Power or Benevolence: Towards a New Participatory Photography Approach in the NGO Environment

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Abstract:

In recent years participatory photography projects have been put to use by Non-Government Organisations around the world. Rooted in the emancipatory approach of the Brazilian theorist Paulo Freire (1970) these projects hand cameras to people in marginalised communities and ask them what they see. The participatory project's benevolent aim is to speak to oppressive power relationships, empowering participants to visualize and share their problems from their own perspective. But is all as it seems? In this investigation I draw on my experiences as a participatory photography practitioner to explore how, in the context of contemporary neoliberal globalisation and its influence on NGOs, participatory methods are being pulled away from their emancipatory motive into an increasingly complex political relationship.

The practice-based element of this project takes place in Kigali, where I use Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a methodology to test a fresh approach to participatory photography. My aim is to build from current participatory photography methods and reconnect the process with its Freireian roots. To address the questions of power at play with visual representation in the NGO environment I bring Allan Sekula's counter-political approach to photography (1984) to the educational ideas of Paulo Freire. At the heart of Freire's concept is a process by which through inquiry, humans become more aware of the sources of their oppression. Freire defined this as 'conscientisation' (1970). Allan Sekula developed ideas about the 'traffic in photographs' (1984), the nature of power and representation, and proposed a potential for the reversal of the flow of power-knowledge. I seek to merge and adapt these methods and ideas to the present as a participant-led, live, arts-based political practice.

Contents

Introduction

In this thesis I ask two research questions. Firstly, **what are the political and representational problems with the implementation of participatory photography projects in the NGO environment?** Then, **which approaches can enable less problematic outcomes in how images are produced and consumed?** For this research project I use Participatory Action Research (PAR) as an overarching research methodology. Using PAR I seek to explore and define the limitations with established participatory photography approaches, then reflect on these limitations to design and test a fresh approach.

In recent decades Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) have increasingly incorporated participatory photography projects into their work. In these projects participants are given the equipment and technical training needed to create photographs from their own perspective. By transferring authorship, participatory projects aim to 'empower' participants by giving them a voice that enables them to 'speak out' to the world 'on their own terms' (Fairey 2015, PhotoVoice 2007). Organisations use the photographs produced by participatory projects in many ways, such as communicating their activities, advocating for a cause, or as part of monitoring and evaluation processes. Participatory photography projects are also used to directly benefit participants and their communities - the process of making images itself facilitates a dialogue, the sharing and exhibiting of images enables participants to see and discuss situations from alternative points of view (Bau, 2014). This process is often applied within peace building projects, where participatory photography projects are used as a way of developing relationships within communities that are at risk of conflict.

In the first chapter of this thesis I trace the ideological roots of participatory photography back to the work of the Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire. Freire questions the role of the educator, and the power relationships associated with the top-down nature of traditional educational methods. He puts forward the basis for an approach to 'education as a practice of freedom' (Freire, 1970, 60) creating a set of theories and practices which can be used to develop emancipatory approaches to education. Paulo Freire's books *Pedagogy Of The Oppressed* (1970) and *Education For Critical Consciousness* (1972) have influenced generations of educators. Freire's emancipatory pedagogy is based on learning being activated by a politically engaged two-way dialogue – it is this dialogic process that informs the ideal of the participatory photography process.

Key to Freire's radical emancipatory approach is 'conscientisation', a process through which learners critically reflect on the situation of their everyday life, questioning and intervening in their reality (Friere, 1970, 82). Through a process of discussion and inquiry learners begin to become aware – conscious - of the contradictions in the way they live,

contradictions that may have been previously invisible in daily familiarity (Ledwith, 2016, 22). This process increases their ability to become critically aware of themselves, their community and the wider social environment in which they are situated. It is by engaging in these collaborative processes that participants engage in reflective two-way dialogue. It is the emancipatory power of this dialogue that forms the basis of Freire's ideas, and from which participatory photography projects emerge. The first chapter shows how participatory photography projects adapt and evolve the Freireian dialogic approach, aiming to disrupt the one-way nature of representation, especially in the NGO environment (Fairey, 2015, Wang and Burris, 1997). NGOs aim to enable their beneficiaries to become responsible for representing and therefore empowering themselves, creating visual material that opens a window into their world.

American academics Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris pioneered the use of participatory photography in the NGO environment. Initially they observed the use of Freierian processes in a public health education project in Albuquerque (USA). By engaging with material collaboratively, participants were able to think critically about their community, engaging with a wider political conversation. Wang and Burris adapted these ideas when they developed a project in Yunnan Province China called 'Photovoice' with the Women's Reproductive Health and Development Programme. They were the first to define 'photovoice' as a methodology in their paper '*Photovoice: Concept methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment*' (1997). The context of their application was as a form of needs assessment in a much larger public health project; by taking this visual and collaborative approach they were able to engage the communities they were working with in defining how they themselves should be helped. This methodology has since been adapted and used around the world in countless situations.

The first chapter goes on to identify a set of problems and paradoxes. An array of issues have been unearthed by research into the use of participatory photography in the international development sector, revealing the process to be 'ethically complex, replete with tensions, paradoxes and power struggles' (Fairey, 2015). Participatory photography projects are used as qualitative tools to monitor, evaluate and communicate the strategies and projects implemented by NGOs; however they often fail to address the inherently political nature of the organisations through which they are commissioned. Critics also identify that the methods used to implement projects may often limit the ability for participants to be creative and more critically aware of the world around them (Godden, 2009). As power dynamics in the NGO sector have become increasingly conflicted there has been a drift away from the Freireian objective of emancipation through critical consciousness (Fairy, 2015, 10). I argue that participatory projects often fall short of their aims to empower and emancipate participants, as the promise of inverting traditional power hierarchies is frequently limited by the practical methods used not addressing the wider political context in which the projects take place.

To explore how these limitations have developed I examine the historical context of international development aid, emerging from a colonial legacy, how post-colonialism links to capitalism within a global neo-liberal environment. I critique the inherent paradox in participatory photography between fixed managerial practices, and a promise to find freedom thorough inquiry and expression. I link this critique to the relationship between power and knowledge, drawing primarily on Foucault's text '*The Subject and Power*' (1983). Foucault explores the modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects and the 'power relations' at work. In his essay *Evidence, Truth and Order* (1988) John Tagg applies Foucault's critique of these power structures to photography, identifying that it 'is not the power of the camera but the power of the apparatuses of the local state which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images' (Tagg, 1988, 64). I apply Tagg's theories here to understand and evaluate the problems with the methods used by NGOs when facilitating participatory photography projects. As an appendix to chapter one I include a case study of a project I facilitated in South Sudan in 2013. Examining this application of the method in South Sudan shows my relationship with participatory photography, its appeal to donors, NGOs and practitioners, and establishes a wider context in which the rest of the research is situated.

The second chapter seeks answers to these questions, developing a theoretical framework for the approach I test in Rwanda. I explore the conflicted space that participatory photography projects inhabit, drawing on Allan Sekula's discussion of the duality of photography - its capacity as an instrument of objective truth, put to use in scientific evidence gathering, and its opposing expressive, artistic and subjective counterpart, which we see on the walls of galleries and in the pages of magazines (Sekula, 1984, 78). The participatory photography project used by the NGO operates in a space between these opposing modes. The projects create what Sekula calls 'instrumental images', images that are put to use for a purpose beyond their leisurely contemplation. These images gather information to be indexed and analysed, ultimately directing the resources of the NGO to design follow-up projects to assess impact. In other cases the image making process itself is instrumentalised, put to use as a process to aid social cohesion and understanding, or from a more cynical perspective to exert political control over participants. In his essay 'The Traffic In Photographs' Sekula creates a discourse that navigates the interstitial space between the positivist scientism and romantic metaphysics in photography. I will draw on this discourse when developing an approach to participatory photography, an approach that attempts to reflect back the flow of power-knowledge, fulfilling the original Freirean emancipatory vision of the participatory process.

In examining the functions of the photograph in relation to national identity Sekula develops an inverse use for the instrumental image, proposing that it can be used against forms of state and corporate power (Keenan, 2014, 72). Sekula examines how the forensic

anthropologist Clyde Snow used forensic techniques to investigate war crimes in the Kurdish regions of northern Iraq for the NGO Human Rights Watch. Typically forensics is used by states as a tool to enforce the law, and their power. In northern Iraq Snow was using these forensic tools to exhume bodies and prove they were victims of state directed violence. Sekula observed how this meant these tools were being used to hold power to account, coining the process 'counter-forensics'. In counter-forensics the structure of a forensic investigation is used by citizens and reflected back at the states and organisations that typically employ them. Through this process 'forensic methods have also become tools of opposition' (Sekula, 1993, 55). This process, with Sekula's analysis, has the capacity to be of use well beyond the investigation of crimes and the presentation of material evidence. As Thomas Keenan explains in his essay on the subject: 'Forensics is not simply about science in the service of the law or the police but is, much more broadly, about objects as they become evidence, things submitted for interpretation in an effort to persuade' (Keenan, 2014, 55). I propose that by looking beyond the capacity of these theories to investigate a crime, or even objects, they can provide a theoretical framework with the capacity to reverse the flow of power-knowledge in participatory image production and consumption.

The third chapter focuses on the practical element of the project, for which I facilitate a participatory photography project at the Kigali Genocide Memorial in Rwanda called 'The Visionaries of Kigali' (shortened to VOKGL by the participants). The project is designed to address some of the political and representational problems with the participatory photography method in the NGO environment. To address these issues of power I have developed an approach which aims to reconnect participatory photography with Freire's notion of conscientisation, reflecting on my experience and applying a synthesis of critical and practical approaches. Specifically, VOKGL attempts to develop a practical apparatus that can be led by the participants, inverting established power hierarchies and addressing the power relationships in participatory photography projects in the NGO environment. Through this process participants take control of the systems that authorise and facilitate image production and consumption. The project culminates with an exhibition at the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre as part of the Ubumuntu arts festival[1].

Included with this thesis are links to two videos that document the VOKGL participatory process in Rwanda. In video A we see the participants discussing the objectives of the project, what they would like to document and why, as well as the qualities they believe the images should be judged against. We then see them out in their communities creating their images. In video B we see the images being discussed and evaluated by the participants against the objectives they agreed on at the start of the project. Through this verbalisation the aim is for

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[1] The Ubumuntu arts festival is hosted every year to commemorate the end of the 150 days of the Rwandan genocide. Images of the exhibition are in the appendix.

us to see the images activated beyond purely visual representations. The images are vocalised, presented and defended; this combination of dialogue and image together makes visible the political apparatuses that surround their creation, hopefully creating new perspectives for those looking at participatory images.

(Video A):   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=__CVPlFR2_Y
(Video B):   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWb_bLAZFQw

I am acutely aware that there are many voices speaking about issues that affect 'developing countries', 'the global south' or 'the Orient.' The majority of these voices speak from 'developed countries', 'the global North' or 'the West'. In his influential 1978 book 'Orientalism' Edward Said unpicks the historical power relationships at work when scholars from the West turn their attention to the developing world:

> 'It is true that no production of knowledge in the human sciences
> can ever ignore or disclaim its author's involvement as a human
> subject in his own circumstances (…) that he comes up against
> the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual
> second. (…) that one belongs to a power with definite interests
> in the Orient, and more important, that one belongs to a part of
> the earth with a definite history of involvement in the Orient
> almost since the time of Homer.' (Said, 1978, 11)

My research cannot ignore the fact that as a British citizen I belong to one of the largest former colonial powers, and that Britain still continues to exert significant political power over the areas where my research is situated. Rather than ignore this fact I intend to address this power relationship as a central element of my research, and directly engage with the discourse that is generated from it.

In the global North the country of Rwanda is synonymous with evocations of conflict and genocide. In his book 'Visual Peace Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence' theorist Frank Möller notes that 'today the (Rwandan) genocide is arguably more present in the West than ever before' (Möller, 2013, 82). This is in large part due to the numerous fictional depictions of the Rwandan genocide in film and on television, such as the Hollywood film 'Hotel Rwanda' (2004), and most recently the BBC TV drama 'Black Earth Rising' (2018). The memory of the lack of action taken by the West to intervene in the Rwandan genocide does not seem to be going away. This is demonstrated by former US president Bill Clinton having repeatedly said that 'not intervening in Rwanda is his greatest regret' (ABC, 2013). Media and the Rwandan genocide are inextricably linked, both by the use of local broadcast radio to proliferate hate speech and motivate violence, the lack of images and international media attention to the genocide when it took place and the proliferation of retrospective fictional accounts. Möller adds: 'the construction in the West of memories of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda is indicative of the curious workings of memory: people can collectively remember an

event that they had decided to ignore when it took place' (Möller, 2013, 83). It is not my intention to contribute to the debate around the representation of the Rwandan genocide; this is an area which is beyond the scope of this research. This research is limited to how participatory photography projects function in the NGO environment. If you wish to read further about media and the Rwandan Genocide I would recommend Piotr Cieplaks book 'Death Image Memory, The Genocide in Rwanda and its aftermath in Photography and Documentary Film' (2017) and also Frank Möller's book Visual Peace Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence' (2013).

Although Rwanda is often defined as a post conflict environment the truth is that in day to day life it is currently a very safe place to be. This is a key reason why I decided to situate this research there. I also lived in Rwanda from 2006-09 and have worked there intermittently ever since; thanks to this connection I have an established network and understanding of the political and NGO environment. All the participants involved in this research were born after 1994, so were not directly involved in the genocide, although there are no lives in Rwanda that are not affected by it in some way. This research was kindly supported by The Aegis Trust (www.aegistrust.org), which has been working in Rwanda since establishing the Kigali Genocide Memorial in 2004. The participants were selected from the peace education programme The Aegis Trust started at the memorial in 2008. The relationship of this research to the peace education programme is purely functional; I needed an NGO to work with in order to test the practical elements of the research. The Aegis Trust were very supportive and allowed me to situate the project within their existing programme. For more information about their peace education programme please see the appendix. This research does not seek to explore participatory photography projects specifically in a peacebuilding capacity. For this I recommend reading work by Valentina Baú who has researched the peace building capacity of participatory photography and published in journals such as 'The Journal of Peacebuilding and Development' (2015).

