entitled “Artists for Refugees” which included musical and visual art training and mentorship for refugee artists in Kenya (UNHCR Kenya 2016). A significant achievement has been the production of songs and music videos that showcase collaborations of Somali, South Sudanese, Kenyan and Congolese refugee artists performing together for the message of peace. Large-scale arts festivals that have used drumming, dance and visual arts to reunite communities affected by violence in Burundi (Cohen 2005). Various forms of interactive performing arts such as theatre and playback can engage participants through sensory and physical activities which allows physical expression, human imagery and roleplays to incite one’s imagination (Stephenson and Zanotti 2016, 10). Amani Peace Theatre (APT) in Kenya
interlinks peace education, an interactive approach to conflict and honouring rituals. Through the use of one effective approach for instance, forum theatre offers the space whereby reality and fiction can converge (Boal 1995), through interacting in a scenario that is realistic to mimic true events, but fictional so that emotional space is given (Burns et al. 2015). Peacelinks, an organization in Sierra Leone composed of former child soldiers used performing arts including song, dance and dramas to initiate dialogue and reconciliation amongst themselves and their communities (Kanyako 2015). The NGO Clowns Without Borders has garnered success through the work of its professional clowns who often work in refugee camps and other conflict affected environments to provide entertainment and humour as a form of psychosocial support to trauma affected persons (Clowns Without Borders USA 2016). The abovementioned cases reach various aims as are referenced by Duncombe (2016)³. Most or all mentioned initiatives fostered dialogue, a very basic, yet important step, on general topics related to peace, or specifically troubling issues that are less discussed such as sexual violence. Edry’s graphic design work and digital platform was an example of building a joint Israeli and Iranian community that was pro-peace, while also creating a material disruption by making creating a new place for communities to interact⁴, in his case online whereas Suleman’s visual artwork succeeded in uniting different community members in person, even on unpermitted spaces such as a bank, which ended up being a collaborative effort as participation was invited by police and nearby community members. Both Ai Weiwei’s and Edry’s work alter reality, with Weiwei having manipulated government safety posters to visualize offensive hand gestures to the viewer while Edry’s use of digital editing software to clone himself into tourist sites in Iran, creating a mock travel visit to Iran, which considers an alternative reality where it could be possible. Forum theatre’s connection with reality has potential to transform environments and experiences using bodily and sensory expression. On “Forced to Sin” (2008) Emmanuel Jal sings

³ In Duncombe’s article Does it Work? The Affect of Activist Art? He mentions that artists may have the following aims: foster dialogue, build community, make a place, invite participation, transform environment and experience, reveal reality, alter perception, create disruption, inspire dreaming, provide utility, political expression, encourage experimentation, maintain hegemony, make nothing happen, imminent cultural shift or ultimate material result (121).
⁴ Regarding earlier cited barrier that telephone contact between Israel and Iran impossible at the time of Edry’s graphic posting.
about a child soldier forced to kill, thus revealing a reality and political expression of the war he and others experience:

Sometimes
We find ourselves pushed to
Extremities of circumstances
Where our natural survival instincts
Govern our actions
Which forces us to do things that we
Under normal circumstances
Would consider to be
Inhuman and barbaric (Jal 2008)

By contrast Jal also inspires dreaming of a more peaceful world where scenes from past life is less common. The refugee artists’ productions are examples of art’s utility as a form of expression and livelihood leading to material results such as collaborations in officially released music and videos that have been widely viewed and are for sale on major music sharing platforms. Though the achievement of these aims often complement each other they may achieve varying levels of success and failure that may result in the creation of different paths of long-term traction of which art’s role in initiating and sustaining may be substantial (Duncombe 2016, 121).

While there are known successes of art’s efficacy in peacebuilding and related fields, various barriers that are institutional, structural and perception-based in nature challenge the legitimacy and acceptance for inclusion into peacebuilding more often and more frequently. Two rationales are highly noted. First, a lack of familiarity within the utility of art (Nossel 2016, 104). Second, in results-driven professional environment where social change is to be monitored, evaluated and reported while, artists may be trained to evaluate the technical efficacy of their work, while evaluation⁵ of the social change their art inspires is weakly measured (Nossel 2016, 104). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Policy Development and Evaluation Service examined their overall delivery of artistic activities in refugee camps in 2011 and admitted to a lack of studies undertaken with quality issues present:

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⁵ Nossell believes that such change cannot be quantified in outputs, percentages or views.
The spotty documentation of many instances of artistic activity results from the dearth of studies focused specifically on artistic activity in camps, as well as the fact that much of the information that is available is only incidental to the primary research purposes of the authors. At best, the data amassed for this study can only provide a pool of partial and anecdotal information. Nevertheless, although further research is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn, it seems likely that the artistic activity currently reported represents only the tip of the iceberg. (Andemicael 2011, 8)

The acknowledgement of a failure by a well-endowed humanitarian agency to channel resources into evaluating artistic programs is worrying practice. Although the abovementioned report shared useful insights (often anecdotal) into analysis of artistic programs in refugee camps, it was further stated that data availability amongst UNHCR’s artistic activities in refugee camps were noted as insufficient for data analysis. It is noteworthy that anecdotal data is substantial in art project reports yet is generally used as only complementary information in common humanitarian fields that have stronger evaluation standardization such as economic security or emergency health. While fine art itself has some metrics such as exhibition length, attendee turnout, funding received, awards, peer review, and mentions in academia, the issue remains that programmatic responses are challenged by how to measure the success of an art program that works for peacebuilding aims. Sometimes art does not have clear targets, aside from triggering reflections and awareness, which is often challenging to measure. Although artists greatly emphasize their chosen method’s technical craftsmanship, a target of success is not always defined in terms of social, political or economic goals (Duncombe 2016, 120). Or the art itself hopes for reaching social awareness, an ambiguous target itself.

An ultimate outcome of art’s social action, such as a policy change or agreement, is a challenge to predict and achieve. To achieve this meaningfully requires time and a series of conditions that cannot be completely manipulated, as a sustainable social action needs an organic process that will likely reach increased awareness and reflection along its chain of

results. Furthermore, evaluation can be difficult especially if tracing and measuring the outcome is not essential to the artist’s intentions. For instance, the Sudanese painter Hussein Mirghani, and social and political cartoonist, Khartoon! both created pieces reflecting the 2013 Sudan Revolts civil society movement, which were heavily demonstrated against the Sudanese government’s austerity measures and ill human rights treatment against society. Although both are highly followed and noted artists, even if it were the aim of their work, it would be a challenge to measure how much their work inspired further collective action, or whether their work was just admired as a reflection the Sudanese civil society perspective. In the past, philosophers such as Immanuel Kant and other critics of art have shunned its sublime nature as a force that affects one is so many ways, their mind cannot account for it for the difficulty to explain the power of art (Duncombe 2016, 117). Steve Lambert, the Center for Artistic Activism co-founder provides a metaphorical comparison of process of art’s creation and response to the development of a rainbow (Duncombe 2016, 127). Similar to how artists focus their creative intentions the audience experiences an uncontrollable range of interpretations and reactive actions which Lambert likens to how a rainbow is created by an initial light which is hits a usually triangular piece of glass and is refracted by different angles of the glass and probed out in different directions and colours (Duncombe 2016, 128). The struggle to evaluate and measure art’s effect intensifies when converged with peacebuilding, which may lead practitioners to consider more simplistic measurements given the novelty of such evaluation. In art’s vein, although understanding how it leads to social change can be a complex chain and challenge to find appropriate variables, does not mean solutions should not be avoided altogether. In fact, the very utility of creative arts for peace and social change must address critical questions: Are the interventions right, are they carried out in the right way and how will we know this?

2.2 Participatory Photography as a Peacebuilding Method

Photography is an art, science and technique which can take aim at vastly different outcomes. Documentary photography and photojournalism seek representational imagery of events, people, and places, often for news and investigative stories. While less common in
peacebuilding and community development related photography programs, fine art
photography’s intents may lend to some aspects of documentary photography, including to
capture artists’ perceptions and visions for sharing, although its diverges from photojournalism
and documentary photography through possible artistic rendering beyond realistic
impressions(Jones 1973). Participatory photography is a collaborative participatory
methodology or research method in which users create photographic images to represent their
experiences and impressions of the world and with it accompanying reflections, knowledge and
attitudes (Cossey 2013). In this case, it is less important of the skill level of the users and more
so the nature of how they are involved and to what aims. Participatory photography leads to a
connection which may impact one’s self, their ingroups, and outsiders engaged by the images,
which may lead into some of the beneficial effects derived from contact theory.

The ability to conduct conflict-related photography and reporting faces several
challenges including bias and its socio-political ramifications, access to insecure environments,
as well as access to enough insight from conflict stakeholders in the conflict. The issues of bias
can include the newsworthiness of a story, its framing and language, the spinning of narrative
logics and the dramatizing of events featuring individuals rather than looking at larger forces at
work (Wihbey 2015). Adding to this is that photographers and journalists are commissioned by
news organizations which influence the perspective slant, as well as what their audience desires
news-wise (Wihbey 2015). The perils of being only an image subject rather than a creator can
be especially hazardous in conflict-affected environments. Foreign perspectives of African
children who are affected by hunger and health-related images is often a dominant story for
charities, adoption agencies and sometimes NGOs. Their methods allow outside influence to
often name the world with only a partial reality that the subject may not have consented to its
presentation. Johnson’s (2011) study using participatory photography with orphans noted a
visitor’s sign at one orphanage in Nairobi’s Embakasi District which noted instructions not to
take pictures of children “because it makes them feel like they are in a zoo” (G. A. Johnson
2011, 159). Amongst two orphanages included in the study, prior exposure to was limited to
experiences with photography being either photos of death relatives in Kenya (common
practice in Kenya) or their ID pictures (G. A. Johnson 2011). Those who had lived in Nairobi were
exposed to newspapers and street ads which commonly depicted riots, violence and political strife (G. A. Johnson 2011).

Participatory photography itself was developed as a research tool known as Photovoice, which was first used mainly within the public health fields (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang et al. 1998; Wang 1999). Wang and Burris defined Photovoice as “a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique” (1997, 369). Photovoice is generally considered a variation or type of participatory photography, whereby participants using a camera create images that represent their experiences and perspectives on a given topic such as social issues (C. C. Wang 1999) to the purpose of deconstructing problems through reflecting on questions that lead to actionable solutions (Macfarlane et. al. 2015). Its power to drive social action was first reported through Wu et al. (1995) who worked with rural women in Yunan province of China whose photographs took aim at social and political issues they directly faced in the community, with the resulting images initiating dialogue from an audience of policy makers. Overall the complete process can be simplified into three goals: 1) Participants identify, record and reflect community's strengths and concerns; 2) Promote critical dialogue and knowledge about key issues through group discussion on the images produced; 3) Reach policy makers to enact community social change (Wang and Burris 1997). The final step, its commitment to social action is the distinguishing feature from other photography elicitation techniques (Sutton-Brown 2014, 171). In the initial description of photovoice’s methodology Wang and Burris (1997) emphasized that the technique be “creatively and flexibly adapted to the needs of its users” (383). Amidst different variations, most Photovoice initiatives included at least the following key steps:

1) **Technical Training on Photography:** Participants learn the use of a camera and basics of photography to create their own images (Wang and Burris 1997). This will include norms and sensitivities of photography such as ethics, especially important within conflict-affected environments (Wang and Burris 1997). Catalani and Minkler (2010) suggest that rich, time-intensive training leads to greater participant engagement in the
project’s long term, whereas Wang and Burris (1997) initially recommended the time spent on training be minimized. In this stage formulating relevant questions to a certain issue at hand could be discussed.