Methodology

This research project came about as a personal response to challenges I face in my practice as a documentary photographer working in an international development context. Documentary photography is a conflicted discipline; the challenges of balanced and meaningful representation in photography are as old as the medium itself (Tagg J, 1988; Strauss D,L, 2003; Azoulay A, 2013). These challenges are amplified when working with vulnerable communities who have been historically disempowered by entrenched global power relationships. Over my career I have found my position as a photographer working for development agencies funded by western governments and donors troubling. My initial discovery of participatory approaches to photography had a significant impact on me; the promise of collaboration and horizontal power structures seemed to resolve many of the issues I was struggling with as a documentary photographer. I went on to facilitate projects in many other contexts for a range of clients, including the South Sudan case study in the appendix. However, as I became more experienced as a participatory facilitator, I began to see a new set of limitations and challenges emerge in these approaches. The opportunity to conduct this research has enabled me to explore these problems in detail, and develop approaches that attempt to address them. In many ways the path of lived experience that has led me to this research embodies the Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology, which 'is context bound and addresses real life problems' (Kindon et al, 2007, 14). My career as a professional photographer and participatory facilitator follows periods of action and reflection, in which I am deeply and emotionally invested. This tallies with definitions of PAR researchers as:

- Hybrids of scholar/activist
- Able to be flexible and accommodate chaos, uncertainty and messiness; able to tolerate paradoxes and puzzles and sense their beauty and humor
- Attracted to complex, multi-dimensional, intractable, dynamic problems that can only be partially addressed and partiality resolved.
- Engaged in embodied and emotional intellectual practice.

(Source: Kindon et al, 2006, 14. Cited from: Brydon-Miller et al, 2003; Fisher and Ball 2003; Greenwood and Levin 1998; McTaggart 1997; Park et al 1993; Reason and Bradbury 2006).

What is PAR?

In this research project I engage directly with my personal lived experience and that of the collaborators and other stakeholders. This approach will not create a set of formal positivist outputs, but a reflective account of how these methods and approaches to participatory photography impact the communities within which they operate. To achieve this objective I use PAR as an over-arching research methodology. PAR indicates a range of established methods for researchers who seek to work collaboratively with participants, and aim to actively benefit the communities involved (Kindon et al, 2006, Wadsworth 1998, Reason

and Bradbury 2006). PAR represents a 'counter hegemonic approach to knowledge production' (Kindon et al, 2007, 9) and is suited to working with marginalised groups identifying and challenging entrenched forms of geopolitical power such as in this project. The PAR process is built on the desire for a move away from the tradition of hierarchical, imperial knowledge production, held within policy making and academic institutions, and towards a model of shared knowledge production that 'treats participants as competent and reflexive agents' (Kindon et al, 2007, 14). This approach challenges the power embedded in the relationship between the 'researched' and the researcher' with emancipation and transformation at its heart (McTaggart, 1997, 1). This inherent purpose to challenge dominant power structures and hierarchical approaches to knowledge production aligns PAR with this research. The PAR methodology is a tool to use in questioning dominant forms of power, while engaging with the people who have been subject to a regime that affords these formations. These core motivations and applications make PAR an ideal methodology to investigate the research questions at the centre of this study.

The Action Reflection Cycle

The PAR process follows an iterative cycle of action and reflection, (Fisher and Ball 2003; Kindon et al 2006). In this process participants and researchers collaboratively research issues or situations, initiate action and then reflect upon this action in cycles of research/action/reflection (Kindon et al 2006, 13). This process is rooted in the political educational theories of Paulo Freire, who in the 1970s developed community-based approaches to learning and knowledge production in which learners identify the roots of their oppression through a process called conscientisation. Freire used this heightened awareness, in an action reflection cycle he called praxis, as a catalyst for empowerment and political action (Freire 1970, p.60). In PAR this cycle of action and reflection builds a dialogic engagement with the participants, who are engaged as co-researchers, orienting the research towards their experience, increasing the capacity for political empowerment and transformation (Kindon et al 2006; Fals-Borda 2006). This engagement with the political potential of participatory methods has been framed as an antidote for the increasing trend for them to be used in technocratic ways, which often further entrench the geographical power relationships they seek to challenge (Kapoor 2005).

This research study is comprised of phases of action and reflection. Each phase engages with a particular set of practical and theoretical challenges. These phases are intended to be iterative, building on from one another to produce new insight into participatory photography approaches. Participants are engaged in each phase to varying degrees, as each requires an original strategy of engagement. This follows the reflexive and dynamic spirit of PAR research, which rejects scientific positivism in favour of methods that can adapt and respond to the individuality of specific contexts, and in which success is a measure not only of the data measured but also the skills, knowledge and capacity of the participants which are

developed through the research experience (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995; Kesby et al 2005; Maguire, P 1987).

Limitations and established criticism of PAR

Many voices speak of the limitations and missuses of participatory methods in academic research, education and international development interventions. Consequently a significant objective of this research project is to unpick and understand these limitations in a participatory photography context. In their book 'Participation: The New Tyranny?' (2001) Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari discuss and analyse participatory processes and the subsequent criticisms that have emerged as the practice has expanded. They describe how participatory methods are usually deployed with positive intentions but they are often accused of being manipulative and even doing harm to those who were promised empowerment (Cook & Kothari 2001, 1). They go on to identify that most of the criticism laid at the feet of participatory approaches concerns methodology and technique, which can easily be accepted, reflected upon and worked around. For subsequent iterations of projects, they argue that the concerns around the promise of participation are more fundamental, subject to a wider political discourse about the nature of knowledge production and development (Cook & Kothari 2001, 7). It is these entrenched power relationships that I seek to investigate with this project; by engaging with critiques of participatory methods I seek to be open to their limitations, and address these as a reflexive process within the research project itself.

There are counter arguments to the critiques of destructive power relationships in participatory methods. Sarah Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesby argue that to see power and domination as the same thing presents and over-simplified view of participatory power relationships (Kindon et al 2007, 21). Drawing on John Allens' concepts of the modality of power (Allen, 2003, 28) they argue that there are multiple, overlapping layered forms of power engaged in the participatory process, that power is continually negotiated within it. In 'Participation: the new tyranny?' Uma Kothari also acknowledges this complicated layering of power by drawing on Foucault: 'Power must be analysed as something which circulates…It is never localised here, or there. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation' (Foucault, 1980, 98. In Kothari, 2001, 141)). Kindon, Pain and Kesby (2007, 22) propose an engagement with these entangled and overlapping power relationships as part of the PAR process, enabling researchers to engage with instances of the negative effects of power and bring them into the research, allowing this critique to strengthen their practice. It is exactly these multi-layered complex power relationships that I have explored through this research, allowing participatory methods to look reflexively within themselves.

The structure of the project

The multiple phases of action and reflection in this study are outlined below, in which key phases of the project engage with the research questions. I separate this out into two

tables, one that defines the cycles of action and reflection that took place before the project itself commenced, and those that directly form part of this investigation. Initially, common limitations and challenges with participatory photography projects are explored (chapter 1), this critique is then used to develop a modified theoretical approach (chapter 2). The project culminates in the collaborative testing and evaluation of these approaches in a practical project with young people at the Kigali genocide memorial in Rwanda (chapter 3).

Before the project

Phase	Activities
Action	Professional practice as documentary photographer working in development context.
Reflection	Identify power imbalances and limitations of traditional photographic approaches in development contexts.
Action	Professional practice as a participatory photography facilitator.
Reflection	Identify power imbalances and limitations in participatory approaches to photography in development contexts. Identify research area

During the project

Phase	Activities
Action	Discuss research area with stakeholders (Insight share, Aegis trust). Discuss research area with academics at UoL. Enrol on Ma by Research, agree on timeframe for research Present initial reflective paper at IRPA conference Sierra Leone 2016 Engage with stakeholders to define agenda.
Reflection	Research design Define research questions Consider ethics Methodology
Action	Identify group to work with. Apply for funding from partner Aegis Trust.
Reflection	Written post-structuralist critique of current participatory approaches. RQ1. **(Chapter 1)**
Action	Analyse critique from chapter 1, develop an approach to participatory photography that incorporates what has been learnt. **(Chapter 2)**
Reflection	Continue research design, consider how project can operate at Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre (KGMC). Gain ethics clearance.
Action	Start VOKGL project in Rwanda, meet participants, run training sessions. **(Chapter 3)**
Reflection	Forum 1, participants discuss and agree upon subject area and image qualities. **(Chapter 3)**
Action	Participants collect images in their communities

Reflection	Forum 2, images are discussed, successful images are chosen for exhibition. **(Chapter 3)**
Action	Exhibition at KGMC
Reflection	Evaluate VOKGL project. Interviews with participants, discussion at closing event/lunch. Video documentation. Written evaluation (**Conclusion**)

Evaluation methods

Critical reflection is fundamental to the PAR process; in PAR cycles of action and reflection enable those involved to learn from and engage with the project as it develops. Without effective reflection and analysis this particular project would not be able to function, let alone claim to be a process of knowledge production. PAR is founded upon an 'epistemology that assumes knowledge is rooted in social relations and most powerful when produced collaboratively through action' (Fine et al 2003, 173). With this in mind it is important that participation runs throughout this project, including in how it is evaluated, - to simply involve participants in the image production phase would turn this into a project about 12 young people in Rwanda, rather than a project made with 12 young co-researchers. However, it is not possible for the participants to be involved in all elements of the research, as different parts of the project require differing approaches, some involving coproduction, and some which are more solitary. PAR embraces that knowledge production is a contested and troubled process, 'it assumes that there is no one singular and universal truth, and instead emphasises the power of intersectional analysis that takes difference into account' (Cahill 2007, 181). This multi-layered approach leans away from traditional quantitative modes of analysis that are concerned with producing clear positivist results, towards qualitative outputs that accept there are multiple ways in which outcomes can be read. For this study I have embraced this multi-layered approach and integrated a range of evaluation methods throughout the project, some of which take the shape of more traditional summative academic analysis, others are more informal, such as verbal discussions with participants as the project develops. Below I list and introduce the various forms of analysis integrated within the project.

- Written critique of the power relationships within participatory methods.

  Post-structuralist critiques have been established by amongst others Cooke and Kothari (2001) as a method for grappling with the complex multi-layered power relations at play in PAR. In chapter 1 I use post-structuralist modes of enquiry to explore the origins, applications, limitations and flow of power within participatory photography. In chapter 2 I draw on a combination of these critical approaches to describe a fresh approach built from current participatory practices. In chapter 3 and the conclusion I return to these modes of inquiry to analyse the discourse that takes place in the pilot project, and the efficacy of the approach.

- Forums.

The design of the project incorporates two participant-led forums, during these forums the objectives of the project were established, later on the images were discussed and images elected for the exhibition. These forums provide the main space in which participants can engage with each other and discuss the power relationships they are subject to, this space is crucial for the PAR method to achieve its aim of enabling participants to transform their own social reality (Jason et al 2004, 32). These spaces link back to the 'Culture Circles' described by Paulo Freire which are key to participants discovering the roots of their oppression through critical dialogue (Freire 1970). The forums themselves are a form of evaluation, enabling the participants to discuss the various practical and theoretical challenges of participatory photography.

- Video of forums in Rwanda .

The forums that took place in Kigali were documented with video and sound equipment; the documentation enabled the discourse to be analysed in chapter 3. Studying the conversations in these videos enabled me to retrospectively discover subtle insights about the political power relationships between the participants, NGO and facilitators. Combining the video with the fieldnotes enabled me to piece together what had happened, and understand the importance of certain moments within the project, bringing these to the attention of the reader. Such as Group D's documentation of Rwandan values and taboos (Vid B, 39:36) explored in chapter 3, p65. Through these visual methods the process of garnering meaning through visual translation and mediation can be extended to the reader (Tolia-Kelly 2007, 134).

- Exhibition

As one of the few fixed elements of the project the public exhibition formed a natural goal for the participants when setting their objectives. The exhibition took place during the annual Ubumuntu arts festival which commemorates the end of the 100 days of genocide. There were many visitors, including people from the local community, members of the participants families and the subjects in the images. There is significant precedent for visual methods to be used as part of the PAR process and social engaged research more widely (Pink 2013, Creswell 2014). Visual processes are able to work across multiple disciplines 'developing a richer relationship with view, politics and experiences beyond the restraint of written and oral practices' (Tolia-Kelly 2007, 132). Bringing these images into to a public space for discussion enables these participatory visual vocabularies to 'broaden the terms of engagement' and 'act as a communicative and educative tool for both the researcher and the participants' (Tolia-Kelly 2007, 134). The images the participants produced and presented in the exhibition are also included in this document.

- Research diary

I kept a daily research diary, principally to keep track of the practical progression of the project. The project had a certain amount of flexibility built in, this enabled me to respond and adapt to the participants, especially during the initial workshops. Before

I met the participants, I did not want to assume levels of technical ability, language skills or the direction they wished to take the project. With all these variables the project produced a rich set of outcomes, which were too dense to analyse entirely. This record of the project enabled me to be selective and 'winnow' the data, focusing in on some of the data produced, (Creswell 2014, 195) this process was essential to the reflection and critical discourse in Chapter 3, and the conclusion of the project.

- Questionnaires.

  As the project is situated within a larger peacebuilding project (the Rwanda Peace Education Programme) I was required to provide empirical data which evaluated the efficacy of the project to the commissioning NGO (The Aegis Trust). For this I created entry and exit questionnaires to compare the participants views on a range of questions before and after the project had taken place. These employed a mixture of questions, some of which had been previously used by external monitoring and evaluation consultants, along with new questions about the participants relationship with art and creative practice. Care was taken to acknowledge and limit acquiescence response bias, leading question bias and reduce 'click- through' responses. To achieve this a mixture of question styles was used, including the Linkert scale (Boone 2012, 1) with item-specific questions and item-specific response options. This empirical method had the potential to weaken the research project, as I intended to test methods that address the conflict between managerialism and participatory arts practices in the development sector. Because of these potential issues I chose not to draw on the data produced by these questionnaires in this research. This was partly due to the quantity of evaluative material produced by the recording of the forums, research diary and participants photographs. There was a range and depth of data which allowed me to select the richest and most verifiable sources for inclusion. Data from the entry and exit questionnaires is included in the appendix.