2) **Picture Taking**: Photographing and processing images commences which may be in response to earlier focus questions, or without focus (Wang and Burris 1997). Outside of the training space, participants will take photos, likely within the community in focus of the project (United for Prevention in Passaic County, n.d.). During this phase participants will consider important considerations such as ethics, respect, consent, safety and awareness of surroundings during the photo creation phase. Time allotted for this activity depends on the project (Sutton-Brown 2014).

3) **Photo Selection and Group Discussion**: This section can include brief photo captions for presenting and recording purposes and images will be deconstructed towards the aim of social action. The most commonly accepted discussion technique is SHOWED, with reference to the acronym answering the questions of what one sees, what’s happening, how it relates to participants’ (our) lives, why it happens, how this image could educate others, and what participants could do about it (Amos et al. 2012). Viewing of the others’ works should commence with the abovementioned dialogue. Analysis can occur here where coding of issues uncovered can be carried out.

4) **Social Action**: Regarding the material result or social action, the process may disseminate or share photographs, preferably with dialogue, with the intent of awareness and action. This can be done possibly through an exhibition, and ideally through its initial goals as per Wang and Burris (1997), to present to policy makers to implement changes within that community. It is recommended that an audience be involved under the project that have skills and ability to drive the project and changes that its content influences (Amos et al. 2012). Aside from exhibits, other actions could include policy change, a new agreement, an official public record of an incident or others as directed by the participants.

Variations of the outline include to develop themes based on similar ideas either in the
planning stages before training even commences (cite) or as participants share photos (Amos et al. 2012).

**Practical Use**

Since its inception and use with women in rural China, Photovoice has emerged for use with different fields which have several examples such as health programs including programs with mothers with learning disabilities (Booth and Booth 2003) elderly with chronic pain (Baker and Wang, 2006), autistic children (Carnahan 2006), mothers with learning difficulties, tobacco research amongst youth (Jardine and James, 2012; Tanjasiri et. al 2011), HIV stigmatization in South Africa (Moletsane 2009), breast cancer survivors documenting their experiences (Lopez et. al 2005); community development programs such as climate change in Nepal (MacFarlane 2015), NGO support to orphans in Sierra Leone (Walker and Early, 2010), food security in USA (Chilton et. al 2009) and Sierra Leone (Thompson 2009), homelessness (Wang et. al, 2000), social justice in the Amazon (Singhal and Rahine-Flaherty 2006); migration and resilience programs such as in Uganda (Green, 2009), Nepal (Thomas et. al, 2011), Kenya (Johnson, 2011), Mexico (Torres and Carte, 2014) Columbia (Guerero and Tinkler 2010), refugee post traumatic growth in Thailand (Prag and Voegl, 2013), livelihoods in the wake of domestic abuse in Canada (Duffy, 2015) and others. To date, peacebuilding photovoice interventions predominantly work with one conflict group rather than involving multiple parties to address intergroup conflict and as a result its relational effects are not as well-known (B. C. Reimers 2016a). Several examples are conducted by the British-based organization Photovoice, which conducted projects with persons affected by conflict including migration experiences with Syrian refugees in Jordan, issues of social exclusion and human rights abuses in Afghanistan, or sexual exploitation in the UK (Photovoice 2017). The popularization of photovoice in the health field lends well to the emergence of photovoice for peacebuilding initiatives (Phototherapy Centre 2017). For instance, the number of initiatives that deal with either stigmatized illnesses such as HIV/AIDs, or experience with death and bereavement even in non-conflict systems, provide useful, relevant lessons such as responding to outgroup tensions or post-traumatic growth.
Strengths

Photovoice’s cognitive power of imagery has the ability to achieve effectiveness beyond barriers of literacy; users of photovoice who are not fluent in reading or writing can still express communicatively through the production and dialogue of imagery to make a voice for their knowledge and ideas (Wang and Burris 1997). Photographs are a form of imagery that is processed by the eyes and brain together, therefore the universality of photographs strengthens its ability to reach diverse audiences (Winkler and Dauber 2014). Their power includes raising audience attention, improving recognition and changing opinions (Winkler and Dauber 2014). When image and text and are presented alongside each other, viewers can understand and recall information very clearly (ibid). Furthermore the process of participatory photography may invoke positive feelings in participants (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008). Several examples are given in Prag and Vogel’s work with Burmese refugees in Northern Thailand. Using an image and story, one of the participants illustrated the beauty and spiciness of a chilli pepper to reflect positively on her challenging life journey, a sign of posttraumatic growth in a new safe space which is in part ushered by the artistic power of photography (Prag and Vogel 2013). The participants cited personal strengths such as the confidence to speak and overcome shyness, personal and group pride, appreciation of an audience and being more conscious of the social narrative, which they felt helped empower themselves as a group (ibid).

Participatory photography can document real challenges and local realities in society that might be unspoken as referenced in a study by Gervais et. al (2009) examining girlhood in post-conflict Rwanda. Using photovoice, 16 girls aged 11-14 from Ruhengeri province reflected on protection issues especially regarding increased risk of exposure to HIV/AIDS (Gervais et. al 2009, 20). The process revealed sports heroes who were widely perceived to be social role models were carrying out violence themselves, which was expressed through images taken by the girls that captured threatening areas such as local sports fields and football players’ homes (ibid). At the same time, health campaigns were being implemented around the role of local athletes’ promotion of safe sex and addressing gender-based violence (ibid). In this case the ethical challenge of presentation could be posed, however the achievement of uncovering a
sensitive issue was noteworthy.

Photovoice itself is a dramatic method to not only document realities for users and community members, but to improve awareness of outsiders and policy makers alike (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008). In addition to Wu et al.’s work in China, Wang’s work in photovoice with disadvantaged communities in Flint, in the U.S. who captured images on themes related to violence, economic development, youth, racism and others, for themselves and outsiders, reaching substantial outcomes (C. Wang et al. 2004). The group engaged policymakers and community leaders as audience, but also at one point as participants (ibid). The results included engagement between youths about community safety and violence with Flint’s mayor and other politicians, the successful competition for a Youth Violence Prevention Center in Flint and deeper understandings by grantee partners on violence in Flint (ibid). Furthermore, Tanjasiri et al. (2011) involved policymakers from the onset and the presentation by youth to policymakers helped support an approval of a tobacco licensing law that was already under review.

Weaknesses

There are several shortcomings of participatory photography. Photography may not be appealing and feasible for some and includes training that may require some basic technical skills prior (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008). The appeal and power of the images may also depend on photographic skills especially if the audience is to expand outside the group (ibid). Other scholars worry about the sensitivities of participatory photography including its countervailing potential within environments of post-conflict mistrust and suspicion (Prins 2010), the risk that new camera technology places as a safety on its users (Denov et al. 2012), or potentially conflict-inciting triggers the images can initiate (Baú 2015). Control over the presentation of the images can be problematic if they are viewed and interpreted away from their creators which may resume the stereotypes and power dynamics the images may have attempted to respond to in a positive way (Baú 2015). The very perspectives through which the interventions are framed can be damaging, as photographer Eric Gottesman explains, such as simplistic impressions that simply handing out cameras is on its own empowering or ‘giving voice to voiceless’, and that they are fact more intricate and responsive programs (ibid, 85-86).
Participatory photography’s romanticized vision of its work is a challenge noted by American photography scholar and practitioner Douglas Harper who worries that the idea that photovoice provides insight and liberation, yet its experience is brief and researchers publish what are modest results (Harper 2012).

In line with a problem felt by many art interventions, participatory programs also suffer from insufficient documentation, data and analysis. Only 31% of the 37 photovoice interventions covered in the literature review by Catalani and Minkler (2010) reported evaluation findings. There are also concerns with findings which consist of images and captions rather than detailed analysis of the results. Furthermore, for programs that result in awareness and a social action plan, there is often insufficient follow-up on the attempts at social change (Strack, Magill, and McDonagh 2004; Johnson 2016).

Given that action leading to social or policy change is a key element of photovoice, scholars contest photovoice’s misleading expectation of achieving real social or policy change (Johnston 2016; Mitchell 2011; Tanjasiri et al. 2011; Wallerstein & Bernstein 1998). Regarding photovoice’s aim to target existing or new policy formulation, there are few cases of success in policy advancement and therefore a weakness in that it may only influence but not itself change policy (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008). 60% of the 37 participatory photography programs covered in Catalani and Minkler’s 2010 study achieved study’s definition of action consisting of either: either enhanced community engagement in action or advocacy, improved understanding of needs and assets or increased personal empowerment addressed issues identified within the intervention (Catalani and Minkler 2010). However, most of the outcomes were merely increased understanding of social problems (ibid), but not an action leading to the trend that scholars and practitioners may be accepting of lower expectations in program achievements. Influencing or informing policy is more likely through a sense of heightened awareness than realizing an actual change itself, which may take resources, time and other outside factors. Since photovoice often works with marginalized groups the actual impetus of social change cannot always fall solely on those most affected as the intervention and thus support from outsiders may be critical to bring power and resources to the efforts which may be driven by the influence of power holders, opinion leaders or policy makers (Tarrow 1998).
3.0 Theory
3.1 The Utility of Contact Theory to Address Intergroup Conflict and Tensions

Understanding how to influence intergroup relations has been a critical element of peace and conflict research. Through his research on prejudice reduction American psychologist Gordon Allport established intergroup contact theory in the 1950s, a model of relational transformation which has been utilized in various interventions with the goal of improving intergroup relations, in various settings such as intercultural, interethnic or international conflicts which are challenged divided, diverse groups (Kaufman 2002; Azar 2002; Rouhana and Kelman). Contact theory suggests that coalescing members of conflicting groups can reduce intergroup prejudice and tensions by enabling members of opposing groups to consider areas of convergence and deconstruct previously held negative stereotypes, leading to tolerance and acceptance (Allport 1958). Allport stated four conditions that were needed to reduce prejudice: equal status between groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support from authorities (Allport 1958). Increased outgroup knowledge can be produced by facilitated learning about the outgroup and through this process raises the idea that diverse groups could uncover similarities and therefore could reduce prejudice (Allport 1958). Contact eases the anxiety and fear that face parties anticipating intergroup interaction, which in turn enables a process that reduces prejudice (Blascovich et al. 2001; Pettigrew and Troop 2008). Perspective taking through contact can help expand one’s sense of self to include the outgroup in a more empathetic approach (Aron & Mclaughlin-Volpe 2001).