Detail of approach

For the first research question: 'what are the political and representational problems with the implementation of participatory photography projects in the NGO environment?' I use a poststructuralist perspective for a written critique of the power relationships involved. Cultural theorist Catherine Belsey establishes that 'Poststructuralism names a theory, or a group of theories, concerning the relationship between human beings, the world, and the practice of making and reproducing meanings' (Belsey 2002, 5). Exploring this practice of 'making and reproducing meanings' triggers a philosophical shift from looking for absolute meaning in the author's intention, onto multiple languages and points of view with which the work can be read. The French linguist Saussure argues that we do not simply understand an object for what it is, but that the complex meanings and knowledge behind the language we use to signify it shapes our perception of the object itself (Belsey 2002, 12). For academic research this throws into doubt that any method, theory or tradition has a universal claim to a

privileged form of knowledge production (Richardson 1993, 517). Kesby, Kindon and Pain (2007, 25) explore the benefits of using post-structuralist perspectives within PAR, as a tool for analysing it as a form of governance and the complex mesh of socio-spatially related consciousness, agency and behaviour.

The first chapter uses these post-structuralist perspectives to examine the history of international development aid, beginning with colonialism and the shift to post-colonialism, linking this to neoliberalism and neoliberal globalisation in the NGO sector. To define these historical power relationships, I draw on a range of cultural and political theorists. Foucault (1983) provides a set of critical tools with which to examine power and governance, Thomas Lemke (2002) brings these tools to critique international development, postcolonialism and neoliberalism. Jon Tagg (1988) applies the theories of Foucault to debates around the nature of power and representation in photography, this helps to provide a foundation for power relationships involved in participatory processes put to use by NGOs. I introduce Christopher Chase-Dunn and Barry Gills (2005) as they further this enquiry with their case for neoliberal globalization as a form of 'new-imperialism'. Bill Cooke and Sadhiv Dar (2008) critique the levels of managerialism required for NGOs to operate in the current neoliberal global environment; I explore how they define the managerial approaches that require fixed objectives which are fundamentally at odds with the dialogic and reflexive emancipatory theories on which participatory photography is based.

In the second chapter I explore the work of Paulo Freire, Allan Sekula, and Thomas Keenan to develop a critical and practical method that builds from current participatory photography approaches. In the essay 'Photography and the limits of national identity' (1993) Allan Sekula builds from his work in exploring how 'instrumental-images' have been put to use by those in power to define, control and destroy groups of people. He goes on to outline an approach called 'counter-forensics' that uses photography and other forensic techniques to challenge dominant political and corporate power. Before digging into this approach I briefly visit two essays that define his core concepts: 'The instrumental image: Steichen at war' (1984) and The traffic in photographs' (1983). Studying these texts enables me to see in a different way the ebb and flow of power in participatory photography projects, and seek to reconnect the process with Freire's original aims of collective action and social change through developing a shared political consciousness (Freire 1970, 15, Ledwith 2016, 47). Through this synthesis of approaches, the information the photographs contain is indexed and analysed, using critical dialogue to direct knowledge-power against dominant forms of political and corporate power.

The third chapter focuses on the fieldwork element of the project, for which I facilitate a participatory photography project at the Kigali Genocide Memorial in Rwanda. The VOKGL project was sponsored by the Aegis Trust, and was integrated into the Kigali Genocide

Memorial Centre's (KGMC) existing peace education programme. The intention was for this iteration of the participatory photography method to test the theories that I have developed in chapter 2 as a response to the limitations explored in chapter 1. There is an established precedent for the use of photography in PAR research, (Wang and Burris 1997, Tolia-Kelly 2016, Krieg and Roberts 2007) in which photography and dialogue are used as tools to engage participants as active agents in knowledge production. This research project seeks to examine the limitations of participatory photography projects when put to use in international development contexts, using the pilot project itself as a method to test its efficacy is a clear choice, the depth and range of qualitative evaluation material produced by the project was substantial. The application of a secondary research method to analyse the project would simply muddy the waters further. The appendix contains documentation that supported the project on the ground, such as ethics documents, consent forms and supporting documents from the Aegis Trust.

Challenges faced during the project

During the fieldwork practical and theoretical elements of the project had to change and adapt. Some of these changes were part of the PAR methodology design, others were more practical, but nonetheless they had an impact on the project's ability to act as a catalyst for social change and subsequently feed insight about the methods used back into the project for evaluation. A certain amount of this was expected and encouraged, following the PAR action-reflection cycle the fieldwork was designed to test methods that I had developed in response to the limitations identified in chapter 1. The full evaluation of the project and its findings is written in the third chapter and conclusion, where the dialogue that is at the core of the participatory photography process (Wang 1999) is analysed and evaluated. In this section I outline some of the challenges faced within the methodology design, and how these were re-considered during and after the fieldwork.

Early on the participants intervened to challenge the structure of the project, this positive moment is explored in more detail in the third chapter. During the objectives setting phase I was approached by a group of the participants while on a break, I had originally planned for the participants to choose a single subject area for the whole project, they made it clear they did not want to choose a single area. They saw that all the subjects they had been discussing came under the umbrella of 'Rwandan Culture' and proposed that this should be the theme of the project with individual groups covering a specific subject within it. This was formally put to the group by Bertrand, the chair, and was voted on as the best course of action (Vid A, 28:28). This shows that the structure of presenting themes and voting was probably too rigid, a more verbal - reflexive process emerged. I felt the atmosphere change at this point, this was different from my experience in facilitating other projects. When participants gained this influence over the outcomes, they became more interested in the project overall.

Two resources had arguably the most significant impact on the project: available funding and time. I am not the first participatory photography facilitator to come up against these particular challenges, participatory photography is a resource heavy process (Krieg and Roberts, 2007, 157). The budget for the project needed to cover a broad range of practical components, some of these are general to the community focused nature of PAR, others are specific to using photography within it. I will hold back from giving a detailed breakdown of the practical needs of the project, but these do include essentials such as space/venue, equipment, travel and accommodation for the facilitators as well as money to cover the participants' costs, such as catering and local travel to the KGMC. Because of this each day of workshops carried a significant cost, which had the effect of limiting the flexibility of the project if anything were required to change.

After the selection of the final images it became clear that the participants should have been further included in the curation of the exhibition, although this did happen to a limited extent, as a curator was selected from the participants to help design the layout. In practice this could have formed the basis for another layer of action/reflection. Tolia-Kelly (2007, 136) explores how the production of exhibitions can function as an effective space to stimulate and support the dialogue at the heart of the PAR methodology. If resources had been available I would have extended the number of workshops to integrate the image selection and exhibition curation together as a creative practice. Ultimately, I fear that by removing the last part of the project from the control of the participant group I risked disempowering them from the process as a whole. As a facilitator I have learned the potential impact of logistical project design on the process as a whole, these challenges are not separate from the theoretical limitations I explore in depth in the first chapter.

This was a personal journey, PAR enabled me to embrace the human aspect of the project, and not be fearful of non-binary evidence and complex outcomes. Participatory photography has been established as a method to disrupt dominant power structures, and take part in the discursive production of knowledge (Alam, A 2017, 256) the VOKGL project was designed to explore this process and some of its limitations. Overall, I feel the use of PAR as a research methodology was a success, being able to draw upon a well-established and thoroughly tested set of methods provided a framework in which to situate this complicated project. Practical and theoretical challenges arose during the project, to which parts of the research methodology had to adapt. This contributed to the process of reflection and learning, blending with the iterative action and reflection cycle of PAR, which I look forward to continuing in the future. In the following chapter I begin this process by exploring the origins and applications of participatory photography. Examining the roots of the participatory process in the emancipatory pedagogy of Paulo Freire interlocks with PAR and the origins of participatory photography forming a starting point from which to reflect and take action.

Chapter 1.

Participatory photography in the NGO environment: origins and applications

This chapter explores and defines what participatory photography projects are, and what they hope to achieve. It traces the ideological and political roots of the method from the writing of Paulo Freire, and how this was put to use by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann-Burris (1997). From Wang and Burris's initial application in public health projects a range of applications have emerged. I group these into three areas: advocacy, therapeutic and evaluative. I refer to a project I facilitated in South Sudan in 2013; in the appendix is a case study that explains how these projects are put to use and their appeal to donors, NGOs and practitioners. Examining this application of the method in South Sudan shows my relationship with participatory photography, and establishes a wider context in which the rest of the research is situated. The second part of the chapter critiques the power relationships that are inherent in the work of NGOs and participatory photography projects. It explores the historical context of international development aid and its link to a colonial legacy, moving to post-colonialism and the current global neo-liberal, managerialised landscape of the NGO environment. I finish with an exploration of the relationship between power and knowledge, drawing primarily on Foucault's text 'The Subject and Power' (1983). Foucault explores the modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects and the 'power relations' at work. John Tagg (1988) applies Foucault's critique of these power structures to the photographic medium, writing on the systems that authenticate the power of photography. In this thesis I apply Tagg's theories to understand and evaluate the power relationships involved with image production in the NGO environment.

1.1 What is participatory photography?

The participatory media project has become a staple of the NGO toolkit, used around the globe as a way of engaging communities in a process of creating visual material. As a practitioner I have experience working in Africa and Asia facilitating participatory photography projects. Although there is no 'single straightforward definition of participatory photography', a standard process has in fact been established. (Fairey, 2015, 11) This process typically starts with an NGO identifying a set of objectives, selecting participants from a host community, training these participants in photography and visual storytelling techniques and then enabling the participants to use the power of the camera as a catalyst for social change. (Fairey, 2015, 11) (Wang and Burris, 1997, 369)

Fig, 1. © Tom Martin 2013. Josna Biswas, Participatory Photography Project Participant, Bangladesh.

Since the mid 1990s there has been a dramatic increase in the number of NGO participatory projects being run in a variety of locations, with the range of applications multiplying as quickly as the projects themselves. Its roots as a methodology can be traced to assessing the needs of communities in a public health context (Wang, 1997, 185). The methodology has since been applied to countless other uses, however by drawing on my own experiences, and reading the work of Tiffany Fairey, PhotoVoice publications and the writing of the visual ethnographer Sarah Pink I have identified three main areas in which the participatory photography project is applied in the NGO environment:

- As an advocacy tool – enabling marginalized communities to identify and communicate issues that affect them, with the potential for the images to influence policymakers.
- As a therapeutic tool – the process of creating and sharing images directly benefiting participants and the community they are part of.
- As an evaluation tool – participatory projects are used to diagnose problems and gather qualitative data on marginalised communities. Often employed to evaluate the efficacy of an NGO's existing project, this is called Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) in an NGO context.

There is no single agreed practical method for the participatory photography in the NGO environment. However, the method below was first outlined by participatory photography pioneer Caroline Wang in her 1999 paper 'Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health'. It explains in general terms how the process typically unfolds:

1. *The NGO identifies a target audience.* This could be local community leaders, international policy makers or the donors who fund the NGO. Typically this audience holds the power to make decisions that can improve the situation for the participants. In some cases, the target audience may be the participants themselves; this is especially true when used as a community peace building tool.

2. *A group of participants is selected.* This is usually done by the NGO or a partner organization. Care is usually taken to ensure the selection reflects the demographic of the community.

3. *Introduce the structure of participatory project to the participants.* The NGO setting up the project typically contracts an external facilitator to run the project and deliver the training sessions. This could be a professional photographer or a person who facilitates participatory projects professionally. In this first session the overall concept of participatory photography is explained. This is also an opportunity to discuss and minimise potential risks, such as negotiating consent to take images of others.

4. *Discuss and obtain informed consent from participants.* The very nature of the participatory process involves dealing with unknowns, and some situations pose more of a risk to participants than others. Facilitators must listen to, and take on board, possible risks identified by the participants. Facilitators must also consider a wide range of social perspectives that may affect the vulnerability of participants. A written informed consent process is undertaken which clearly explains the aims, risks and benefits of the project.

5. *Initial theme for the pictures is either put forward or discussed with the group.* This is central to the collaborative nature of the process. Facilitators may be briefed by the commissioning NGO to steer the project towards a certain area; this is especially the case when the project's aim is either to generate advocacy material or provide a form of evaluation.

6. *Distribute cameras and deliver training in photographic and visual story telling techniques.* Here the facilitator runs a series of workshops on how to tell a story with an image or images. Depending on the type of cameras being used these sessions can also cover technical areas, especially if these are more complex single lens reflex (SLR) cameras. Generally technical instruction is kept to a minimum, as it tends to inhibit creativity. A question often asked is 'what if participants steal the cameras?' According to PhotoVoice, in their experience this has only happened twice, with over 1000 cameras being put in the hands of participants. (PhotoVoice, 2007, 57).

7. *Allow the participants time to take the images.* Participants head out into their communities with the cameras and collect images that capture the agreed theme/s. Participants may be supported during this time by the facilitator.

8. *Return with images, discuss and select successful images.* This phase centres around the discussions the images provoke. Caroline Wang identifies three stages to this process: 1. Each participant choses one or two photographs they like best. 2. These images are investigated by the group looking at the stories they tell, what they see, what's happening, how they relate to the community, why is the situation a concern and what action can be taken. 3. Codify the issues and create action orientated analysis. After or during this process successful images are identified, either by the participants, the facilitator or NGO, or any combination of these.

9. *Share the images in an exhibition or other event.* In this stage the images are put to use; how this is manifested depends on the aims of the project. It could be an exhibition in the local community, part of a wider advocacy campaign or simply to add qualitative value to a report that has been commissioned. In most cases there is some form of local exhibition, where the dialogues that have been sparked by the process can continue in the host community.

Where does participatory photography come from, and what does it promise?