Today contact theory is still tested, adapted and considered in topics such as race relations, resettlement, ethnic division and other challenging forms of intergroup contact. Critiques of contact theory have been shown incompatibility with racial diversity in American schools as some studies actually showed that racial attitudes grew more negative through intergroup contact (Bronson 2009). Challenges to Allport’s four conditions included children in school having academic and social status variance, differing goals through school, competition for grades and in sports, as well as a lack of authority support to interracial exchanges (ibid). In

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7 Theorizing intergroup goal interdependence as a strategy to reduce intergroup tensions was first raised by American sociologist R.M. Williams (Williams 1947).
short, the chance of even meeting one condition of contact theory, or all four remain slim. Another dispute of the theory includes its overemphasis on interpersonal interactions, failing to reference how this change generalizes on the intergroup collective process (Cuhadar and Dayton 2011).

Since contact theory’s inception the realization of contact theory’s conditions are still challenged by structural inequalities such as the premise that status in intergroup contact is never equal. For instance, group composition was later found by Hewstone and Swart (2011) to have importance as contact had weaker effects on minority groups than majority groups due to status in society. There are interesting phenomena within contact which can respond to such inequalities. A positive opportunity amongst different groups occurs in decategorization when outgroup members with similar interests to an ingroup reduce saliency of group membership due to the noted overlapping interest. Thus intergroup contact becomes more effective when saliency is low (Brewer and Miller 1988). Furthermore, contact extended over time allows for potential for recategorization, bonding into a reworked view as a larger group where similarities are highlighted and the outgroup boundary is more obscure (Perdue et al. 1990).

To understand the process of contact and contact theory’s conditions American psychologists Thomas Pettigrew and Laura Tropp (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of over 500 studies related to prejudice reduction. Their findings further simplified the mechanism at hand in intergroup contact underscoring that all groups need is contact itself, and that although Allport’s four conditions had interacting effects on each other, they were not preconditions to achieve prejudice reduction. The findings also found that with more contact, less prejudice was found (ibid). Of the psychological process guiding contact theory, initial anxiety reduction and empathy and perspective taking had strong empirical support, however increased knowledge was a weak, yet positive mediator of reducing prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008, 927). Factoring the intimacy of contact into contact theory has been suggested as a reworked understanding advising a fifth and lesser known condition of contact hypothesis, that the contact situation provides chances for participants to become friends (Pettigrew 1998). This implies cross-disclosure, personal closeness and other friendship mechanisms present. Time is
considered in the discussion which suggests intense and repeated contact (ibid) to garner what Cook (1962) termed ‘friendship potential’.

Despite critiques of its practical application, contact theory can prove useful when applied to participatory photography programs as it may provide a basis for considering the procedural role of how participants interact. For instance, in general photovoice initiates first program contact with training in photography, a non-confrontational topic which could help with anxiety reduction, before moving to the heart of issues conflict-related to produce new knowledge. Furthermore, prior research shows that time can allow for developments within contact such as decategorization and recategorization and the relational benefits of friendship potential. The study will consider this further in sections of analysis.

3.2 Drawing on Social Capital for Collaborative Social Action

Understanding the concepts of social capital and its development are relevant to achieving success in conflict resolution. As intergroup conflict may include periods of violence, poor relations or a complete absence any contact at all, social capital can be utilized to rebuild or create a positive relational linkage between groups in the peacebuilding process. Following a theoretical background on this, this section will highlight positive and negative social capital in real peacebuilding scenarios.

A noted political scientist and social capital scholar Robert Putnam defined social capital as connections between individuals through social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trust that result (2000, 19). In societies divided by war or negative tensions, building or utilizing what social capital exists between groups in conflict can be useful in seeking potential connectors of peace but also warning against possible drivers of conflict. Positive social capital can achieve greater security, effective governance, improved health, higher education and economic prosperity (Boix and Posner 1998), whereas exploiting social capital can lead to enclosed networks which hold onto power and exclude others (Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003).

Putnam (2000) further explains the distinction between bonding social capital as social networks between homogenous groups and bridging social capital forming connectedness between heterogeneous groups. On one hand, while bonding can be beneficial through
achieving intimate social interaction by close groups such as friends and family for which affection may be shown and safety provided (Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003), scholars argue that bonding may have negative impacts on those outside the enclosed network (Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 2000; Leonard 2004) such as when political elites, mafias or gangs have a strong internal network. On the other hand, bridging may help build intergroup relations and can be positive through benefits such as safety, new ideas, social status seeking, information exchange and others (Beugelsdijk and Smulders 2003). Regarding bridging social capital, Beugelsdijk and Smulders (2003) note that trust created in these networks prevents rent-seeking behaviours to maintain a relationship within and between the groups.

Bridging social capital applies to intergroup conflict and the following real-world examples guide how the theory may work in peacebuilding practice. Armed conflict between pastoralist groups in Baringo County of the Great Rift Valley of Kenya caused approximately 50 deaths and left strong tensions between Tugen, Pokot and Ilchamus ethnic groups present in the region (Mediators Beyond Borders Kenya 2016). Several activities followed such as peace meetings and security operations conducted by government. Externally supported initiatives such as peacebuilding training for a select cadre of individuals from the three diverse ethnic groups with the will, community standing and potential for peacebuilding were trained in conflict resolution. This network of peacebuilders also acted as a separate group to lead peace alongside traditional peacebuilding participants such as tribe chiefs. Over time tensions decreased and while some tensions remain, there have been some positive developments through collaborative social action such as joint conservancies and joint land and pasture committees. This allows at least two of the three groups to work together for improved communication, decreased insecurity equitable land use and better communication. Through a combination of improved trust and associational engagement as peacebuilders this became possible. In the process of bridging social capital by creating peacebuilding networks, there was also attempts at bonding social capital, where mothers of slain youth from one group pleaded for empathy by mothers from opposing groups to use their influence to stop the violence. With reference to social identity theory individuals may represent and relate to multiple identities and thus the overlap may work advantageously. In this unique example, individuals could be
simultaneously bridging with their outgroup tribe opposing them and bonding as an ingroup with fellow mothers of youth lost to the violence. The shared identity categories as mothers of slain children even on opposing sides may help diffuse tensions they feel toward those on the other side.

In the study by Thomas et al. (2011) of Somali and Pakistani urban refugees in Nepal research on grievances and coping mechanisms to respond to challenges of displacement, there was potential to build social capital between the two groups. Although heterogeneous in how they are different in appearance, specific experiences and challenges, both refugee groups also hold similarities too. Somali and Pakistani refugees both demonstrated frustrations with their inability to legally use their vocational skills or find housing and relied on coping by love and solidarity. While not reported in this study, there was potential for building social capital between Somali and Pakistani refugees based on similar mental health challenges, as both being groups of Muslim faiths, and as refugees being discriminated against. Fukuyama (1995) worries that bonding can have consequences where grievances are shared, resulting in gangs, ethnic or political factions. In such situations refugees could band together for positive activities based on solidarity such as self-help groups or peer support networks yet could also immerse in criminal activity or a refugee network with tensions towards their host country due to insufficient resources or social support from a host government.

From the above discussion, a greater awareness of a remote group presents an opportunity for collaborative social action which could be based on positive or negative social capital. Such positive examples include the formation of peacebuilding sub-groups related to resource management to reduce resource conflict amongst pastoralists or peer support networks for refugees. Alternatively, collaboration could form tensions through group ties against government or the formation of gangs or mafias. The concepts of bridging social capital is useful to intergroup participatory photography programs due to the possibility that cases may include diverse groups who may have high tensions toward each other and no acknowledged association before voluntarily entering a photography program. Most participatory photography programs related to peacebuilding affect the growth of the individual and bonding between mostly homogenous participants. Fewer still have tackled the
process of bridging social capital across groups experiencing tensions between them, an interesting prospect to consider.

3.3 Praxis and Consciousness Raising

The process through which illiterate adults build awareness of selfhood, especially in the third world was central to a Brazilian philosopher and educator Paulo Freire’s teachings on participatory methodology and the process of consciousness raising. His educational philosophy takes a critical stance on social structures in where the oppressed, once empowered, can reshape and transform the very society which denies them inclusion and participation (Freire 1972). The overall transformative process of praxis involves “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Freire 1972, 36).

According to Freire, traditional education systems deprive students of critical thinking and submerge them into passive roles, where teachers are information depositors and students are empty depositories, fostering an environment of ‘banking’ where knowledge and information is only received and reprised by those considered inferior and gifted by those seen as knowledgeable (Freire 1972, 13). The result is a non-dialogical top-down vertical system which, once cultured, encourages oppressed groups to conform to passivity opposed to seeking reform the system. Political and socio-economic authority are underlying causes for why one group remains dominated and henceforth kept submerged.

Freire’s conviction is that no matter how deep one might find themselves in this submergence of silence and passivity it is in the essence of oneself to possess the ability to think critically of the world in which we live as well as growing conscious of one’s own social reality and the paradoxes which surround it. Increased critical consciousness helps overcome the paternalistic system, ending the silence of past passive states. This occurs when the user analyzes their social and historical experience, and therefore oppressed groups are empowered to initiate social change to change the world they live in (Freire 1972). The dialectical system thus occurs when the oppressed becomes a student-teacher, capable of learning and teaching, and a joint learning process ensues whereby the teacher can also learn whereby joint learning can be reflected upon together (ibid, 67).
Photovoice is known as a consciousness raising research method and Freire himself suggests that photos themselves can be didactic triggers for reflection and dialogue (Ozanne and Saatcioglu 2008, 431). Those persons who understand the images best are often locals most affected by conflict and therefore the Freirean approach present in participatory photography supports the dual role of student-teacher who participate with a sense of empowerment. This process lets the agency of images that depict the conflict experience be claimed and owned by the true stakeholders that matter, often those most affected by the conflict who participate in a joint dialogue process. This approach can help deepen knowledge between individuals and groups with the potential to developing intergroup relations through participatory photography projects whereby members of diverse conflict parties participate in creation and understanding of dialogue. This theoretical approach supports photovoice’s guidance toward social action through the process of raising awareness and consciousness improving prospects that this will transfer into social action, especially in response to oppressive factors in life.

3.4 Bridging Theory and Practice to a More Comprehensive, Holistic Model

A noteworthy problem impeding the effectiveness of the peacebuilding field overall is the disconnect between peace and conflict theory with practical reality of conflicts around the globe. A recent study of Hewlett Foundation-funded university based theory centers found that most peacebuilding practitioners surveyed were not influenced in their applied settings by knowledge and practice the centers had produced (Coleman 2013). Coleman (2013) challenges the lack of a functional relationship between theory and practice since “scholars often fail to utilize the expertise of skilled practitioners in their development of theory, and research studies often neglect what practitioners and policy makers want or need to know” (97).

To address the abovementioned problem, noted peacebuilding scholar and practitioner Birthe Reimers designed a framework which incorporates previously detached theories and practice currently in use in peacebuilding, in hopes to mend the gap between. The comprehensive conflict engagement model (CCEM) was born out of cohesive need of a tool considerate of research and intervention to explain the communal dynamics of a divided
refugee resettlement site in the metropolitan Atlanta area of the United States (US Senate 2010). Several theories, models and frameworks guide the CCEM including Allport’s contact theory, Galtung’s structural violence theory (1969), concept of positive peace (1996), diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle (1996), Kriesberg and Dayton’s three bases of social conflict (2012), and Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory (1979) and the bioecological model of human development (2005).

While contact theory touches on two of the three bases of social conflict (Kriesberg and Dayton 2012) by internal and relational factors, it overlooks how people’s attitudes and perceptions are affected by their condition, which relates to the structural base. The systemic or structural factors, such as power differences or structural inequalities (Galtung 1969) are also critical elements guiding interpersonal and intergroup relations. Furthermore, negative peace or the absence of personal violence is still a contrasted situation from positive peace, where participation, integration, wellbeing and other positive opportunities could replace marginalization (Galtung 1996). In categorizing different types of peace, Galtung suggests that research cover different causes, conditions and contexts in different fields (Galtung 1996). The diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle concept as a three-pronged approach: to integrate diagnosis of how peace and conflict exist and grow; prognosis, by forecasting peace and conflict; and appropriate use of therapy, whether it be self-applied by an external intervention (Galtung 1996). Building on the complexity of human interaction, Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory (1979) and bioecological model of human development (1998) look at respectively different environmental layers such as one’s political system, time of birth, culture, each which impact human development and interaction.

The CCEM itself draws upon the above theories as well as Mayer’s conflict engagement paradigm which is entrenched in the idea that conflict transformation takes time (2012). This is due to the complexity and deep roots that need a holistic approach that works with all aspects and phases of a conflict, moving beyond conflict prevention, analysis and resolution (Mayer 2012). Furthermore, the paradigm encourages practitioners to remain engaged and working in conflicts even in periods where immediate outcomes and resolution seem improbable, a point echoed by Reimers who states that “engagement in conflict transformation is a marathon, not a
sprint” (B. C. Reimers 2016a, 443). CCEM targets all three bases of social conflict to build on the shortcomings of traditional small-group dialogue processes, which only target internal and relational (B. C. Reimers 2016a). To address the structural base, visual imagery is used to document challenges and opportunities and marks the cross-cultural learning that happens through more authentic and understandable views and voices (ibid). With the right approach, such as the use of photovoice, using imagery can inform key stakeholders who have the power to make decisions on structural change such as policies and programs. In an intergroup conflict setting this is especially useful given that perspective sharing and taking can lead to mutual understanding, recognizing others’ concerns, introducing others’ experiences and perspectives, builds informed concern for their wellness and leads to better problem solving (D. Johnson, Johnson, and Tjosvold 2006).

In short, the concept of CCEM targets the internal, relational and structural bases of social conflict (Kriesberg and Dayton 2012), employing Galtung’s (1996) diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle to collect and analyze data, forecast and apply as needed, through an overall holistic peacebuilding approach which takes time (Mayer 2012) and expansive engagement as mentioned. The novelty of this model means that it has yet to be applied beyond its reference to photovoice, however its ability to connect theory and practice in a more functional manner has intriguing promise. This model can help develop integrated methodologies that where analysis and intervention can converge but also feed into each other in a more connected fashion.

3.5 Envisioning the Causal Chain

The formulation of participatory photography programs for intergroup conflict are characterized by environments which include relational misunderstandings, social tensions and disproportionate structural effects. With a higher program duration, such programs have time to address the complexity of intergroup conflict through addressing the different bases of conflict to achieve social action. In easier cases with low levels or complete absence of conflict, and without the need to factor in the relational base of social conflict (Kriesberg and Dayton 2012) participatory photography programs in general are still challenged in achieving social
action as only 60% of Catalani and Minkler’s literature review on health based photovoice projects reported an action component (2010). Legitimizing the achievements in photovoice is further challenged by the indicator misreading of social action to actual results of only ‘enhanced understanding of needs and assets (Catalani and Minkler 2010, 444-445).

The process of intimately engaging in sensitive, confronting and tension-filled imagery and dialogue may take more time to understand others’ perspectives to which one can rework their own. The presence of multiple conflict parties in the photovoice process deepen the layers of understanding polyvocal perspectives to better explain one’s perspectives and potentially feel compelled to incite change as a result. To achieve a high measure of success a longer participatory photography program duration increases the likelihood of success that is measured in achievement of social action, the fourth step in the framework of photovoice.

With longer program durations, participants in participatory photography programs responding to intergroup conflict allows for a setting that engages more intergroup contact for a higher quality of participation that drives collaborative social action. This leads to the studied hypothesis that: longer program durations of participatory photography programs addressing intergroup conflict increases the chance of achieving collaborative social action.

4.0 Research Design

While participatory photography programs in the health field are more common, peacebuilding interventions working with multiple intergroup conflict parties directly through participatory photography have only recently emerged and represent an under-researched area for both the participatory photography and peacebuilding fields. Due to the recent emergence of peacebuilding oriented participatory photography programs and thus a low number of available cases, a structured focused comparison method will be used to a diverse case selection technique, which reflect the distribution range of the independent variable. The methodology is therefore used to evaluate the relationship between independent and dependent variable through a detailed analysis of the three participatory photography

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8 Based on literature review by Catalani and Minkler (2010)
programs: a resettlement and integration case in the U.S., a post-election violence reconciliation case in Kenya, and a post-war truth-telling case in Guatemala. In conducting the study, cases will be examined in isolation and then comparatively to determine why some participatory photography programs for intergroup peacebuilding are more successful at achieving collaborative social action. This section will describe the research methodology, justify case selection and operationalize concepts used.

4.1 Research Design Methodology

The method of structured focused comparison is used to examine the variables of program duration, controlling for design elements on the success of participatory photography programs for conflict-affected groups. For the structured focused comparison method, theoretical underpinnings guiding the study is important mainly through the use of carefully constructed explanatory construction to build a study’s measurement in order for causal inference to be possible (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 45).

George emphasizes how this method is structured through disciplined data collection, by systematically collecting the same information, and variables between the units of analysis (George and Mckeown 1985). George and Bennett (2005) describe how the researcher uses general questions, relevant to the research aims to guide the study and standardize data collection. Uniformity of the questions posed are critical so that data can be analyzed for correlation and the variable results can be compared. The method is focused through is directed at the research aims by design that measures certain aspects of the cases, since one study cannot adequately examine all aspects of a case. The questions must be applied in systematic way so that additional cases can be included in future studies as well as easily replicated and analyzed by employing the same design (ibid).

The study will observe first, in isolation within participatory photography programs, the impact of program duration (independent variable) with program procedural order conditions (constant variable) on the ability to cause collaborative intergroup social action (dependent
variable) and follow with a comparative analysis. Data collection is conducted from primary cases literature conducted by the primary researchers.

Due to the lack of photovoice cases qualifying the studied scope conditions, a large-N analysis would not have been possible. Regardless, a small-N qualitative comparison is used in this study since more depth is required in comparison to large-n quantitative studies such as the research on photovoice in health interventions conducted by Catalani and Minkler (2010) which measured action that was operationalized under a more easily achievable definition than this study. The same study covered programs with generally non-confrontational participants, a stark contrast to the few programs outside the study used in this paper which targets groups facing intergroup tensions as an additional obstacle. Furthermore, Catalani and Minkler’s study looked at program outcomes, marking results in minor results of increased awareness, that for instance, ended in enhanced understanding of community, which is a general minimal expectation given the photovoice process. In contrast, where conflicting parties are present, observing a measurement of joint social action is expected to be a harder result to achieve. Due to the complexity of such cases, where the goals may not be the exact same for all participants (such as an addiction recovery targeted photovoice project aiming at self-esteem and awareness), the depth of a qualitative study can help identify interaction between variables and explaining in a micro-analysis the measure of success, social action and herein inform practical recommendations.

4.2 Case Selection

Diverse Cross-Case Technique

To ensure conclusive and reliable results are possible through the research design, it is crucial that the selection of cases be guided by the conventions of research design case selection (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 128). Cases were selected based on the availability factor of interventions with qualifying scope conditions and on program duration of the interventions, which examines how the X1 (program duration) has a hypothesized increase on the effect of the Y (collaborative social action).
The existence of numerous participatory photography programs for other fields aside from peacebuilding, and further, the growing number of participatory photography programs that address conflict, but target only one target conflict-affected party for intervention, guides this study’s case selection. For instance, participatory photography programs which work with participants such as NGO workers working with war-affected children in Sierra Leone (Walker and Oomen-Early 2011), or work with refugees in Thailand to foster posttraumatic growth (Prag and Vogel 2013) are two examples of programs working with only one conflict-affected group and do not consist of participants that have opposing tensions or conflict as an inter-group case would present. Given the dearth of participatory photography programs that focus on peacebuilding, and furthermore include the scope condition of involving intergroup conflict parties, the selection process narrowed the sample of case available.

The method of case selection used for this study employs a diverse cross-case technique in which two or more cases cover the full range of variation for X1 and Y, capturing different values (Gerring 2007, 89), which in this case, closely represents the actual variation of the population of participatory photography programs on for the X variable. A lack of cases available under the study scope conditions limited the options for case selection techniques. One of the most identifiable selection bias can arise when researchers factor in a desire to confirm their hypothesis into strategic case selection which aligns with their predicted outcome, and inversely strategically omit cases which might challenge (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 128). The resulting action, if cases are selected based on the predicted hypothesis, is that the research will show nothing (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 142). The danger of knowing and acting upon it can lead to a lead to a skewed study that conforms to a hypothesis by using a crucial case technique and selecting a most likely case and least likely case that both inversely prove their relationship to the dependent variable.

In Catalani and Minkler’s (2010) large-N study on health-related participatory photography programs the programs covered included diverse range of ages, ethnicities and geographical locations, yet the variable of time showed conclusive results (Catalani and Minkler 2010, 439). Of the 26 programs which reported program duration, the length ranged from 2 weeks to several years, with a median of 3 months (ibid). As per Gerring’s (2007) advice in
diverse case selection for investigating continuous variables the research design is advised to include the extreme high and low values, in addition to the mean or median (98). Under this study, the three cases to be studied include time variation (2 weeks, 5 months and 3 years) that strongly reflect the distribution of Catalani and Minkler’s large-N study with the shortest, longest and middle covered. Furthermore, given the Guatemala case’s independent variable result\(^9\) it is theorized as most likely\(^{10}\) to support the hypothesis claim to achieve a result of collaborative social action. Inversely theorized is that Kenya case’s low independent variable result\(^{11}\) is least likely to achieve a result of collaborative social action. The case variance in this sense allows for a chance to explain causal effects and is supported case selection rules that advise: “selection should allow for the possibility of at least some variation on the dependent variable” (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 129). The wide distribution between high and low follow a theoretical hunch, of which cases are likely to produce different results on the Y variable (Gerring 2007, 98). Therefore, the study’s focus on program duration variation and cases chosen based on such variation of such guides the selection process. It is therefore concluded that potential selection bias is addressed since the variation of X1, program duration, is reflective of the distribution of the population\(^{12}\) and in addition, all qualifying cases\(^{13}\) under the scope conditions are included in the study. The case diversity is expected to have a useful attempt to produce analysis that can guide future participatory photography programs designed to address intergroup conflict.