'Photovoice' is the name of both an organisation and a participatory method, with significant crossover between the two. In this thesis the organisation is referred to as 'PhotoVoice' and the method as 'photovoice'. Since the turn of the millennium PhotoVoice has been responsible for shaping and defining the landscape of participatory photography in the NGO environment. Confusingly, or perhaps in a stroke of genius, the organisation PhotoVoice gave itself the name of the participatory method it facilitates and advocates. PhotoVoice acts as a consultancy facilitating participatory projects; in recent years it has also created spaces for other practitioners to share their experiences and support one another. It creates manuals that define the photovoice method, and offers training workshops in how to plan and facilitate projects. The PhotoVoice organisation has become key in creating a fixed definition of the method, but it is worth noting that the photovoice method existed before the organisation PhotoVoice was founded.

As photovoice is the dominant photographic participatory method used by NGOs it is impossible not to encounter and engage with it. PhotoVoice has gone to some lengths to clearly define the method and establish a set of best practice standards for practitioners. In this chapter approaches to participatory photography projects will be explored and critiqued; it is not my intention to directly critique PhotoVoice the organisation, but rather gain an overview of the use of participatory photography projects and how they are used in the NGO context.

Caroline C. Wang and Mary Ann Burris, from the university of Michgan, were the first to define photovoice as a method:

> 'Photovoice is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image to furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise and knowledge.'
> (Wang and Burris, 1997, 369)

The idea that dialogue can be a catalyst for social change is fundamental to the aim of participatory photography to have a positive social impact on its participants and their

communities. Participatory photography is used in a wide variety of community peace building projects, encouraging participants to visualise and share their points of view as well as gain insight into the possible opposing points of view of others in their community.

In 2007 PhotoVoice published a manual in response to large numbers of requests for information and support from those considering setting up participatory projects. The PhotoVoice manual expands on Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris's original academic conversation around participatory methods, and offers a practical guide on the many ways that a participatory project can be facilitated. There are chapters on planning, designing and delivering projects. Alongside practical advice the organisation defines its core aim as such: 'Photovoice seeks to bring about positive social change in marginalised and minority communities by providing photographic training through which project participants can advocate and improve the quality of their lives.' (PhotoVoice, 2007, 8). This manual has become a standard reference for those working with participatory photography in the NGO environment.

Ideological and political roots of Participatory Photography
The broad claim of the participatory process is to enable marginalised communities to represent themselves through photography and in doing so advocate and improve the quality of their lives. (PhotoVoice, 2007, 8) This is achieved by combining a range of ideas that reject a centralised or 'top down' approach, instead favouring community activism and decentralisation. In his book 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' the Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire lays out his ideas for 'a humanising pedagogy… a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed' (Freire, 1970, 42). Freire questions the traditional role of the educator, and the power relationships of the one-way educational monologue (Freire, 1970, 45). Freire draws on his personal experience growing up in Brazil under various political regimes; for Freire, politics, education and freedom are intertwined:

> 'Like Marx, Freire believes that the structures of capitalist societies are
> founded on relations of exploitation of certain groups or individuals by
> others. Prevailing historical conditions in capitalist societies make it
> difficult, therefore, for exploited individuals and groups (the oppressed)
> to pursue their ontological vocation.' (Blackburn, 2000, 5).

Freire likens one-way 'formal education' to the act of 'banking'. Teachers prepare 'deposits' which students receive, memorise, then repeat. Freire asserts that this method is an instrument of oppression, as it is only through inquiry that students can pursue an understanding of the world (Freire, 1970, 45). Freire believes that this 'banking' of education acts as a pillar in maintaining an oppressive social order. As students become increasingly preoccupied with passively receiving and storing information deposits, the further they move away from developing 'critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the

world as transformers of that world' (Freire, 1970, 46). To oppose this hierarchical approach to education Freire created a method based on inquiry and two-way dialogue.

A core concept of Freire's educational approach is 'Conscientisation'. 'At it's most basic, Conscientisation can be understood as the process by which humans become more aware of the sources of their oppression' (Blackburn, 2000, 7). The oppressed and uneducated are disadvantaged in being able to achieve this, as they do not have the tools required to 'reflect upon the world'. They do not have access to perspectives outside of their own immediate reality, perspectives that may disclose that their situation is not a permanent fact, but the result of unjust structures and mechanisms in society. Crucially this may lead to the oppressed internalising the 'values of the oppressors' and unable to think critically about the situation they are in, how this relates to the world, and ultimately what actions they can take to improve their situation (Freire, 1972, 24). Conscientisation is the process of becoming aware, increasing the ability of the oppressed to become critically aware, of themselves, their community and the wider social situation they are in. Through this process of becoming aware a method is created in which the oppressed can change their perception of their own reality - this is the first stage in changing their reality.

Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris draw on Freire when outlining their development of the of the photovoice method. They approach photovoice from a public health perspective where Freireian ideas had been used by Nina Wallerstein and Edward Bernstein in the ground-breaking ASAP health education project in Albuquerque (USA). Freire discovered that engaging with visual imagery enabled people to embark on the process of thinking critically about their community, empowering them to begin to discuss the political and social forces that influenced their everyday lives (Wang & Burris, 1997, 370). In his research Freire used drawing and photographs that represent 'coded situation-problems' (Freire, 1974, 42). Wang and Burris developed this further by enabling community members to create the photographic images themselves. The Freirian approach to participatory photography aims to challenge traditional power hierarchies, choosing instead to use grassroots methods to engage with participants directly on the ground. Ultimately the participatory approach offers the 'radical promise' of creating images through the perspective of people who do not traditionally hold power (Fairey, 2015, 98). This chapter goes on to explore the promise of inverting traditional power hierarchies in the complex political post-colonial relationships of the NGO environment.

Objectives of participatory photography

It is through the aim to invert traditional top-down power hierarchies that the wide-ranging objectives of participatory methods have been established (Fairey, 2015, 12). At the root of many of the issues addressed by NGOs in an international development context is an imbalance of power that can be traced back to a colonial legacy (Brenya and Adu-Gyamf, 2015, 32). Through the radical emancipatory politics of Paulo Freire, NGOs seek to hand power

back to marginalised groups through participatory projects and allow them to define for themselves the issues that affect them. In the appendix is a case study of a participatory project that I facilitated in South Sudan in 2013 with the NGO Saferworld. This project was implemented as part of a larger community security peace-building project, designed to involve communities and build their sense of ownership of the wider community. This case study demonstrates how participatory projects are put to use in the field by NGOs.

As the diagram below illustrates, the aims and objectives of the participatory photography project in the NGO environment are broad and ambitious – from individuals overcoming trauma to qualitative data gathering for organisations. I have identified that the objectives of participatory photography fall into three broad areas: as an Advocacy tool, as an Evaluation tool and as a Therapeutic tool. It is possible to situate all other secondary objectives of participatory photography within these three areas, with a crossover of shared aims.
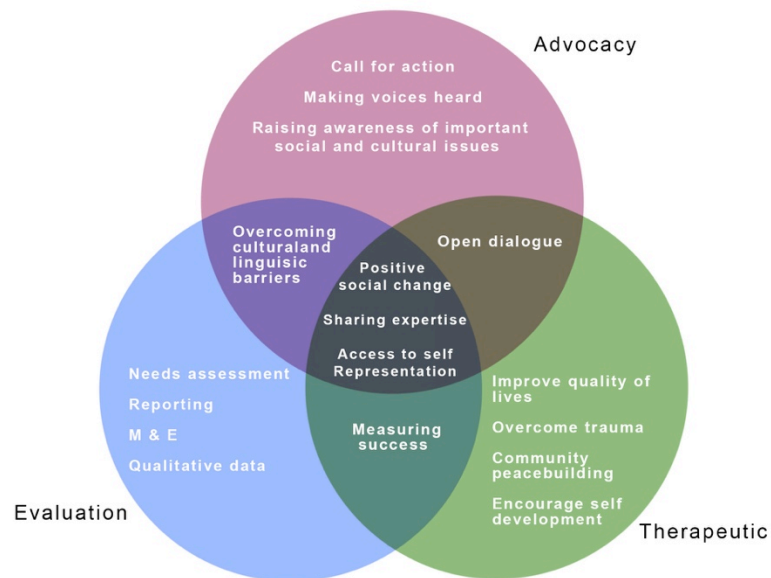

Fig, 2. Objectives of participatory photography projects in the NGO environment (Tom Martin, 2019)

1.2 A history of power: What are the political complexities and paradoxes of participatory photography in the NGO environment?

Power, or more specifically who holds it, is fundamental to my research questions about the use of participatory photography in the NGO environment. At the heart of every participatory photography project is a promise to transfer power from an organisation running a project to the participants taking part in it. This is a bold aim and subsequent claim; the power dynamics of the international development sector are infinitely complex, and unique to each community in which a project is situated. This section explores the political context in which development aid is delivered, examining the post-colonial context of state funded development agencies. Linking to neocolonialism, and subsequently neoliberalism and

neoliberal globalization. There are many factors to take into account here, not least that many of the largest donors of development aid are agencies attached to the governments of former colonial powers (FTS, 2018). Agencies such as the British Department For International Development (DFID) and the German Development Cooperation (GIZ) are responsible for 14.7% of the total international spend on development aid (FTS, 2018). It is not possible to explore issues that surround power relationships in the activities of NGOs working in international development without acknowledging the colonial legacy from which many development agencies emerge.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an in-depth critique of the colonial legacy of European nations, but I feel it is important to identify the significant past that plays a part in the ongoing power relationships that form a part of this research. In their paper 'External forces on Africa's democracy and development' Edward Brenya and Samuel Adu-Gyamfi put forward an academic exploration that tracks the roots of power from historical colonisation through to the politicised nature of development aid today. They establish that 'we cannot isolate the present political, ethnic and economic problems that Africa is facing from the historical condition stemming out from colonialism' and that 'It is of certainty that we argue that some of Africa's problems are deeply rooted in the colonial experience' (Brenya and Adu-Gyamf, 2015, 32). With this in mind there is no single 'colonial experience'. Each nation, community, NGO and donor is involved in a unique power relationship with its own history.

In the introduction to his famous 1965 book 'Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism', Ghanaian author Kwame Nkrumah outlines his position on the continuing imperialist influence over the continent of Africa:

> 'The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. …In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes. …More often, however, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means' (Nkrumah, 1965, 1).

This represents a view that often the true purpose of investment in developing counties is not to improve the lives of those in poorer countries, but in fact to exert power over those nations and their populations. Many academics have written and continue to write about the hidden motives and politicised agendas of international development aid. 'Many government, or bilateral, donors apparently seek to relieve poverty only after, or as a secondary consequence of, first using aid to cement alliances, bolster trade partnerships, or buy diplomatic cooperation

in arenas like the United Nations' (Tierney et al, 2011, 1894). However, the global transition of power away from former imperial nation-states to a 'softer' stateless form of power has not left the developing world behind.

Neoliberalism is a term that has come to represent 'a theory of political economic practices that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills' supported through an institutional framework that prioritizes private property rights and market freedoms (Harvey, 2005, 2). In his influential article 'Foucault, Governmentality and Critique' theorist Thomas Lemke refers to the development of a new form of 'sub-politics' that exists underneath traditional politics: 'neo-liberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics, that restructures the power relations in society' (Lemke, 2002, 11). The difference between states and society is becoming blurred, as economics and power become intertwined with global forms of neoliberalism. In the book 'Critical Globalization Studies' Christopher Chase-Dunn and Barry Gills put forward the case for a 'new imperialism' which takes the form of neoliberal globalization (NLG). This global neoliberalism allows certain societies at the core of the global neoliberal system to exert power over 'periphery societies' which are often in the developing world (Chase-Dunn and Gills, 2005, 48). This shift away from traditional neo-colonial power structures offers the opportunity for NGOs to operate in a different way, by seeing their activities as part of a wider move to advance humanity through free markets and entrepreneurialism.

This opportunity to enter free market capitalism into the development sector is partially responsible for the boom in NGOs and their activities sine the 1990s. Neoliberal globalisation and the growth of the NGO sector are fundamentally aligned. Lemke aligns neoliberalism to the NGO sector explicitly: 'What we observe today is not a diminishment or a reduction of state sovereignty and planning capacities but a displacement from formal to informal techniques of government and the appearance of new actors on the scene of government (e.g. NGOs), that indicate fundamental transformations in statehood and a new relation between state and civil society actors' (Lemke, 2002, 11). In some cases unknowingly, NGOs and their partners ultimately tie those they seek to benefit into a larger global political power system. However perhaps the most significant side effect of the encroachment of neoliberal globalisation into the development sector is the arrival of managerial culture on a scale and at a depth not witnessed before.

The arrival of neoliberalism in the NGO environment signalled the arrival of structures and systems capable of managing and measuring their activities that reflect those in the private sector. The adaption of these managerial practices has not gone uncriticised. In their book 'The New Development Management: Critiquing the Dual Modernization' Sadhvi Dar and Bill Cooke offer 'critical perspectives on the contemporary and ubiquitous uses of managerialism in international development interventions'. Cooke and Dar bring concepts

from the area of Critical Management Studies (CMS) and apply them to an international development context. They argue that a single managerial logic that is fixed on specific outcomes limits the ability of organisations to respond to the diversity of interests of the groups they work with. In the year 2000 Rosalind Eyben, who was the head of social development at DFID stated that 'as orthodox development loses its dominant position, so we can take advantage of recent postmodernist organizational theory which has been developed in business management faculties to explain the success of certain transnational corporations' (Cooke and Dar, 2008, 6). Though on the surface they may seem mundane and inconsequential, 'these practices are described as often culminating in a singular and rational project logic that has dehumanizing effects on the lives of those impinged upon'. Cooke and Dar argue that this logic 'is instrumental in constructing a regime of truth that makes particular, and often unethical, realities more legitimate than others.' (Cooke and Dar, 2008, 2).

In her PHD thesis titled 'Whose pictures are these? Re-framing the promise of participatory photography', Tiffany Fairey puts forward a critique of 'NGO-ised' participatory photography. Fairey links Cooke and Dar's criticism of the 'increasing influence of development managerialism' with the NGO environment in which many participatory photography projects are situated (Fairey, 2015, 34). Drawing on her experience of running the organisation 'PhotoVoice', Fairey identifies a trend for NGOs to comply with bureaucratic systems of reporting and accountability if they wish to secure funding from mainstream agencies for their activities; ultimately these prescriptions have come to shape the field. In this context participatory projects have an alluring appeal, as they speak to the neoliberal management ideals of participation, networking, and partnerships.