\(^{9}\) 3 years (high).
\(^{10}\) A crucial case give that its most-likely condition to exhibit a given outcome based on prior information or data on population, leading to an expected outcome (Gerring 2007, 89).
\(^{11}\) 2 weeks (low).
\(^{12}\) About earlier cited study by Catalani and Minkler (2010) coverage of public health and related photovoice interventions.
\(^{13}\) There are other cases that deal with peacebuilding themes such as reintegration study by Thomas et al. (2011) which worked in photovoice with diverse groups including Somali and Pakistani refugees, however they were diverse groups without bilateral conflict tensions.
**Table 1: Diverse Case Selection Comparison**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Location</th>
<th>X1: Program Duration</th>
<th>X2 (constant variable): 1) Group photography training 2) Participant-led documentation by taking photos, 3) Photo-elicited group discussion</th>
<th>Cause of Conflict</th>
<th>Group Dynamic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2 weeks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Post-election violence</td>
<td>Members of different tribes from opposing parties affected by violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Tensions caused by large, unexpected refugee population influx</td>
<td>Locally-born residents and refugees of Clarkston, Atlanta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Polyvocal accounts from different perspectives of post-war truth telling</td>
<td>Chajul based ethnic groups which experienced different perceptions of Guatemalan civil war.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Internal and External Validity**

Internal validity refers to the factors of design that prevent against confounding variables causing effect (J. B. Johnson and Reynolds 2012). To strengthen isolation of the studied IV, X1, the research design includes a very specific constant variable which holds the inclusion of three key program design components in order: 1) inclusion of group technical training in photography; 2) participant-led documentation and research through taking photos;
3) photo-elicited group discussion. These are not always included in photovoice programs, and when included have shown to have impacted on the outcome.

External validity or reliability indicates the level of general applicability of the research; if it can be replicated so that other researchers using the same research design, would find similar results (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994). The novelty of participatory photography programs which involve intergroup conflict makes it hard to generalize the parameters of a rarely implemented scope, aside from the general expectation that its participants will be conflict-affected. On one hand there may be some areas to that can be representative such as the cases overall engagement of mostly female participants similar to photovoice projects reporting mostly female groups (Catalani and Minkler 2010). However, the unique scope of the cases’ situational specifics eliminates most reported peacebuilding participatory photography cases, and regardless, this study’s cases may or may not be representative of other sector’s photovoice projects. As a cross-country case study, the research reduces threats to external validity, combined with a high level of construct validity should allow for reproducibility of the study and analysis in different contexts. The geographical variance of the three case locations helps the potential for generalizability. Although it can be acknowledged that the different local environments may reveal other explanatory variables, those can be useful in future hypothesis building of such rarely implemented and studied interventions. The reliability of the data collection can be confirmed through using universally measured and understood indicators\(^{14}\) in three different countries likely ensures strong construct validity, which should allow for the generalizability of the study for future use.

Regarding both internal validity and external validity the design, the novelty of the studied subject matter poses some challenges. While some design considerations are based on some existing data and analysis of participatory photography programs, there is even more scarce literature on intergroup conflict-related participatory photography programs. As a unique area of intervention in its infancy, repeat studies and randomized control studies are uncommon so the effect of a range of variables has not been tested in great lengths. It is therefore hoped that this model will be a useful pilot and in future more qualifying cases can be

\(^{14}\) The IV and the DV are defined under universally understood concepts.
tested under this research methodology with possible design amendments the results may inform.

4.3 Operationalization

Operationalization of the independent variable

The independent variable (X1), is a continuous measurement in terms of years, months and weeks, representing program duration. The rationale for this variable stem from Catalani and Minkler’s 2010 finding in health and related sectors’ participatory photography programs which found that longer program duration increased the quality of participation and likelihood of social action, as well as Reimers’s Comprehensive Conflict Engagement Model which theorizes that longer initiatives are more likely to achieve successful outcomes. It should be cautioned that most of the reported ‘actions’ were generally summarized as “enhanced understanding of social problems” (Catalani and Minkler 2010), which would be a non-result in this study’s dependent variable. Further motivation comes from research model of Beugelsdijk and Smulders (2003) on social capital which used time spent in a social network to measure intensity of participation. With higher levels of participation and contact, measured through length of program duration it is assumed the chances for action improve.

A constant variable (X2) is included to ensure scope covers specified design and procedural elements in the participatory photography programs. The variable requires inclusion of group technical training in photography, participant-led documentation and research through taking photos, and followed by a photo-elicited group discussion. The rationale behind these three conditions are that some programs omit some of these practical steps, which are grounded in the theory to be tested in the study. This is important because the initial contact under the program finds a less sensitive common ground, photography of which participants jointly associate, then move on to the more confronting subject peacebuilding-related matters through photography. This variable is an important constant because directly addressing conflict first, may create new or intensify existing tensions since there is no common ground or tool of which to express creatively, some of the issues at hand. Had cameras been given and
documentation commenced immediately, the absence of joint learning and thus associational engagement is likely to fail.

Operationalization of the dependent variable

The dependent variable for this analysis is a dichotomous variable for either achievement (yes) or non-achievement (no) of collaborative social action, observed during the duration of the participatory photography program. It will be measured based on its occurrence of a qualifying social action that is concrete in nature, explained in more detail below. If multiple types of collaborative social action occur they will be discussed separately during the analysis. Due to an observed lack of social action in participatory photography programs under this study’s operational definition the probability of achievement is a hard case factoring in the relational base that intergroup conflict-affected programs aim to address. The time frame to measure the variables starts from the establishment of the program’s start date. This demarcates the point in time from which analysis occurs leading toward the expected outcome, collaborative social action until the end of the program’s duration, with respect to the possibility that programs could continue beyond the funding period. Bearing this in mind, it is understood that the program duration variance will allow the longer programs to avail more expansive data and information.

As the fourth and final step of photovoice, social action could also be understood as a capstone achievement of a participatory photography program that is perceived as a suggestive but not always mandatory inclusion. In intergroup conflict settings, achieving collaborative social action is especially complex since it requires intergroup collaboration which may require changes in attitude, understanding of different knowledge, a new willingness to act and the social environment to do so. Brydon-Miller et al. (2009) view collaborative social action as a result stemming from participatory action research, in which testing and development occurs of mutual understanding, truths, genuineness and relevance. It is important to note that the intent of photovoice is not to unite participants into a single narrative, but rather to present and explore the multitude of experiences and perspectives to allow for a deeper understanding of community and related issues (Sutton-Brown 2014). On one hand, the participatory research
which is drawn out of the photovoice process may not change a group’s grievances or the base understanding of why a conflict arose from their end. On the other hand, adding their opposition’s view to their story may help present reasons or opportunities for conflict prevention as well as closer connection to outgroup grievances and conflict experiences which may motivate a joint action to responding to the past or preventing further conflict. It is suggested that not all members of a program will oblige to transform and act. It is expected however that those who do participate, “take into account those others’ understandings, perspectives and interests – even if the decision is to oppose them in the service of a broader public interest” (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005, 579). Such a critical and reflective process which acknowledges polyvocality may have a combination of history-changing effects, individual changes and/or adjusted group behaviours leading the process and achievement of collaborative social action to be substantial for peacebuilding.

Regarding definitions, first, social action is defined as action that could have a jointly affected positive peacebuilding outcome on the participants. An example of a positive peacebuilding outcome could include confirmation or acknowledgement of past war experiences, or looking ahead by building a more peaceful way forward. Social actions could include a photography exhibition, policy change, dialogue forums with policy makers or formation of a new organization composed of diverse group members, a record of the past, among other possibilities. This study’s definition excludes vaguely reported ‘actions’ under previous studies such as increased awareness or drafting an action plan which are both steps of intent toward an output but does not yet constitute a concrete form of action. Secondly, collaborative is defined as including members from multiple groups affected by conflict that compose of the divided sides. Therefore, if one group affected by conflict carries out a social action that does not include other groups affected by the conflict, then it is not considered achievement of collaborative social action for the purposes of this analysis. As mentioned, this additional definitional element of collaborative is often not a challenge in peacebuilding initiatives that for instance work with one marginalized group. This study’s definition of collaborative social action is oriented to the idea of that positive association through art and dialogue can help pave a joint way forward in the form of action.
5.0 Kenya: Lenses of Conflict and Peace
5.1 Context of the Conflict

Political and ethnic violence clouded the December 2007 elections of Kenya which were decided on December 27, 2007, when Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu tribe member) of the Party of National Unity (PNU) was declared the winner of the Kenyan presidency over the challenger Raila Odinga (a Luo tribe member) of the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party (Gachanga and Walters 2015). Tensions had risen due to widespread accusation of election fraud between different parties. Odinga and the ODM rejected the electoral results and the country fell into postelection violence which killed over 1,200, and leaving around 42,000 houses destroyed (ibid) with displacement numbers ranging from 300,000 (Gachanga and Walters 2015) to 600,000 (BBC News 2008). Of these deaths which cover clashes between candidate supporters, it is estimated that the police are responsible for 405, many of which came because of political demonstrations following the election result (UCDP, 2017).

One lasting imprint of Kenya’s political violence was a substantial decrease in inter-tribal trust amongst those involved in the violence (Baú 2015, 77). The high intensity of sudden violence also instilled fear as well as low confidence in prospects for peace given the possibility that conflict could reignite (ibid). Maynard characterises post-conflict war torn societies as “healthy social patterns between dissimilar groups are replaced by distrust, apprehension, and outrage, impairing community cohesion, interdependence and mutual protection” (Maynard 1997, 207). Maynard (1997) also states that the relational connection is more destructive when positive intergroup ties were once had potential as interpersonal reprisals, fearful factors and the threat of return to violence raise tensions. Individuals perceptions of peace are affected by insecurity, distrust of outgroups which creates aversive behaviours, and greater closeness to one’s ethnic group.

The lasting effect of the conflict affecting many Kenyans included some of either loss of property, livelihood and forced displacement, has led to longstanding anger. Furthermore, the investigations by the International Criminal Court (ICC), were ridden by delays, low cooperation by parties involved and maneuvers to avoid the course of justice (Rothmeyer 2012) and as a
result many Kenyans affected by the violence have carried on life without legal recourse for the political violence.

The participatory photography program\textsuperscript{15}, Lenses of Conflict and Peace took place in Rift Valley was carried out was one of the most affected areas affected by the post-election violence and where various ethnic groups, including large scores of Kikuyu, still live amongst one another (Baú 2015, 77). Even over eight years after the intense period of violence, negative intergroup tensions were still present in the region and throughout Kenya. Therefore, the entry for a participatory photography program was facilitated by media and communications practitioner and researcher Dr. Valentina Baú. One of the inspirations of the program was to help initiate communication, a potential connector of peace, between the conflicting parties to help rebuild trust and understanding to create a more conducive environment to create sustainable peace (Baú 2015, 78).

5.2 Program Duration and Process

The Lenses of Conflict and Peace project lasted two weeks, continuously in Langas, a large slum on the outskirts of Eldoret, which included the logistics, in-project methodological adaptation and the brief evaluation (Baú 2015). The process followed the framework of a photovoice, covering most activities over five days.

First, a diverse group of participants who were part of tribes which were involved in the 2007/8 political violence, including Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo and others joined together for introductions. They were introduced to the premise of participatory photography including basics of photography, operations, technique and ethics, followed by some practice on non-conflict subject matter. Second, participants discussed and created reflections of photos, and then joined a partner selected on tribal affiliation to begin to take photos which represented the post-election violence. A mapping exercise accompanied the photos, to consider the change over time. Third, participants told stories about the photos they had taken reflecting the conflict. While the stories were intense and sad, the group felt united in the common ground

\textsuperscript{15} Modeled after photovoice outline, as per the author. However, for consistency’s sake she referred to it as a participatory photography program only.
that they now shared the pain of past violence that held over time. Fourth, photos reflecting barriers to peace were taken, shared and discussed. Fifth, participants were paired with non-affiliated or allied tribe members to discuss their partner’s perspective on they had felt on the violence and how it still impacted them today. The partners photographed each other to connect to the perspective that was just shared. For instance, one Kikuyu participant was photographed at a building believed to be owned by a member of his tribe, where he recounted unhappiness over stereotypes that Kikuyus were upper-class with elitist attitudes, and also at fault for voting fraud (Baú 2015, 81).

The time of the program was reported as a methodological limitation. The constraints placed stress on the implementation of activities and limited time for follow-up. Based on the technical outline of photovoice the first three steps (training on photography, photo-taking and photo-elicited discussion) were covered and the following discussion will discuss the accomplishment of collaborative social action.

5.3 Achievement of Collaborative Social Action

Under the study’s definition of collaborative social action, no action component was reported. Prior to the implementation phase of the program it was tentatively planned that a public photo exhibition would be held in the slum (Baú 2015, 86). However, the participants collectively determined that this would not be possible after a review of the images and reflection on dialogue that accompanied them, due to the prospective negative reactions that might have come from community as a result (ibid). Some images presented shocking triggers of the past violence experienced by participants, such as destroyed homes, or photos where of known locations where certain tribes were known to be mistreated. As Sutton-Brown (2014) notes, sharing the multitude of experiences is an important output of photovoice, rather than attempting to fortify a single story. The complexity of the violence and tensions that remain suggest that the sensitivities around presenting and discussing such disputed scenes present a greater risk and social cost with potential increase tensions outweighing potential reconciliatory prospects.
Although collaborative social action was not reported, there were signs of listening, building trust, and sharing knowledge. One Luo participant remarked satisfaction in finding a safe space where different formerly warring tribes could interact and that this was a first time since 2007 they had shared any moments with a Kikuyu, which increased awareness of the unequal experiences of different tribes (Baú 2015, 83). Another participant also marked value in learning about other tribes and deconstructing stereotypes (ibid). These are signs of a good first step of awareness, something that might be useful to build on for more transformative action like a public dialogue.

The unexpected presence of photography in the community early in the program also proved that the familiarity with cameras takes time especially given the reactions to sensitive imagery and possible reprisal of traumatizing events. Some photovoice program do not always begin with a specific theme or assignment which allows the participants to self-guide what is important to them. Due to the peacebuilding objective of this program and under short time, the program’s exercise in the beginning to capture images reminding participants of the conflict may have been ill-timed and forced. In describing the result of the program, Baú suggests the use of participatory photography can be applied to post-conflict settings like this study and “can open a path towards dialogue and understanding between (formerly) opposing groups” (Baú 2015, 86).

Such conclusions infer the utility of photovoice in intergroup conflict is more suited to a more reasonable goal of generating dialogue and raising social awareness, an important element of Freire’s concept of praxis, without a solid action component. In short, even 8 years after intense violence the longstanding tensions appeared to still present a hard case in intergroup conflict, given the short time. In such cases, participatory photography may be a useful tool to generate information, re-defining perspectives, and building trust, all outputs which may help plant the seed for more substantial outcomes such as a collaborative social action.
6.0 Guatemala: Chajul PhotoPAR

6.1 Context of the Conflict

For centuries Guatemala has been inundated with war crimes and violations against human rights, hounded by an oppressive colonial past against its indigenous people whereby institutionalized racism and financial exploitations were utilized to suppress and overpower civilians (Lykes 2010, 239). Leading up to the shift of the 21st century, a 36 yearlong state sponsored civil war was waged against Guatemala’s indigenous people targeting mainly Mayan communities, costing nearly 200,000 lives and displacing nearly half a million people over 1960 to 1996 (Lykes et al. 1999, 211–212). Repressive policies, imbalanced financial distribution, as well as the US backed ousting of democratically chosen state figures caused the birth of armed anti-government groups (Lykes 2010, 139).

In the years following the civil war, indigenous communities, consisting of survivors, returnees and government resistance groups, engaged in reparation efforts on both regional and national level to rebuild their lives. The December 1996 peace accord incorporated 13 agreements on indigenous rights, resettlement and protection acts, marked the official end of the Guatemalan civil war (Lykes et al. 1999, 208). Even though the peace processes provided some space for survivors of the war to voice their experiences, the context of impunity and violence kept some silent (ibid). However, social injustices and organized violence continued well into the shift of the 21st century because of violence, poverty and social frictions, requiring new and context specific approaches yet holistic initiatives tackling root causes (Lykes 2010; Nordstrom 1997; Martín-Baró 1994).

Chajul, a small town in the Guatemalan highlands mainly populated by Ixil Mayans and smaller numbers of both K’iche Maya and Ladinos, serves as one example of such communities where locals took means to initiate reparative processes in the aftermath of the civil war (Lykes et al. 1999, 211). In Guatemala, there is still an anthropological debate about the representation of ethnic and interethnic relations within the country and scholars and activists worry about the impact of not understanding how racism affected different people and groups (Lykes 2010, 252). A published report by the Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (Commission for Historical Clarification) underscored how institutionalized racism was a cause
to the high numbers of Maya who were killed and disappeared during Guatemala’s civil war, which the commission categorized as genocide (CEH 1999).

At the time of the case study, there were ongoing interventions incorporating race, socio-economic relations, gender and the fallout of the violence in aiming towards development and transformation (Prince 2004). Participatory and photography action researcher Brinton Lykes proposed participatory photography as an additional program component to the larger strategic response, in order to respond to the needs that could build local capacities and build solidarity in Chajul (Lykes 2010, 239).

6.2 Program Duration and Process

The photovoice and participatory action research project lasted 3 years in Chajul covering an extensive period of varied photography and dialogue components. (Lykes 2010, 238). The exact schedule is not mentioned in the literature on this case, aside from the 3-year timeline and Lykes (2010; 1999) mention of bi-weekly workshops, monthly assignments and exigencies that affected the ability to participate consistently. It is thereby assumed this was possibly a twice-per-week session which included assignments to be completed on the women’s own time.

This project was designed against the photovoice model but with a more comprehensive participatory action research component (referred to as PhotoPAR), including group analyses, oral history, field notes and notes from psychosocial, methodological and analysis training workshops (ibid 252). 20 out of 100 Mayan women from Chajul from a local women’s organization aimed at providing women-centered programs in response to the effects of the Guatemalan war joined the photovoice participatory action research project (Lykes 2010, 240).

It is important to note that group included few women from the K’iche minority a group which held historic antagonisms with the Ixil majority, who were also part of the project (ibid). None of the women had prior experience with a camera, however all had experienced being photographed by Guatemalan photographers before (Lykes et al. 1999, 218). The project goals aimed at systematic listening and talking in a safe space, retaining local or indigenous
knowledge, building critical voices on causes of violence, and develop an action response (Lykes 2010, 240).

Each woman was given a point-and-shoot-camera at the start of the project. The workshops began covering technical training of camera use, role playing ethnics of taking pictures, discussing different photography scenarios and practice with the camera (Lykes 2010, 241). The women would then take 24 photos per month and return with her best images, recount a story which was transcribed in the original photovoice (ibid). A group-elicited discussion of the photos would follow in which the context, people, actions, feelings and explanations were fleshed out (ibid), leading to another set of texts transcribed from the elicitation, which led to the production of a book called “Voices and Images of Maya Ixil Women” (ibid). The pathway of dialogue started from an individual’s photovoice, moving to a group analysis, sometimes much later, to a final photonarrative, a process which may have influenced the group’s ability to achieve social action, explained in the following section.

6.3 Achievement of Collaborative Social Action

A social action output was achieved however it was not collaborative. The publication of a photo book which acted as a public record of the truth-telling and community rebuilding of Mayan women from Chajul entitled “Voices and Images: Maya Ixil Women of Chajul” was produced (Lykes 2010, 238). Presentations were made in the capital by these same women regarding the book and the photos as part of the process (ibid).

The explanation behind the failure to reach collaborative social action lies in its failure to achieve so collaboratively. The photonarratives, which were the product of group-elicited discussions reflected a project trend silenced and omitted of the K’iche minority ethnic groups’ voices substantially (Lykes 2010, 243). For instance, in photos which pictured K’iche women, their ethnicity was not mentioned in group analysis resulting in photonarratives and in another which was a portrait of a K’iche woman identifiable by her dress, the text erroneously reads “This book is the story of Ixil lives” (Lykes 2010, 243). Historical events were affected by others’ subjectivities. An example is shown in the contrast from the individual narrative of one participant Ana Maria who told a story for a caption of a religious site used by Mayan priests
that was partially destroyed by soldiers (Lykes 2010, 244). The group analysis led to a different text about the use of the site for religious beliefs and practices, with a passing mention of violence, which attributed community religious shifts (ibid). The final narrative revealed even more shifts to an already distorted storyline. The text change finally identifies perpetuators of violence as Ladino (mestizo), or those who are not Maya, presents a greater depiction of racism and violence against religious practice, and situates ‘Mayan’ through markers such as language and identity (ibid, 245). From the original photovoice to the final photonarrative, which is represented in the photo’s final accompanying text, only 20% of Ana Maria’s original perspective remains (ibid, 246).

Unfortunately, while on one hand the book raised voices regarding perspectives on violence, culture, religion and livelihoods, it also contributes to denying the significant contributions of K’iche community members, but also their cultural acknowledgement and existence in society. While some images of a few K’iche women were included in the book the accompanying captioning text excluded them from the narrative of the Mayan women. In addition to omitting ethnic diversity, polyvocality also distorted perspectives on religion, history, violence and culture. Although both Ixil and K’iche were devastated by the effects of war, aside from Chajul being much more populated by Ixil than the K’iche minority, there is not reported difference in economic or social status in society, and the only possible causes reported by the author were that ethnicity was naturalized or that it is normal in Chajul for ethnic diversity not to be written in narratives (Lykes 2010, 244).

Attempts to address the disproportionately representative narrative were resisted and Lykes self-critiques the use of PhotoPAR in one light, to address the relational issues between the Ixil and K’iche:

The Ixil and K’iche co-researchers refused to interrogate the ethnic differences represented photographically. Thus the final publication erased all but the most obvious indicators of K’iche presence in Chajul. The absence/erasure/silencing reflects a failure or refusal to problematise, contest of re-present historic diversities and tensions. Moreover it can be read as local resistance to both the internationalist ‘outsider’ researcher and the ‘outsider’ funding agency, each of whom sought to elicit such critical reflections. Finally it suggests PhotoPAR’s failure to develop a social space in which long-standing conflicts could be
positively engaged and/or re-presented and ethnic diversities reconstituted, thus defying one of the transformative goals of the project which sought to instantiate human rights - including a right against discrimination - with the project as well as the wider community (Lykes 2010, 244).

In achieving a louder voice for the Ixil Mayan women, it appears concurrently this was an act of cultural violence; a selective transmission of history and society suppressing tensions and enacting an authority of a majority over a minority group. It is equally unfortunate that this type of violence sometimes occurs in silence, possibly related to deeper societal issues which have not been conclusive in the case analysis.