Fundamental to the work of all humanitarian NGOs is the drive to improve the lives of their beneficiaries. This pivots on a central promise to transfer power to these beneficiaries, through access to resources, education, gender equality, healthcare and financial markets (UN, MDGs, 2018). As identified by Edward Brenya and Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, the present problems facing developing countries cannot be separated from their colonial past. In the past imperial nations used the blunt tools of violence to exert power over the nations they wished to draw resources from. Writers such as Kwame Nkrumah argue that although in many cases violence is a tool of the past, the hidden primary function of international aid is to continue to exert power over developing nations by influencing policy and economics (1965). The rise of neoliberalism in the global north has seen the retraction of the formal state, being replaced by a 'softer' form of power driven by market forces. Neoliberal globalisation carries this to international politics; Christopher Chase-Dunn and Barry Gills describe neoliberal globalisation as a 'new imperialism' in which the societies and organisations at its centre exert power over developing counties using NGOs as a political tool (2005) A new era of managerialism has been ushered in to the operations of NGOs to facilitate this approach; Sadhvi Dar and Bill Cooke criticise this use of managerial logic, stating that NGOs can no

longer respond reflexively to the needs of the people they work with, as they are preoccupied with meeting pre-defined targets (2008). Participatory photography has been used as a tool within these systems of management; they promise to engage beneficiaries, build partnerships and create visual material that brings to life the issues that affect them, illustrating reports and publications.

But there is a conflict here; Tiffany Fairey identifies this as a 'central tension within the work of NGOs and NGO-Linked participatory photography practice' (Fairey, 2015, 36). Fairey draws on Cooke and Dar's description of a problem with reporting in the NGO environment, that there is a need for a standardisation of practices or 'homogeneity' and a desire for 'heterogeneity' through bottom-up participatory approaches. (Cooke and Dar, 2008, 179). Large development agencies require the information that is passed on to them to be accountable; this is achieved through standardised and measurable processes. However, central to the Freireian emancipatory aim of the participatory project is a dialogic reflexive process with participants, without fixed objectives. Freire directly challenges the modern capitalism from which these practices have developed, identifying economic patterns as a root of oppression (Freire 1974,15). This creates a tension between the desire to empower and a fundamentally fixed managerial structure, without which projects would not be funded. This exposes inherent conflicts between empowerment and mangerialism in participatory photography. We can see that the power does not necessarily sit with the camera itself, but that while the process is guided by 'managerial logic' the power stays with the process that guides the project. Photographs created by participatory projects are useful in that they can direct attention and build relationships, but ultimately power feeds back into the neoliberal systems that oppress those in the global south and back up the historical chain to a colonial legacy. It is only by separating participatory photography from neoliberal managerial practices that a new practical method can be developed that lives up to the Freireian emancipatory promise for participants to find the critical consciousness that develops from intervening as 'transformers of their world' (1970).

1.3 NGOs and pastoral power

There is a wider set of issues involved here; it would be naïve to assume that those in developing countries are the only ones subject to various forms of political and cultural power. In fact the questions of power that have come to affect the developing world and subsequently the NGO sector could be seen as overspill from western economic and cultural developments. In this section I will explore the work of Michel Foucault, who's writing on 'power relations' has formed the foundation of a toolkit of critical theory. I will then examine the work of John Tagg, who applied this critical toolkit to the exploration of the power attributed to photographic representation.

'The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between
partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain
actions modify others.' (Foucault, 1983, 219)

Michel Foucault's project, which he defined as the 'Critical History of Thought', primarily explores questions and definitions of power, principally exploring the history of relationships between power and knowledge. Foucault addresses how these have come to exert control over the individual via societal institutions. In his text 'The Subject and Power' Foucault makes it clear that although his writing deals with power his objective is 'to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1983, 208). It is the exploration of modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects and the 'power relations' that drive this which form the basis of Foucault's work. He identified that there was a deficit of 'the tools of study' available to investigate these power relations (Foucalult, 1983, 209), and in response he developed a set of theories that can be used to analyse them.

Foucault tracks the development of power as it is known in the west from 15th and 16th century Christian pastoral roots. This pastoral power did not use violence as a means of exercising itself over the population. Instead this form of power had 'individual salvation' as it's ultimate aim (Foucault, 1983, 214). Forming benevolent relationships with each individual ensured the welfare of the 'totality' of the community. This form of power required intimate knowledge of each individual's thoughts and desires, so that they may be guided to salvation. During the growth of the state in the 18th century there was a new organisation of this form of individualising, pastoral power, away from 'leading people to their salvation in the next world, but rather ensuring it in this world' (Foucault, 1983, 215). With this shift the state started to take on the responsibilities previously shouldered by the church; however, with a greater emphasis on the 'worldly' physical wellbeing of individuals. As the state grew so did the apparatuses of pastoral power that formed its basis. Foucault argues that pastoral and political power ceased to be rivals, that pastoral power 'spread out into the whole social body' that there was an 'individualising tactic' which encompassed a series of powers through society, such as family, medicine, psychiatry, education and the workplace (Foucault, 1983, 215). This adoption of a non-violent 'normalised power' enabled the state to form a much more stable and deeply rooted from of control over the bodies and actions of the population.

Foucault defines power as 'a structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions' (Foucault, 1983, 220). He explains that to exercise power the conduct of subjects must be guided in order to control the outcome. This means that power is not delivered through confrontation, (because if there was a confrontation power would have failed) neither is power a linking of ideas or a consensus; power is a form of governance. This definition of government refers back to a historical root of the word, such as the way in which the conduct of a group of people would be directed, the government of a community, or government of

children. 'To govern in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others' (Foucault, 1983, 221), through this process of government violence is not required, nor is voluntary submission, as power is exercised peacefully through a set of actions 'rooted in the system of social networks' (Foucault, 1983, 224). The power that governs us is all around us, ultimately being delivered by us, onto ourselves as self-governance. Foucault goes on to identify that although the forms and situations of the government of one man over another are multiple; 'power relations have come more and more under state control' being progressively governmentalised, rationalised and centralised by the state and it's institutions.

This governmental power is put to use in the post-colonial environment of the NGO sector; the benevolent aims of large donors have softened the form of power from the west to which developing countries are subject. NGOs operate in a pastoral mode, working with the local population to diagnose the problems at the root of their barriers to equality, justice and economic freedom. As the work of NGOs penetrates further into the daily lives of those in developing counties so does their power to control behaviour.

It is worth noting that although I paint a bleak picture here, I believe much of the work of NGOs does a great deal of good. There are substantial inequalities in our world and these issues of power do not constitute an argument against international development aid itself, but rather the way power is organized within it. At the beginning of the new millennium world leaders gathered at the United Nations to create a unified strategy to fight poverty, agreeing on eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These goals formed the overarching framework for international development up to the year 2015; this unified strategy has focused policy making and interventions on goals that put those in need first. There have been many success stories from the MDGs with significant progress in access to education, gender equality, child and maternal mortality, disease prevention and environmental sustainability. The most noteworthy successes are in Goal 1: eradicating extreme poverty and hunger. The statistics are powerful; the number of people living in extreme poverty has more than halved, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015, the proportion of undernourished people in developing countries has also halved from 23.3% in 1990-92 to 12.9% in 2014-16. (UN, 2015, 4). The United Nations 2015 'Millennium Development Goals Report' goes into significant detail about the successes of the project, and also acknowledges uneven achievements and areas that need further support.

As with all political interventions the MDGs have not gone uncriticised. Amongst others, Margot Salomon questions their efficacy: 'The goals are declarations of intent rather than policies and the poverty reduction objective is confounded by the neoliberal policy base that persists.' (Salomon, 2008, 46). The MDGs have also been criticised for the increased proliferation of managerialism in the NGO sector; the MDGs are heavily data driven requiring specific targets, with projects and programmes designed to address these specific targets

and produce positive results (Curtis & Poon, 2009, 840). I do not intend to contest the fundamental benefits of international development, as the MDG data shows there has been a significant reduction in the number of people living in poverty. However the mechanisms required for the collection of this data are in themselves evidence of a system which is inextricably linked to neoliberal culture at large.

It is within this ecosystem of governmentality that the participatory photography project in the NGO environment sits; participants are directly engaged with the pastoral power of the NGO. When an NGO uses participatory photography, beneficiaries turned photographers are tasked with moving through their communities carrying the lens of the NGO with them. Frequently, the expected outcomes are linked to the specific targets of the MDGs. Again, the promise of the participatory project to hand power to the participants falls short, as the power does not reside in any single part of the participatory process. The power lies with the system of governance that employs the lens as part of its activities.

Authenticating the power of photography

John Tagg brings Foucauldian theories of power to debates about the nature of representation in photography. He examines the historical development of photography alongside the expansion of the state in the 19th century, when 'photography was mobilized as an instrument of administrative power' (Tagg, 1988, 20). Tagg explains that images function in society today through 'a pattern of institutional organisation and structure of relations of domination and subordination' (Tagg, 1988, 20), and that these contemporary structures and organisations echo directly those of the past. He is a useful voice in understanding the application of participatory methods by NGOs and the knowledge-power relationships involved, ascertaining that: 'The ways in which photography has been historically implicated in the technology of power-knowledge, of which the procedures of evidence are part, must themselves be the object of study' (Tagg, 1988, 65). I intend to use Tagg's writing on power, representation and photography as a theoretical toolkit with which to explore power in relation to NGOs and the participatory photographic process.

In Britain and France during the last quarter of the 19th century there was a huge shift in population away from rural communities to industrialised urban areas. The industrial revolution had firmly changed the nature of society, the economy and the landscape. This shift in population called for new forms of governance, as traditional pastoral power relations that governed rural communities were harder to enforce in the dense urban environments. At the same time, for capitalist industrialised production to continue to expand and diversify societal conditions needed to be kept under control; after all, a docile and obedient workforce was a necessary resource for mass industrial activities (Tagg, 1988, 61). It was crucial to the dominant industrial and financial middle classes that class and social conflicts were stabilised, and that traditional social relations were reproduced and supported. This hegemony was

secured and stabilised through a range of 'regulatory and disciplinary apparatuses' managed by centralised municipal authorities, with a range of employees equipped with a new technological skillset (Tagg, 1988, 62). More extensive and deeper interventions in the day-to-day life of the working class ensured that individuals in the population were never far away from systems of authority. These systems depended on 'a more general organisational consent, on disciplinary techniques and moral supervision which, at a highly localised and domestic level, secured the complex social relations of domination and subordination on which the reproduction of capital depended (Tagg, 1988, 62). New technology across institutions of the state was key to this form of 'capillary' power, technology in the classroom, the hospital, the asylum, the prison and the police force, enabled these institutions to exercise power over the individual in increasingly efficient ways. The new forms of power that existed in the surveillance of subjects in these institutions generated 'a new kind of knowledge' which 'engendered new effects of power (…) which was preserved in a proliferating system of documentation – of which photographic records were only a part' (Tagg, 1988, 63). Photography is a fundamental technology that facilitated this new form of 'power knowledge'; through the emergence of these institutions of knowledge photography began to accrue its power to act as proof. As photographic technology and institutional power developed together they supported one another in a cyclical relationship; photography provided an 'objective truth', feeding knowledge power into the institutions of government, and this was reciprocated by governments as they legitimised the authority of the new technology.

At the same time in history a group of photographers were using the medium for artistic purposes. These photographers gave up the power to depict 'objective truth' instead choosing to use the technology for creative expression, creating images that did not depict reality, and fabricating metaphysical scenes that communicated feelings and ideas. The scientific-technical domain of photography was able to hold power because of its renunciation of this artistic privilege. With this perspective it is not the camera itself or the practice of using it which defines its mode of cultural production, ability to represent, or power to endorse a 'truth', but the 'institutions and agents which define it and set it to work' (Tagg, 1988, 63). With this in mind, it is important to look again at what happens when a camera is given to a person in an NGO participatory photography project.

The aim of the participatory photography process is that by handing over the camera to the participant, the power it holds is transferred with it. This enables marginalized communities to represent themselves through photography and in doing so advocate and improve the quality of their lives (PhotoVoice, 2007, 8). Central to the Freireian approach to participatory photography is a promise to challenge power relationships: 'breaking vertical authority patterns through dialogue participants, learner and teacher alike become jointly responsible for a process in which they all grow' (Rogers, 1978, 108). In Freire's process the teacher is no longer simply the one who teaches, but is also taught in dialogue with the

students. In the participatory project the teacher is substituted for the project facilitator, and the dominant power in question is that of the commissioning NGO and the participants political experience. However, Tagg establishes it is not the camera itself, or even the person using it that holds the power. The wider knowledge-process of institutions and their managerial culture set participatory photography to work, ultimately creating and supporting the power within the camera. Unless the process as a whole is transferred to the participant the inherent conflicts between empowerment and managerialism are not resolved, and the power of representation is not transferred. Without dialogue and open inquiry participants are unable to question the dominant power structures by which they are oppressed, and the mutual conscientisation at the heart of the Freirean process cannot take place. The power continues to reside in the system which authorises, facilitates and indexes participatory photography, a system that continues to collect images and use them as a form of knowledge and power, in a way not dissimilar to institutions of the late 19th century. This is a system inextricably entangled in a knotty post-colonial environment.

Chapter 2.

Towards a new participatory photography approach: adapting Allan Sekula's ideas on the 'language and power' in photographs to incorporate counter-political practice into participatory photography.

In this chapter I introduce the theoretical basis for the practical approach I test in the Visionaries of Kigali project (VOKGL) project. I explore where these ideas have developed from, their theoretical foundations and how they are put into practice. I propose how this framework can be used to establish a fresh approach that builds from current participatory photography methods. In his essay '*Photography and the limits of national identity*' (1993) Allan Sekula explores how 'instrumental-images' have been put to use by those in power. He outlines an approach that uses photography to challenge dominant political and corporate power. Before digging into this I briefly visit two essays that define his core concepts: '*The instrumental image: Steichen at war*' (1984) and T*he traffic in photographs*' (1983). These essays unpick how photographs are used to direct various forms of power.

2.1 The instrumental image

In '*The instrumental image: Steichen at war*' (1984) Sekula explores how reconnaissance photography was used during the First World War, when Edward Steichen commanded the aerial photographic operations of the American Expeditionary Force in France (Sekula, 1984, 34). In this context aerial images were captured of possible targets, and used to aid tactical decision-making. These images ultimately directed the destruction of targets by artillery fire, aerial bombing or ground forces. Soon afterwards the airborne camera was deployed again to assess the success of the action taken. Within the essay Sekula points out several key elements that are required for this process to work, not least how the images are read. Sekula lingers on the 'indexicality' of the images; these 'instrumental images' have to be processed quickly, as their value is in the reading of the present state of the landscape they survey. A standardised, almost 'mechanical' method for reading them was developed, with a code of symbols overlaid to clearly show the location of the enemy (Sekula, 1984, 35). Sekula describes this mechanised process for deploying, capturing, reading and acting on photography as a 'triumph of applied realism' (Sekula 1984, 36). In a fascinating development, following the war Steichen used the techniques he had developed to great effect in the burgeoning area of advertising photography. 'Steichen, the liberal technician, was able to condemn war while recovering its beneficial technical fallout' (Sekula, 1984, 49). Sekula is quick to draw a comparison between the imperial power of warfare and the corporate power of advertising:

> 'But as an advertising photographer, Colonel Steichen had merely
> enlisted in a new war, a war for new domestic markets ... In the
> 1920s capitalism began its massive ideological campaign to

reinvent the family as a bottomless receptacle for goods.' (Sekula,
1984, 49)

The functional instrumentality at the core of the aerial reconnaissance photograph has been repurposed, instead of directing power to destroy the enemy these images are now used to direct a less visible form of power; that of market forces and late capitalism.

There are parallels between Sekula's discussion of the instrumental image put to use by reconnaissance platoons, and the participatory photography project. Both are used to make assessments on where to direct action: in the case of the military use, to assess where to direct physical imperial violence, in the case of the participatory project, where to direct a 'softer' post-colonial form of power. For both of these applications the indexicality of the image is essential: images are processed and analysed, empirical data is extracted, and acted upon. After the action has taken place the cameras return: on the battlefield to confirm destruction, in the NGO environment to measure the success of cultural or economic interventions. Sekula uses this discourse around the functionality of photographs as a preamble to discuss the crossover between two types of photography, that of positivist scientism and romantic metaphysics. The reality is that the participatory photography project inhabits a conflicted space between these two types of photography; instrumental in its ability to direct power and bring social change, but subjective and aesthetic in its claim as an artistic expression of the participant.

In '*The Traffic in Photographs*' (1984) Allan Sekula sets out to explore the 'language and power' inherent in photographs; how they are produced, consumed and put to use by various forms of state and corporate power. Sekula explains that in photography there is an apparently 'limitless semiotic freedom, a timeless dimension of aesthetic appreciation' (Sekula, 1984, 77). Sekula describes this semiotic freedom as a foundation for the discourse of photography operating within society. Photography is interwoven and encoded with all aspects of how we now live; this discourse is present in advertising, newspapers, institutional displays and educational textbooks. Sekula refers to a 'language' of photography, with an ability to capture visual themes and ideals. This visual language is put to use by power, as a tool to create and reinforce certain ideologies: the family, sexuality, and various forms of history. Sekula explains that this language is a voice in the discourse that 'exerts a force that is simultaneously material and symbolic, inextricably linking language and power' (Sekula, 1984, 77). Sekula takes pleasure in defining the duality of photography; its capacity as an instrument of objective truth in a scientific process, and its expressive subjective artistic counterpart. He describes photography as being 'haunted by two chattering ghosts: that of bourgeois science and that of bourgeois art' (Sekula, 1984, 78). Sekula identifies a crisis at the heart of 19th century bourgeois culture; the emergence of science and technology as autonomous productive forces negated the need for human creative energies. In production under capitalism human creativity is not required; this created a problem for bourgeois culture,

which celebrated technological innovation and individual expression. Photography provides an answer, linking human creative energies with a 'scientifically guided process of mechanisation' (Sekula, 1984, 78).

The participatory photography project is very much a part of the language and power Sekula is discussing; photographs are put to use as indexical, instrumental images, their language speaks of the political environment they are produced in. This language is read, digested and empiricised by the managerial structures of the NGO. However the value of the photographs is backed by the apparent freedom of expression channeled through an artistic process. This is the paradoxical space in which the participatory photography project sits, between the indexical, instrumental scientific photographic process and the world of artistic and subjective freedom. From this paradox it seems that participatory photography is a manipulative process, in which the artistic freedom of the participant is being used to direct the power inherent in the intervention of the NGO. Although participatory images are not used to advertise products, they are used to evaluate, celebrate and communicate the work of NGOs, which are situated in a global neoliberal system. There are connections here to Sekula's discussion of instrumental images both on the battlefield and in commercial markets. However Sekula begins to explore other, more positive ways of directing the flow of knowledge-power in instrumental images.

In '*the instrumental image: Steichen at war*' (1984) Sekula touches on the potential of inverting the power directed by the instrumental photograph. Sekula points out that Steichen was aware his images were used to kill and he was uneasy with this violent endgame, quoting him: 'the photographs we made provided information that when conveyed to our artillery, enabled them to destroy their targets and kill. A state of depression remained with me for days' (Steichen in Sekula, 1984, 49). Sekula goes on to explain that later in his career Steichen attempted to redress the negative application of his photographs by using his skills to make an 'affirmative contribution to life' through various forms of artistic production. Following a rejection of painting as an elitist medium Steichen 'decided that a humanist, life affirming art was possible within the context of corporate mass communications' (Sekula, 1984, 49). In redirecting his energy Steichen was attempting to invert the negative effect of his instrumental images; Sekula defines this as 'positive-instrumentalism' but is not convinced by Steichen's remorseful motives. Thomas Keenan unpicks this in his essay '*Counter-forensics and photography'* (2014): 'Sekula finds the inversion, which culminates in Steichens exhibition The Family of Man, dubious in the extreme. If the technical or mechanical image can kill, the artistic and humanist image is not much of an escape' (Keenan, 2014, 64). He cites Sekula further: 'A global vision of life, even in its humanist and liberal manifestation, may serve to mask another vision, a vision of global domination' (Sekula, 1984, 51). However dubious Sekula may have been about the efficacy of this inversion of power within the instrumental image it must have had an effect, as he later returns to the subject.

In '*Photography and the limits of national identity*' (1993) Sekula examines a situation in which the negative-instrumental image is inverted and effectively used against forms of state and corporate power. Sekula draws on a project undertaken by the Magnum photographer Susan Meiselas with the Human Rights Watch and forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow, in the Kurdish regions of northern Iraq. The short essay explores how Clyde Snow used forensic techniques, including photography as a tool against dominant forms of power. Sekula tracks how photography has come to define and secure American national identity, from images of triumphant industrialists and heroic authors in the 19th century, to 20th century famous American photographers such as Walker Evans. In an opposite extreme, photography was used to define Kurdish National identity. Instead of being used to celebrate achievement and culture it was put to use by a series of oppressive regimes, intent on identifying and exterminating the Kurdish population.

Sekula writes about the use of forensic techniques by the NGO Human Rights Watch, although typically forensics is used as a tool to enforce state and corporate power. In Kurdistan, working for Human Rights Watch, Snow used forensic tools to exhume and identify bodies, uncovering evidence proving that the dead were victims of state violence. Sekula defined this process as 'counter-forensics', the structures of the forensic investigation were being reversed and used to hold those in power to account, Sekula proclaims that: 'forensic methods have also become tools of opposition' (Sekula, 1993, 30). In this situation the negative-instrumental image has been turned around, instead of being used to identify and annihilate, the instrumental image is used to identify and remember the victims of the oppressor state. This inversion of the instrumental image has a potential well beyond the investigation of historic crimes. As Thomas Keenan explains: 'Forensics is not simply about science in the service of the law or the police but is, much more broadly, about objects as they become evidence, things submitted for interpretation in an effort to persuade' (Keenan, 2014, 68). I propose that this inversion can provide a basis for the reversal of the flow of power-knowledge in participatory image production and consumption.

Thomas Keenan takes forensics away from its exclusive use in the legal-scientific domain and proposes it as a method of counter-political practice. Keenan builds from Sekula's critique of the apparent objectivity within the mechanical reading of the instrumental-image, developing more in-depth ways of determining the representational value of a photograph:

> 'He (Sekula) argues that we need to understand the evidence provided by the photograph not in terms of its relation to the reality it presents, as if the photograph offered a proof that it was not only indexical but decisive and definitive. Rather, photographic evidence must be considered in terms of the forum or the debate into which its testimony is entered, what he calls in his Steichen essay its

'conditions' and what he calls in dismantling modernism its 'presentational circumstances' (Keenan, 2014, 65).

The idea behind the use of these approaches in a participatory project is that instead of investigating a crime in the past, we can use these inverted power hierarchies to unpick the power relationships at play in the participatory photography project in the present. In the VOKGL project forums enable the participants to control not only the mechanics of image production, but also the systems which authorise and facilitate the process within which image production and consumption is situated. Through these forums the goals of the project are discussed and defined by the participants themselves; ultimately they select and disseminate successful images. Jon Tagg speaks of the power contained within the systems that authenticate photographic production, and Sekula discusses how to understand images we must also consider the space in which they are read. The VOKGL approach aims to enable participants to direct the process and investigate their own situation. Through forums participants investigate the evidence of their own current political reality. It is through this process that I propose a way of addressing some of the problems with the current participatory method introduced in chapter one.

2.2 Counter-forensics

The current use of the term 'forensic' to denote a legal-scientific investigation is also relatively new, coming into use during the mid nineteenth century. The science of forensics developed alongside other political tools during the growth and transformation of the states in Europe during this time. Since Allan Sekula first coined the term 'counter-forensics' in 1993 academics, writers and investigators have begun to challenge the use of forensics exclusively as a form of state controlled power. They are instead putting forensic methods and investigations to use as counter-political tools.

To further understand how the ideas that underpin counter-forensics can be used in participatory photography I must return to Clyde Snow at the graveside of those murdered Kurdish people in northern Iraq. Since the annexing of the former Turkish empire after the first world war the Kurds have remained stateless, and many violent and non-violent tools of oppression have been used against them by the states of the territories they occupy. [2] During this time the Kurdish people have been repeatedly photographed, by the police and military forces. 'The aim of this surveillance and cataloguing is both modern and pre-modern in its display of power: modern in the sense attributed by Michel Foucault to Jeremy Bentham's "Panopticon" prison (…) pre-modern in the sense of the ritualistic and medieval display of the decapitated bodies of Kurdish chiefs' (Sekula, 1993, 30). Photography was used as a form of

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[2] The Kurds occupy an area of land which straddles Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria, but have never obtained permanent nation state. Following the first world war much of the middle east was divided up by British and French diplomats Sir Mark Sykes and Francois Georges-Picot, it is generally agreed that their primary concern was not that of the welfare of populations which occupied the territories (such as the Kurds), but to ensure that Britain and France made some territorial gains in the wake of the carnage of the war. (BBC, 2013)

'knowledge power' to direct, document and display corporeal violence in the form of chemical warfare and bombings. The cataloguing of victims enabled the oppressor state to track individual members, but also identify whole groups and communities. Sekula simplifies this to the almost elegant sequence of actions:

'Identification—Annihilation—Identification' (Sekula, 1993, 30)

This identification and categorization process is the key to the ideological power over the 'other'; the key to functional power lies in individualisation (Sekula, 1993, 30). As Sekula eloquently puts it: 'In other words, stereotypes are ideologically useful and necessary, but in the end it is individuals who must be reduced to ashes' (Sekula, 1993, 30). As with other mass atrocities and acts of genocide the destruction does not end with the physical bodies of the victims, the further aim is to annihilate all memory that the group existed (Sekula, 1993, 30). It is with this form of 'power-knowledge' over individuals and communities that oppressive states are ultimately able to directly target and destroy specific groups and communities, such as the use of chemical and nerve gas agents to exterminate thousands of peaceful Kurdish people in northern Iraq (BBC, 2007).

Fig, 3. © Susan Meiselas/Magnum Photos, NORTHERN IRAQ. Kurdistan. December 1991. Dr. Clyde Snow, internationally known forensic anthropologist, holds the blindfolded skull of an executed male teenager estimated to be between 15-18 years old. The skull was found with two bullet holes in his head.

Clyde Snow put the methods of the forensic investigation to use while exhuming the bodies of murdered Kurds in northern Iraq, as a forensic anthropologist investigating human rights abuses for the Human Rights Watch. However there is a shift in the balance of power here; Snow was using forensics in opposition to the dominant form of power, challenging the power of the state. Thomas Keenan explains how with counter-forensics, 'the exhumation and identification of the anonymised ("disappeared") bodies of the oppressor state's victims becomes central to a process of political resistance and mourning' (Keenan, 2014, 69). A key element of this power transition is achieved through the counter-forensic process of identification; this process adopts the same functional power of individualisation that the oppressive states used against the Kurdish people, this time to identify individuals and thus prove that atrocities took place. Through this process 'forensic methods have also become tools of opposition' (Sekula, 1993, 55). As Keenan demonstrates it is now possible to reverse Sekula's sequence of actions: 'Identification—Annihilation—Identification' (Keenan, 2014, 71). This follows the historical precedent of human rights as an 'asymmetrical reversal of state

policing techniques into tactics for resisting and challenging injustice' (Keenan, 2014, 71). Through the identification of individuals, and the forensic evidence that violence took place an archive of the Kurds and their history can be built. As Sekula says: without an evidential basis for this archive, assertions of national identity are simply assertions, and are at risk of becoming 'dangerous fictions' (Sekula,1993). This reversal of the direction of individualising and knowledge power creates a counter-political toolkit which can be put to use in the new participatory methods that I test, aiming to address the colonisation of power identified in chapter one.