7.0 USA: Clarkston Photovoice
7.1 Context of the Conflict

The world’s refugee crisis has seen the highest number of forced displacement on record with 65.3 million refugees forced to flee (UNHCR 2015). Migration policies and strategies are under the microscope of world leaders who are challenged to find a balance between the numbers of newcomers and being locally capacitated to welcome them. Considering the social, economic and geographical changes that migration affects, a multidimensional approach to immigration can be well-thought to ease the transition for different stakeholders.

Clarkston, Atlanta is a small town of about 7,000 and also major resettlement hub in the American southeast (US Senate 2010). The local unrest regarding migration stemmed from the failure of resettlement agencies to warn authorities of a sudden massive refugee influx, until after it had begun (ibid). Uncoordinated efforts left heavy burdens on a poorly resourced city without budget to accommodate the new influx. From the resident side, they were unhappy with the resettlement system and response, limited participation in the decision-making process, economic underdevelopment and growing intercultural tensions (US Senate 2010). On the refugee side, they were burdened by issues such as poor urban planning such as inadequate housing and transportation, educational programs failing to engage refugee youth and others (ibid). Amidst tensions between refugees and residents, community leaders and residents
acknowledged that there was coexistence however intergroup ties and relations were weak (Reimers 2016b).

In Clarkston, there was a clear need to better understand the different perspective and local relational dynamics as well as inform a better respond. Therefore a photovoice project was initiated based on community engaged research, group dialogue and participatory photography methodology in order to learn and explain the pulse of intergroup relations amongst newcomer refugees and residents, while seek solutions to better engage them in decision making, and advise strategy of how to respond to such a type of conflict (Reimers 2016b).

7.2 Program Duration and Process

The project duration covered 5 months for a diverse participant group who were four white Americans, three black Americans, two Ethiopians, one second-generation Indian, one Eritrean, one Somali and one Congolese (Reimers 2016b). Sessions were held on a weekly basis highlighted by a uniquely designed assignments explained in this section (Reimers 2015).

The project began with a participatory photography session covering the basics of documentary and other types as well as training on ethnics. On the coming weeks, the participants had four assignments to capture photos representing personal narratives of the of intergroup relations that had positively or negatively affected life in Clarkston as well as visually document with captions, other participants’ experiences (Reimers 2016b). Upon completing each photography assignment, as a collective whole, the group members presented and discussed their images with a focus on the community dynamics they highlighted visually. Each session included a post-session questionnaire, as did the completion of the project, in addition to interviews as part of the evaluator material (ibid).

Of significance, the final assignment paired off partners of different ethnic or national backgrounds to spend two hours together in a chosen setting to share one’s own and listen to their partner’s perspective, both of which were to be visually represented by the participant’s images taken. In the subsequent dialogue session one partner would present each other, and thereafter the respondent and subject of the photo would reply to the presentation’s accuracy
from their end, before completing the process but for the other partner (Reimers 2016b). The results of this may have had an impact on group’s ability to attempt social action, and will be explained in the following section.

7.3 Achievement of Collaborative Social Action

The USA case successfully achieved collaborative social action through the hosting of several joint photo exhibitions during 2014 including the Clarkston Development Foundation (CDF), the Georgia World Refugee Planning Committee’s World Refugee Day Exhibit and the Zuckerman Museum of Art (CDF 2014). At least of one of each of the participant’s images were presented in each case or in a collage format. The researcher and photovoice participants were invited to guest lecture at Emory University on the project so that audiences could learn from and possibly build off the project's work (B. Reimers 2015).

The findings from the final assignment showed cognitive and emotional changes in the participants as well as a better understanding or connection to their partner. For instance a black American town resident remarked surprise of his complete misconception that his Ethiopian group partner’s headscarf was not an Islamic identifying garment, but a cultural item, which in her case she wore just to protect a bad hair day (Reimers 2016b, 110). Another example of the intergroup learning through perspective taking is shared in a caption about Gargaaro, a Somali senior who escaped person violence against her family as presented by Brad, a young white-American artist who liked her to his picture of a bird on a car:

The image to me represents a vulnerable animal sitting on a strong and powerful machine. The bird and its stance represent [Gargaaro], very strong and looking straight ahead towards prosperity. The automobile represents the convoluted process of settling and assimilating in the United States. To me, the willingness to stand alongside the process that is the machine and voice her opinion as a confident humanitarian is inspiring (Reimers 2016b, 110–111).

Other participant findings reported positive results such as shared common grounds, the shift of feeling their partner was foreign to part of their life, a result of compassion caused by others openness and a broader understanding of the communal dynamics (Reimers 2016b).
Overall this activity led to two key developments - causing more careful listening with deeper reflections, as well as pulled the entire group together more closely (ibid).

Though not a collaborative social action itself, the photovoice project was featured in the news regarding the structural bases this project could influence NGOs including regional resettlement authorities requested a project report, demonstrating an interest to possibly learn from or apply this model (Reimers 2015). The project website featuring images has been viewed from all around the world. Several of the participants generated suggestions following the closure of the project including flyers advertising the project, mediation trainings for residents, photographic banners telling current and relevant stories and highlighting community issues, a DVD, a civic engagement website using photos (Reimers 2015). It was not reported if these ideas reported concrete action, however the mention of group-driven suggestions for social action is itself a promising finding.

8.0 Comparative Analysis

In Lenses of Conflict and Peace in Kenya, a low program duration appears to show a relationship to non-achievement of collaborative social action. It seems that there were little to no signs that they close to achieving collaborative social action. While increased awareness was reported, some open-minded attitudes shared, there were no indications by participants to regularly engage with their formerly warring tribe members.

In the Chajul PhotoPAR, a high program duration appears to show no relationship to non-achievement of collaborative social action. There relational issues that remained throughout the project causing erasure and silencing of group voices indicated the group was not close to achieving collaborative social action. While the spaces of the project afforded a chance to present and name traditions and culture, this was done in a highly disproportionate way and the social action benefited only the Ixil majority of the group, a strong example of when contact affects the minority group to a much weaker effect. As this was the most likely case to achieve collaborative social action will especially require more alternate explanations explained below.
In the Clarkston Photovoice initiative, a moderate program duration appears to show a positive relationship towards the achievement of collaborative social action carried out in the form of joint photo exhibitions and other public engagement events which centred around communal dynamics in Clarkston. Several positive results relating to therapeutic benefits, empathy, wider perspectives, new understandings regarding misconceptions and common ground amongst participants showed promise for the powerful relational shifts that occurred in the project.

The findings show a moderate support to the hypothesized positive relationship of program duration on collaborative social action, however the limitations and several alternate explanations that may suggest potential confounders which may have more explanatory power to the hypothesis. While this is a very small sample it is possible that there is a threshold for what is considered a high enough program duration. The using a least likely case with a short duration suffers from less richness of data availability, however some cues infer that collaborative social action was unlikely given the community’s lack of readiness for an initiative that confronted the conflict. Theoretical underpinnings show that contact alone can create change, however the critique of contact theory’s practitioners to fill the gap and find how contact can be most effective. The psychological process of contact theory’s conditions seemed to apply in this study. The combination of cases present some significant contrasting factors which will guide the issues outlined in alternative explanations.

Some of the literature has helped in theorizing the pathway to collaborative social action. Reimers’s Comprehensive Conflict Engagement Model (CCEM) provides a useful linked model that bridges theory and practice to create a base of how participatory photography programs aimed at collaborative social action could reference. It provides usefulness in post-intervention analysis as well which is applies as follows. PhotoVoice Clarkston targets the internal, relational and structural bases of social conflict, and has a significant level of time to reach its goals. Lenses of Peace and Conflict targets the internal and to some extent the

16 Of the psychological process guiding contact theory, initial anxiety reduction and empathy and perspective taking had strong empirical support, however increased knowledge was a weak, yet positive mediator of reducing prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008, 927).
relational but may suffer from an extremely short program duration. PhotoPAR Chajul targets the internal and to some extent the relational base over a very long program duration. In future hypothesizing of such cases this theory could be helpful in looking at structuring programs for success.

The practice of building social capital may explain part of the findings. In Clarkston Photovoice, bridging of social capital between groups with little prior contact circulated new ideas and knowledge especially between refugees and American-born residents. The new association as photography enthusiasts helped lead them to a platform where the images they took helped disseminate awareness of difference in a positive way to the wider Clarkston community. The unique opportunity and success of the one-to-one activities can be more closely tied to bonding by intimate social interaction with close friends and families. In this case success was achieved by achieving a certain level of closeness, familiarity and comfort to attempt this style of activity. In Lenses of Peace and Conflict, participants went from complete avoidance of opposing tribe members to gaining new knowledge and ideas on how the conflict affected their outgroup. PhotoPAR Chajul observed an absence of bridging across the diverse groups of Mayan women. The Ixil majority women who controlled the production of postwar truth telling leading to a cultural dismissal of historical significance of their K’iche participants. Such is a case whereby bonding of a group may have led to an enclosed network, creating negative impacts to those on the outside. Relational tensions were evident but not well discussed as the act of the book creation and production was carried out even though it would only benefit the dominant group.

While contact theory suggests that group inequalities could be problematic and that a solution might be to decategorize between groups, the case of PhotoVoice Clarkston demonstrated that new knowledge and understanding of differences brought groups closer together. Repeated and extended personal contact, especially in the impactful one-on-one partner photo and storytelling exchange activity was a mechanism for creating friendships. Lenses of Peace and Conflict offered minimal opportunity for personal contact due to a shorter duration and less focus on one-to-one contact. Despite a lengthy project duration PhotoPAR Chajul offered little opportunity for intimate friendship potential as most of the photography
activities were conducted alone as well as initial decoding of the photos through storytelling, providing group work only in final stages. The group composition of the project is worth further analysis in line with the assertion by Hewstone and Swart (2011) that contact more weakly affects minority groups as different project design may have addressed this issue. Through looking at these cases through contact theory, duration alone may not have created conditions for closeness and action and success was achieved through a combination of program design which allowed for extended intimate contact over time.

**Alternative Explanations**

Program design factors present a possible effect on collaborative social action. In PhotoVoice Clarkston the application of the CCEM, targeted the internal and relational bases of social conflict given the context-responsive activities, especially the fourth and final activity which fused a partner exchange through extended contact which also shared perspectives and resultant dialogue in an intimate setting. By contrast, the activities of PhotoPAR Chajul advised photo taking but not with close engagement with a partner or their narrative. In this case photos were taken on one’s own time and brought to a group for processing where narrative incompatibilities and a resistance to address the ethnic divisions suggests a communication barrier that was not addressed through the project. In the Clarkston Photovoice, the first three activities which were to photograph positive followed by negative aspects of communal dynamics and finally capturing similar self-defined identities in the community. These three activities are comparatively less outwardly intimate than the fourth and final activity. Reports of the fourth and final perspective-taking and giving exercise produced one-to-one shared knowledge and experiences that also led others to correct stereotypes and find common ground and feel empathy (Reimers 2015). An important condition, initial anxiety reduction was generally overcome given the time that had passed and familiarity over time. This leads to the idea that procedural steps of interventions matter for effective contact. Conversely, the Chajul PhotoPAR activities capturing photos of conflict, were completed in a more impersonal manner, without the same level of intimate exchange between participants.
Employing a research method in conflict-affected environments that is participatory to give ‘voice to the voiceless’ is a theoretical assumption that photovoice employs. While there is benefits to involving conflict-affected individuals and groups as decision-making participants rather than information givers or phot subjects, it is equally important to concern with how the participation will be facilitated. Perspective taking is beyond the visual interpretation, it is the historical, social, cultural and political experience attributed to a snapshot. In the Chajul PhotoPAR project, one’s personal interpretative representation or photovoice of a photo was again reprocessed or edited in re-interpreting in a group function to create photonarrative. Lykes notes that the project’s complexity in looking at looks at the construction of voices and how subjectivities are coalesced (Lykes 2010).