Forensic Architecture

'Forensic Architecture' (FA) is the name of a research agency founded by Eyal Weizman and a group of academics, artists, architects, filmmakers, scientist, journalists and lawyers. The agency is based in London at Goldsmiths University, in the Centre for Research Architecture, Department of Visual Cultures. In this section I briefly explore the practical and theoretical methods used by the agency, as they have successfully put Sekula's notion of counter-forensics to use against forms of state and corporate power and violence. It is my intention to use positive-instrumental images and counter-forensics to reclaim participatory photography as an emancipatory process. I do not propose to directly adopt the approaches of the FA group, as participatory photography investigates neither crimes or material objects. However, FA has developed some useful critical concepts and practical tools that can feed into the participatory approach.

Since it's creation in 2010 the group has applied counter-forensics practically to 'investigate state and corporate violence' (Weizman, 2017, 9). Through interdisciplinary collaboration it uses this forensic approach to produce evidence files and investigate the agencies that are responsible for violence. This approach often incorporates a diverse range of material such as: models, animations, video analysis and interactive cartography. Weizman ascertains that 'the modern history of forensics is of course the history of techniques by which states police individuals' and that the forensic architecture group is:

> '…committed to the possibilities of reversing the forensic gaze, to
> ways of turning forensics into a counter-hegemonic practice able
> to invert the relation between individuals and states, to challenge
> and resist state and corporate violence and their tyranny of truth'
> (Weizman, 2014,11).

Investigations have taken place that put the theory of counter-forensics into practice, applying it in a wide range of situations where acts of violence have been committed against individuals. 'The collective investigations undertaken by the forensic architecture agency act as a set of critical examinations of the prevalent status of forensics in articulating contemporary notions of public truth' (Weizman, 2014, 9). There is a current resurgence of interest in Sekula's writing on the use of photography to hold power to account. Forensics is now among the 'political

apparatuses' that give photography it's evidential power. His work on counter-forensics, Human Rights Watch and the instrumental-image has formed the basis of the theories of groups such as Forensic Architecture, and will inform the methods I develop and test in Rwanda.

A cluster of key concepts underpin the Forensic Architecture group's practical application of the counter-forensic investigation, forming the critical basis for the attribution of its power. Starting with language, Weizman explores how the word forensic originates from the Latin 'forensis' meaning 'pertaining to the forum'. The Roman forum was a busy 'multidimensional space of politics, law, and economy' and the term 'forensis' would have defined all which was pertained to it (Weizman, 2014, 9). Over time the definition of the term 'forensics' has narrowed and come to refer exclusively to the use of medicine and science in the courts of law. Weizman explains that this 'telescoping' of the term has meant that it has lost a critical dimension, 'namely its potential as a political practice'. (Weizman, 2014,9). The FA group has produced a range of investigations, and while doing so have refined its methods. FA's key concepts are: the 'Material Witness', that an object can bear witness to an event; 'Evidientia in Narritone' the process of drawing a testimony from an inanimate object though narration, attributed to the Roman rhetorician Quintillian; and 'Fields and Forums', where fields are spaces in which events take place and evidence is collected, and forums are spaces to which evidence is brought, investigated and activated to bear its testimony. I will expand upon each of these concepts and explore how they can be applied in the development of my new approach to the participatory photography method.

Weizman proclaims that the current forensic sensibility partially exists to bypass human testimony, 'because the memory of violent events, often complicated by trauma, is seen as to be marked by the very irrationality, sometimes madness, of the perpetrator' Weizman, 2014,10). To bypass the 'irrationality' of the victim statement we must rely on another kind of voice, a voice that is free from the complications of memory. Science provides a range of technological processes which 'stand as the embodiment of a rational order assembled to confront and overpower irrational aberrations' (Weizman, 2014,10). Through investigations 'material science' can give a clinical and seemingly objective voice to physical objects such as buildings, clothes, weapons, bones and bodies that have witnessed or partaken in acts of violence. When investigating and presenting evidence the material investigation brings the testimony of the event out from the object in question; to do this it has developed a voice of its own, which as any voice is filtered through language. I believe there is a relation between this use of material science to bypass human testimony and the monitoring and evaluation processes used in the NGO environment. Although some organisations do speak directly to their beneficiaries before, during and after interventions, they also employ a range of analytical techniques; human testimony on its own is not sufficient.

These processes draw analysis and conclusions from the sites of action, analysing qualitative and empirical information, filtering this information through the language of the NGO.

The FA group use material science to provide a technical toolkit for investigating objects and bringing them to bear witness to events, but to speak of these events they require a voice. After the investigation has taken place the evidence is presented; its hidden testimony brought to light and divulged through oral demonstration and written reports. This is a concept known as 'evidentia in narritone' attributed to the Roman rhetorician Quintilian. 'Evidentia in narritone' refers to the idea that objects can give evidence through narration, 'in which truth requires not merely to be told, but to a certain extent obtruded' (Quintilian, 63). In the roman forum objects were brought to life vividly, by the power of oral demonstration, this was called 'prosopopoeia' 'the mediated speech of inanimate objects' (Weizman, 2014,9). In the FA group's use of 'prosopopoeia', the voice of the enigmatic orator has been replaced by the scientific languages of data and image. Participatory photography projects put to use by NGOs investigate neither crimes nor objects, they investigate social realities. Images are created that speak of the issues affecting the communities in which NGOs operate. Material science cannot help bring out their testimony, but these images do not speak on their own. Analysis is drawn from these images by NGOs, enabling conclusions to be made about the success of their interventions. The Forensic Architecture group use the process of drawing testimony from objects, and the reversal of the flow of power in counter-forensics enables this voice to be part of their counter-political process. Inspired by this appropriation of 'evidentia in narritone', I propose that the voice which decodes the images created by participatory photography projects should belong to the participants themselves. This process will address the advanced forms of managerialism that have been developed to plan, guide and measure the success of projects.

If evidence can speak, it requires a mediated space in which to be heard. For the FA group, established courts of law provide a problematic space in which to present evidence. Established courts are embedded in existing political power relations; to be effective their work needs to go beyond simply independently collecting evidence from the field and giving it a voice in existing legal proceedings. The Roman forum at the root of the term 'forensis', was a 'multi-dimensional' space, open to voices of law, politics and economics. It is the potential to reclaim the forum as a site of political practice that facilitates counter-forensics. This forum becomes an apparatus where three elements can be brought together: 'a contested object or site, an interpreter tasked with translating the language of things, and the assembly of a public gathering' (Weizman, 2014, 9). In this way counter-forensics becomes about facilitating the relationship between the 'prosopopoeia' or speech of the object and a political gathering. A key concept of the Forensic Architecture group's approach is that forums are created to respond to evidence, the opposite of the usual method of bringing evidence to existing forums, such as established courts of law (Weizman, 2014, 20). This is a small but important detail.

The established courts of law come embedded within existing power structures, which use them to exert political power over their subjects. Independent forums such as the ICTY (The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia) were created to respond to evidence that was emerging from the conflict, as it was happening. In this way the forum itself was being used by the international community as an alternative to military action; the forum was being used as a form of mobilised political power, brought to bear on the criminals of the war. This change in the way evidence is utilised represents a shift in power away from that of the nation state in which established forums are situated, and into a wider field of investigation, one where there is space for independent investigators to enter and apply pressure on those committing human-rights violations. It is this form of wider investigation that forms the ideological basis of the counter-forensic investigation.

Allan Sekula identifies that through counter-forensics photography can develop a function that counteracts Foucauldian notions of surveillance and knowledge power (Sekula, 1993, 55). Thomas Keenan and Allan Sekula make a case for counter-forensics having the potential to transfer ownership of 'individualising-power' back to the oppressed and allow it to be used as a form of counter-political practice. Foucault identified individualisation as a key factor for the development of pastoral power within the state, and goes on to establish the importance of knowledge over the individual in providing a foundation for this power. The FA group have shown that by using investigations, language and forums they can counteract these forms of dominant power.

The forum becomes especially relevant in the participatory photography project, where currently images can be left to interpretation by the organisations that commission the projects, withholding power from the participants. The FA group have demonstrated that Sekula's concept of 'counter-forensics' can be practically adapted in forums and put to use against active forms of state and corporate power. In bringing together Sekula's ideas on the reading of images, and the FA groups use of independent forums I propose a counter-forensic forum that takes centre stage in participatory photography. Through this forum the 'language and power' of the participatory images can be explored and defined by the participants themselves.

2.3 Applying counter-forensics to participatory photography

In the first chapter I explored a series of paradoxes and problems with established participatory photography methods. In this section I propose a new practical approach that brings together the concepts of Allan Sekula and Paulo Freire, aiming to reconnect the process with its emancipatory aims. Freire's critical pedagogy offers a 'conceptual toolkit' for understanding the relationships between knowledge and power (Ledwith, 2016, 35). However over time there has been a drift away from the use of participatory methods to face and dismantle dominant forms of power due to growing global neoliberalism. Treating photographs

created by the participatory project as positive-instrumental-images allows the concepts and methods of counter-forensics to be applied, with the potential to reverse the flow of power. As the FA group have demonstrated independent forums are essential for the interpretation of evidence. I propose that the culture-circles used in Paulo Freire's process of emancipation through critical-dialogue are integrated with the forums of counter-forensics, with critical-dialogue taking place around the participatory images. When exploring the reading of instrumental-images images in 'Steichen at War', Sekula establishes that photographs are best understood not in relation to what they represent, but 'the forum or debate into which their testimony is entered' (Keenan, 2014, 65). This is key to my argument for a forum in which participatory images are interpreted to be given centre stage.

The approach I propose accepts that the reading of the images is as important and contested as their production. Through inquiry and dialogue the participants decide amongst themselves how to define, index and direct the knowledge-power contained within the photograph. As a tool for criminal justice the Forensic Architecture group put counter-forensics to use, investigating past events, sites and objects. I seek to adapt this to the present, as a method of live political practice - a method in which participants direct the process and investigate their own situation. Through these self-directed forums, participants are empowered to investigate the evidence of their current political reality.

To understand how these concepts can be brought together I return to the problems established with participatory photography in chapter 1: *Managerialism v Empowerment,* and Cooke and Dar's identification of a 'new imperialism' (2008) with the rise of neo-liberal ideology in NGOs - an imperialism fundamentally at odds with the dialogic and reflexive emancipatory theories on which participatory photography is based; and *Knowledge power* - photography has a history of being used as a tool within governance, its ability to identify, record and index has been put to use as a technology of knowledge-power (Tagg, 1988,63). Without two-way dialogue, power remains with the organisations that commission participatory photography, and is not transferred to the participants.

Readers who are familiar with the work of Paulo Freire may question why there needs to be a redevelopment of his approach - after all his theories respond to dominant and oppressive forms of knowledge and power that reinforce economic and capitalist political interests (Freire, 1974, 5). Freire developed his critical pedagogy to 'help men (and nations) help themselves to place them in consciously critical confrontation with their problems to make them agents of their own recuperation' (Freire, 1974, 12). With this in mind I do not intend to improve upon the fundamentals of Freire's concepts, but to theoretically underpin certain practical elements that have faded as NGOs and the development sector have evolved. At the very centre of Freire's critical pedagogy is 'a process of critical consciousness leading to action for change, in which personal problems are questioned in relation to political times

that embed structural injustices within the very fabric of society' (Ledwith, 2016, 35). These 'structural injustices' are the same injustices that are present in the Neoliberal Global context in which NGOs operate, and unknowingly perpetuate through the politicised nature of international development aid. In her book 'community development in action, putting Freire into practice' Margaret Ledwith clearly defines how Freire's theories can be applied in a community development context, such as participatory photography projects in the NGO environment. In this section I return to Wang and Burris' use of Freire to establish the photovoice method in chapter one, and explore how Margaret Ledwith has further connected Freire with participatory arts processes both theoretically and practically. Ledwith's interpretation fits with the developmental nature of my project, providing a foundation on which to bring the critical theory of Allan Sekula.

'Conscientisation' is a process of awakening this critical awareness; through dialogue participants discuss their shared circumstances and question their political reality. Through a shared process participants become aware that the sources of their oppression are also shared, and are a product of the political structures of society (Freire, 1974, 15). This collective approach enables participants to question dominant ideologies, and also 'creates the conditions for collective action for social change' (Ledwith, 2016, 47). This is a space in which the root causes of oppression can be identified and acted upon, bringing action and reflection together in a process Freire calls 'praxis' (Freire, 1970, 60). As seen earlier in the chapter Freire criticises traditional education in which knowledge is transferred one–way from the educator to the student; in this hierarchical approach the values of the educator and the political system they are a part of are also transferred, creating a continuing system of oppression (Freire, 1970, 45). Freire rejects traditional one-way knowledge transfer and puts two-way dialogue at the heart of the process of critical consciousness, built on respectful horizontal communication between equals. In 'culture circles' critical educators discuss the issues and concerns of participants' everyday lives (Friere, 1974, 38). Issues that repeatedly come up are categorised as 'generative themes'. It is in the dialogue around these generative themes in which participants discover that the sources of their oppression are shared. To stimulate this dialogue 'codifications' are created - simple illustrations of the everyday issues facing participants. Freire used line drawings as they are immediate and accessible to all; in their development of Freire's process into photovoice, Wang and Burris used photography. Whatever the medium, these illustrations are 'coded' in the language and culture of the participants (Freire, 1974, 45). By presenting and discussing the challenges faced by the community in this form participants take an experience out of context, enabling them to see it with fresh eyes, 'rather than from the taken-for-grantedness of everyday experience' (Ledwith, 2016, 54). It is these 'codifications' which have become the focal point of the participatory arts process, as Freire's line drawings have metamorphosed into drama workshops, photography, video and a myriad of other arts. In a community development context Margaret Ledwith suggests that to stimulate dialogue the facilitator or 'critical educator', without using power or

influence, brings open questions to the codifications. By questioning the material in this way the participants can engage with the issues on a deeper level. Making critical connections with the roots of the issues that affect them moves the focus away from the codification and generative themes, into critical dialogue and conscientisation within the group (Freire, 1970, 82). It is dialogue which is at the heart of Freire's emancipatory process, not the codified visual material itself (the photograph in the case of the participatory photography project). NGOs often place significant emphasis upon the images created by participatory projects, which are proclaimed to 'speak' about the situation they represent. However, if the participatory process is to stay true to its Freireian roots, these photographs must act as a catalyst for critical dialogue and collective action, rather than being defined as a final product in themselves. This emphasis on the creation of a product is systematic of the neoliberal context in which NGOs now operate, once useful images are created to feed back into the system there is limited interest in the transformative potential of the process. This opposes Freire, as to him, there is no product, only process.