Of interest is the other intermediate outcomes that may lead to collaborative social action. As the most in-depth study, there were several other findings related to awareness of communal dynamics and understanding of diverse perspectives. Although it is challenging to pinpoint to what extent duration has on collaborative social action, the Clarkston Photovoice project shows gradual build up to a more intimate conflict engagement and awareness activity that addresses the internal and social base of conflict, and lead to several strong positive findings such as awareness of communal dynamics, understanding of diverse perspectives, therapeutic impact and others.

In line with photovoice design recommendations of early timed program engagement of influential persons such as policy makers (Wang and Burris 1997) the facilitator is an overlooked figure. The role of the facilitator is seen with a pretext of neutral perspective, however in photovoice this person is accountable to the participants, likely shares interest in the challenge, context and cause and may openly be committed to social change (Wang & Burris 1997, 376). In all three cases the facilitators were community outsiders. Hochbaum et al. (1992) note the possible impact of facilitators even in a well-designed program as stated, “Even the best and most proven theories are no substitute for practitioners’ training, experience, mastery of skills, knowledge, and inventiveness” (309). Regarding the process to social action, Reimers stated that although the group-driven process is a focus of photovoice there were some areas which she lead or initiated as she states: “I had learned over the course of this project that the
particular group I was working with functioned better when I took the lead and made suggestions they could modify rather than originate themselves” (Reimers 2016a, 67). She added that she adopted a buy-in model, where she might present an option, all participants came to a consensus to decide, a choice they seem okay with (ibid). Forcing social action poses an ethical dilemma and real possibility; the inclusion of social change as part of a program cycle may have put pressure on a facilitator to use their influence to drive a social change that was not organically conceptualized by a group-driven process. Furthermore, this is also dangerous if the facilitator feels pressured to manipulate the project to have a more concrete achievement for either participant satisfaction, organizational results, or meeting donor requirements.

Both interventions benefited in Chajul and Clarkston from project financial resources that kept the project running for some time with outside funds. It is unclear if project funds were used to produce outputs such as the exhibition or the photobook. If facilitator availability as an influential person guides program duration, then this may also effect collaborative social action. Lykes has spent over 30 years in Guatemala with extensive research on several participatory action interventions and high engagement with many Mayan women in Chajul and other areas, while Reimers was able to dedicate extensive time to the Clarkston Photovoice project given her PhD dissertation topic was regarding the intervention itself.

In looking at program duration, a related element, dosage was revealed as a possibly influential variable. In the health field, prevention researchers have looked at program intensity or dose required to reach to reach program effectiveness (Nation et al. 2003). This considers quantity and quality of hours with participants in a program, session length and overall number, spacing and overall program length (ibid 452). Some reviews assert that the needs or deficits of the participants may require a higher dosage within their program (Carnahan 1994). Carlson et al. (2017) note that single-session programs can lead to short-term attitudinal and behavioural shifts, however long-term programs produce more sustained, lasting changes in participants. One study shows that two to two-and-a-half-hour weekly group sessions over 10-16 weeks is the most effective program session schedule to achieve sustained

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17 In a systematic review of what makes effective prevention (of 4 areas including substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour, school failure as well as juvenile delinquency and violence).
changes in attitudes and behaviours (Barker et al. 22). The study also showed that time in between sessions was critical to think and reflect on the content but also to observe and apply themes discussed in practical settings (ibid).

The interaction of time after conflict and intensity level of conflict may have factored into social and environmental factors which enable change. Starting a PhotoPAR program immediately after the end of a very violent conflict seemed like an ambitious undertaking. Even with a high extensive program duration the program was still unable to reach a collaborative social action. The culture of impunity and silence over injustices, an attitude created by violence and insecurity may not have left may have explained the lack of resistance over the silencing of voices which occurred. In Kenya and especially in parts of Rift Valley, ethnic tensions remain strong even long after the end of the intense period of violence has ended. It can be argued that although Clarkston’s ability to reach collaborative social action was possible since even though refugee tensions were still active, the case’s conflict intensity factor was the lowest. Images produced under this case did not have the same trauma effect that some of those taken by participants in Kenya and Guatemala.

**Empirical Limitations**

As earlier referenced, the novelty of intergroup conflict-related participatory photography programs and literature was a limitation. More cases to choose from or include could have enriched the study’s findings. There were other possible cases, however agencies were unwilling to release their full project and evaluation details. By contrast, there are several diverse group peacebuilding and participatory photography programs addressing conflict which is however, not between participants in the group. Even being the closest to the case studied here, the level of case compatibility even for reference purposes were low. More detailed data on participants would have allowed for a more enriched causal chain to be measured. For example, the process of increased knowledge and awareness, followed by attitudinal shifts such as a more critical outlook, might then by pre-conditions to the behavioural change that initiates social action.
In all three cases, the literature available were all authored by researchers from credible institutions. In the two cases that achieved some social action, Reimers and Lykes both discuss the possible influence of being an outsider, a demonstrated effect to be aware of one’s possible influence on the direct intervention. Considering the greater amount of time and human resources\textsuperscript{18} devoted to the Clarkston and Chajul cases may explain the deeper detail of the program process and analysis in their respective literature. On the other hand, Lenses of Conflict and Peace was a personal project to the researcher and had a shorter time, with a shorter article documenting the process, albeit with an extensive set of photographic materials from the program. It is generally accepted that when implementing and evaluating photovoice, as a participatory action research tool, inferences are hard to derive from quantitative data, as it was demonstrated in Photovoice Clarkston, that the inability to make use of traditional research methods such as surveys based on lack of interest and understanding. Given that participants are voluntary into participatory photography programs there is a chance that they are likely visual learners and hence the expression and demonstration of shifts and change were much richer through qualitative data and photo representations.

In Kenya, Baú (2015) admitted the challenge of impact evaluation of the program in isolation, raising the possibility the community may have been exposed to peacebuilding programs in between the 8 years after the Kenyan election violence. In Guatemala, the researcher had been working with some of the women before in different aspects of participatory action research which helped pave the way for the PhotoPAR. In Clarkston, a lack of attention towards the communal dynamics issue was noted, so it is less likely there were alternative treatment effects. The occasional inconsistency in evaluation and follow-up has been noted in photovoice, and the challenge is that often the outside facilitator leaves the project upon conducting a post-project evaluation once the project ends. Medium-term outcomes may occur beyond their awareness.

\textsuperscript{18} The Chajul PhotoPAR was a well-funded project by a donor and Clarkston Photovoice was a PhD project by Reimers.
Research Design Limitations

A more elaborate measurement research design was conceptualized but due to the lack of empirics measuring other forms of theorized chain of results such as increased awareness, it became much more difficult. Furthermore, since other studies had marked increased awareness as an action, it seemed useful to build on more ambitious results such as social action to probe into how to account for more effective programs that could reach a higher result.

Ideally a single-case study was identified that would be start and end over the course of the study period. In this case, detailed participant information and individual pre- and post-surveys would allow for several variables to be measured as to why some individuals experience more change than others. However, amongst available photovoice literature, some lacked clear reporting and most that had this did not include research that demonstrated pre- and post-intervention variation with detailed participant information that might be useful such as age, exposure to previous art programs.

9.0 Conclusion

Peace is an art itself. Even if art may not be able to stop an act of violence at its point of execution it can prevent the moment from happening where an individual or group decides to carry out an act of violence. The potential and power of art reaches places that other methods cannot in transforming individuals, groups and even wider society. Although peacebuilding programs sometimes draw on participatory photography this has less so been the case when intergroup tensions or conflict is the scope condition. While moderate success of participatory photography under photovoice models report brief findings such as increased levels of awareness less attention has been given to carefully studying social action, the fourth component of photovoice. This study has looked at what factors produce collaborative social action in participatory photography programs involving intergroup tensions or conflict.

The study shows a moderate relationship between program duration on collaborative social action. The relational base adds more challenge to its achievement; if only social action
(without the collaborative form) were measured there would be strong support for the positive relationship of longer program duration on social action. This is given the achievements met by the middle X-value resultant case, Clarkston Photovoice (photo exhibits) and the high X-value resultant case (photo exhibit and published photobook), as well as lack of social action in the low X-value case, Lenses of Peace and Conflict.

A key understanding to be emphasized of social action and photovoice within the theoretical strength of the Freirean context of praxis is that the use of imagery to project knowledge and awareness upon oneself and others only may lead to social action (Wang and Burris 1997, 373). As photovoice has developed from an innovative research concept to a technically institutionalized method by various organizations, it is important to note the danger of assuming social action as an essential project component or step rather than a desired outcome. Several comprehensive technical manuals on photovoice (Amos et al. 2012; United for Prevention in Passaic County, n.d.; Palibroda et al. 2009) include social action as an required step even suggesting specific actions such as exhibitions, which in itself may be an overly guiding to practitioners. Although including social action in technical manuals is important to guide achievement it should be important to present it as a desired outcome rather than a hard requirement.

A step in the right direction is the admission that much of participatory photography programs especially in conflict-affected situations are largely plagued by anecdotal data lacking rigour. Studies which show variance between defined metrics such as social action can begin to build upon academic theories and more defined theories of change. For this to happen the participatory photography and peacebuilding communities should collaborate more closely with a more results-based focus and share the learning that comes out of each project. With stronger and more widely available evidence based learning about the role of creativity in peacebuilding, policy recommendations henceforth be more justified. Participatory photography may help in deepening and understanding of a conflict, including emotive unpacking, explaining knowledge, attitudes, behavior and exploring intergroup relations that may have reached high levels of hostility.
Empirically, the analysis suggest that program duration has a positive effect on collaborative social action. While factors of design and context may explain this, greater duration allows for the project team and participants more flexibility to adjust to a more responsive model to achieve change if that is the desired outcome. Furthermore, with a longer duration that considers dosage, participants will have time in between sessions to process the knowledge, reflect and apply any practice in their everyday lives, therefore enriching the program experience. The theoretical base provided by the Comprehensive Conflict Engagement Model (CCEM) is a holistic, multidimensional framework which can explain the effectiveness of an analyzed response. Variations of success show that it is possible to use photovoice to address intergroup conflict. For many situations, contact that at the very least increases knowledge may gradually lead to attitudinal or behavioural changes which may protect society. An extensive list of alternative explanations challenges the true relationship of the studied variables in this study, however is useful in future hypothesis building in looking at other variables or variable combinations. Future studies should focus more on specifics of how the relational base is addressed, perhaps the most important target for similar cases. With a rise in similar interventions, the research of the field will subsequently be enriched and participatory photography practice in conflict-affected environments more tailored, focused and effective.
Works Cited