The emancipatory power of the participatory process is rooted in Paulo Freire's process of 'critical dialogue'. At the heart of Freire's project is the use of inquiry and critical dialogue as a process of learning, during which participants discover the roots of their oppression:

> 'Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of
> generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no
> communication, and without communication there can be no true
> education (Freire, 1970,65/6).

Allan Sekula repurposes the 'instrumental-image' and puts it to use through counter-forensics against forms of oppression. Sekula's writing on the 'language and power' in photographs emphasises the importance of the 'reading' of images. For Sekula the space in which they are read is crucial to the flow of power. I return to Thomas Keenan on the subject:

> 'Photographic evidence must be considered in terms of the forum
> or the debate into which its testimony is entered, what he (Sekula)
> calls in his Steichen essay its 'conditions' and what he calls in
> dismantling modernism its 'presentational circumstances' (Keenan,
> 2014, 65)

Keenan's writing on Sekula and the forum has a far-reaching influence, including on Weizman and the FA group. Without Keenan's interpretation of Sekula FA would not have been able to develop its counter-political approach. In my practice I attempt to adopt the forum to present participatory photographs dualistically, as both Freireian 'codifications' and as 'positive-instrumental-images'. The information participatory photographs contain is indexed and analysed, successfully directing knowledge-power against dominant forms of political and corporate power. In Rwanda I make the case for a return of the emphasis of the project to the spaces in which objectives are set and the photographs are read; in the Freireian 'culture

circle' they are unpicked and examined through 'critical dialogue', in Sekula's counter–forensic 'forum' photographic testimony is entered. Like Freire, Sekula directs the flow of power-knowledge back at dominant forms of political power; the specific nature of this dominant power is unique to each group of participants. In both spaces, images are reflected upon, and used to direct action through 'praxis'. Ultimately it is only through a process of genuine critical inquiry, reflection and action that participatory photography stops being a tool of Foucauldian knowledge-power and oppression, and the cultural invasion of the neoliberal values that NGOs and their donors perpetuate through managerial culture can be addressed.

Chapter 3

The Visionaries of Kigali Project (VOKGL).

In this chapter I establish the approach taken for the fieldwork element of the project and evaluate its practical application in Rwanda. This was integrated with the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre's (KGMC) existing peace education programme. This chapter draws on a range of PAR evaluation methods, such as video recordings of the process, images created by the participants, and written reflection. The process I test integrates Paulo Freire's emancipatory dialogic approach with Allan Sekula's writing on individualising-power and the instrumental-image. I examine the effectiveness of this approach in addressing the theoretical problems identified with existing methods in previous chapters. The appendix contains documentation that supported the project on the ground, such as ethics documents, consent forms and data from the entry/exit questionnaires.

3.1 Context and partner NGO

The VOKGL project was run in partnership with and funded by the NGO 'The Aegis Trust' and the 'Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre' (KGMC). The Aegis Trust is a UK based charity that works 'towards the prediction, prevention and ultimate elimination of genocide'. It does this 'through research, education and the dissemination of information and advice', and its vision is 'of a world without genocide or mass atrocities' (Aegis Trust Website, 2019). The VOKGL project was integrated into their established peace education programme, which includes participatory media projects. The Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre was established in 2002 by the Aegis Trust and is the official national genocide memorial for Rwanda, working extensively with survivors of, and those affected by the 1994 genocide in that country. The memorial is supported by many partners and donors including, amongst others; the Rwandan Government, the British Department For International Development (DFID) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Institute of Research and Dialogue for peace (IRDP), Palo Alto University, Kings College London and the United Nations (UN).

Building on a pilot project in 2009 The Aegis Trust launched the Rwandan Peace Education Program (RPEP) in 2013, engaging with young people as well as survivors of genocide. The formation of knowledge partnerships is key to their approach, working together with a broad range of academics and institutions to develop a pioneering and innovatory approach to peace education. This programme integrates with the wider Genocide Research and Reconciliation Programme (GRRP). In 2015 the success of the RPEP was recognised, and it was embedded into the Rwandan national school curriculum by the Ministry of Education. The peace education programme continues to evolve and be the focus of peace education research, informing government policy and the national curriculum. The VOKGL project sits

within this continually developing peace education project. Links to further information on the Aegis Trust peace education programme can be found in the appendix.

3.2 Ethics overview

This overview briefly summarises key potential ethical issues and the control measures put in place. The full documentation of the Lincoln University ethics procedure is in the appendix, as well as documentation from the Aegis Trust. The project was designed to conform to the university's 'Ethical Principles For Research with Humans' which is underpinned by three core principles:

- The principle of respect for persons
- The principle of beneficence
- The principle of justice   (UoL, 2017)

Following consideration of these principles I identified three broad areas that required specific ethical considerations and controls:

- Selection of participants: from a range of cultural and religious backgrounds.
- Informed consent: this is a complicated project with several objectives, and participants are required to be fully aware of the nature of the project.
- Protection of participants: I have a primary responsibility to protect participants from physical or mental harm during the project. Alongside typical protection responsibilities the project took place in a post-conflict environment, consequently there are specialist factors that need to be taken into consideration.

Selection of participants**:** Participants were selected by local KGMC staff from the database of participants involved in their existing peace education project. Working with the Aegis Trust to select participants enabled me to use their safeguarding and suitability procedures. This deployed the individual knowledge the local team had about participants, who were selected because they would benefit from taking part in this project. Following guidance from the local team the breakdown of participants was as follows: twelve 18-25yr olds, six male six female, representing a cross section of religious, cultural and economic backgrounds.

Informed consent: The participants were fully briefed on the nature of the research and the level of participation required at each stage of the project. They were invited to enter into an agreement to give their informed consent to participate in the project. This written consent form clarified the nature of the research and the responsibilities of each party. It made clear that they are free to participate, decline to participate or withdraw from the research at any time. Factors that may affect the participant's willingness to participate were explained at this point, such as risks involved in using camera equipment in their communities, the possibility of people being unhappy with having their images taken, or fear of exhibiting their work publicly. It was made clear prior to giving consent that this project was conducted in

public with an externally facing exhibition, and that the project was being documented through video and photography, therefore anonymity and confidentiality could not be assured to participants.

Protection of participants: As the Aegis Trust has been running a peace education programme at the Kigali Genocide Memorial since 2009, they have experience working in this post-conflict environment. This project formed part of that education programme, so consequently it fell under their local infrastructure and support network. There is a support system in place at the memorial centre for visitors and those who engage with its education programme, including a resident counselling team. The team were on site to provide immediate and follow up support for projects like this one. Training of participants included guidance on how to make reasoned judgments when taking photographs of people in their community, including what to do if members of the community are unhappy with having their photographs taken or fearful of the process. It was made clear to the participants that they were not to place themselves, or others, at any level of risk of harm or discomfort greater than that in ordinary life.

The university ethics committee approved the application. This process was useful, creating a space in which to consider how I was establishing my relationship with the participants. When going through the consent forms with participants it gave me a chance to elaborate on the aims and practical elements of the project.

3.3 The VOKGL Approach

In this section I define the participatory photography approach that I used in Rwanda. The VOKGL method builds from the 'photovoice' participatory photography method established by Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris in their paper: *'Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment' (*1997). The VOKGL method differs by integrating Freireian critical dialogue with Sekula's notion of the positive-instrumental capacity of images into counter-forensic forums. The aim is to facilitate a participant-led system that engages with the processes of: objective setting, image making, image selection and image distribution, culminating in artistic and political freedom. The aim is that through this process participants define for themselves the issues that affect them, and ultimately gain power in their representation. As explored in the previous chapter successful participatory photography projects emphasise the space in which the objectives of the project are set, and in which the photographs produced by it are read. Freire calls these spaces culture-circles, an environment in which critical dialogue can take place. In Sekula's counter-forensics these spaces are forums, where images can be examined and debated. The VOKGL method is based around two primary forums, acting as a place to bring together various critical elements of the project with human participation, and creating a space in which participants can engage

critically with and direct the process. This critical engagement is intended to create a shift in power that enables Freire's goal of critical-consciousness through critical-dialogue to occur.

In the initial forum participants discuss and decide the subjects of the project, or the 'generative themes'. They also agree on what makes a good photograph by defining a set of general qualities. The participants then go out into the field where they make photographs based on these subjects and qualities. In a second forum the participants present and discuss their photographs. Through critical dialogue the photographs or 'codifications' are discussed and investigated, being assessed against the themes and qualities agreed in the first forum. This process of critical dialogue facilitates 'conscientisation' and 'praxis', and is crucial for enabling the activation of the images to be 'positively–instrumental', in which the participants can direct the power-knowledge of the process. This can be compared to the process of 'evidentia in narritone' put to use by the FA group, where evidence is investigated and brought to life through mediated speech. A follow up exhibition enables the participants to share their findings and present their chosen images.

Forum 1	Image Collection	Forum 2	Exhibition
Objectives of the project discussed and agreed upon.We are organising an exhibiton, what would you like to show the audience? **(objectives set)**	Participants proceed to document subjects agreed upon in the first forum.	The group examines the images against the criteria agreed upon in the first forum. **(objectives met?)**	The images chosen by the group are exhibited publicly and discussed.

Video 1	Video 2

Fig 4, The VOKGL Forum Structure

Forum 1 – Setting objectives. The purpose of the first forum is to decide upon two things:
1. The general subject areas for the project, or 'generative themes'.
2. A set of qualities for the images to be assessed against.
In some cases, participatory photography subject areas can be pre-defined, despite Freire's specific warning against the use of 'primers' (Freire, 1974, 43). In the VOKGL approach a tangible end-point of the project is introduced, such as an exhibition or publication, making clear practical limitations such as time and budget. The agenda for the project is negotiated with the participants; subject areas are discussed and defined, limiting the directiveness of the agenda. However, to deny the broader space in which the project takes place would be naïve. The VOKGL project takes place as part of a larger peace education programme, so it is inevitable that the momentum of RPEP will direct the agenda to some degree. To entirely pre-define the core agenda would be a directive approach and limit the potential to create

'positive-instrumental-images', which reverse the flow of 'knowledge-power'. This would risk reducing or even eliminating the project's capacity to allow participants to engage in 'critical-dialogue' and take ownership of their own 'individualising-power'.

Forum 2 - Image selection. In the second forum the images are viewed, discussed and evaluated; in this dialogic space critical consciousness is developed. Participants initially present their images to the whole group, explaining why they created that specific image and how their images meet the qualities that were agreed in the first forum. This initial presentation acts as a catalyst for critical dialogue to follow, where the group determines the value of the images or 'codifications'. It is in this space that the images can exist as negatively or positively instrumental - there is a fork in the theoretical road. Collect the images at this point as qualitative evidence for the NGO and they risk become negatively instrumental, bolstering the power of the NGO. Allow the participants to critically engage with the subject and draw out the meaning for themselves, and the images have the capacity to become positively-instrumental, a part of the process of conscientisation. Through this dialogue the process is owned by the participants, *they* decide what is authentic, *they* deicide what speaks of their experience, and *they* direct the flow of power-knowledge

To encourage a collaborative approach and enable participants to support one another participants work in pairs or small teams. This encourages dialogue when discussing the objectives, and peer support when taking the pictures. Building a dialogic culture at this phase in the project supports the discussion and assessment of successful images later in the project. The facilitator keeps initial briefings concise and limited to the structure of the process, avoiding thematic or aesthetic concepts. This avoids introducing outside influences. A person to chair each forum is elected by the participants; participants may feel more able to challenge a chair who is elected from their own peer group, rather than an external facilitator who holds a greater deal of power in the relationship. Where possible when making important decisions an anonymous paper ballot voting process is used, ensuring that participants are not actively swayed by peer pressure or acquiescence.

Inevitably there are elements of the project that cannot fall within the forum structure, requiring input from either the facilitator or a smaller group/single participant. At the start of the project a period of training is required; participants may need technical guidance in how to use specific equipment, for example, as well as some basic instruction in lighting and exposure. At the end of the project an exhibition may take place; this needs to be organised and curated, which would potentially be difficult to do with the full involvement of the whole group. There is an inherent paradox with the training of the participants, as knowledge has to be passed from the facilitator to the participants without transferring bias towards subject and image style. This process has to be handled carefully to retain the integrity of the project. Peer reviewed practical exercises reduce the power imbalance of the traditional hierarchical teaching approach. The kinesthetic Freireian approach is adopted by the VOKGL method;

participants create images that mean something to them, and this process is used to deliver assistance on how they feel the images could be improved, rather than the instructor telling them how this could be done better. Integrating a dialogic approach to learning and assessment at this stage encourages participants to carry this approach through to the main forums. There is a risk that a hierarchical power dynamic established at this stage of the project would be carried through to the forums; creating an environment where participants felt they had to please the project facilitator, rather than looking to the group for direction, support and validation. This would sabotage the core aims of the project. The election of a curator for the exhibition at the end of the image selection process ensures that the participants are involved in its production.

3.4 The VOKGL Project in Rwanda

Overall VOKGL Project Structure

Establish project with partner NGO	Selection of participants	Introduce project to participants & Informed consent process	Photography and stroytelling skills training
Through dialogue with partners set overall primary and secondary goals	Work with local partners to identify participant group	Discuss the overall primary and secondary goals with participants.. Discuss ethical considerations, such as level of participation required, risks etc.	Participants are trained in visual storytelling techniques and the use of digital cameras.

Exhibition	Forum 2	Image Collection	Forum 1
The images chosen by the group are exhibited publicly at the **Ubumuntu arts festival.**	The group examines the images against the quualities agreed upon in the first forum. **(objectives met?)**	Participants create photographs covering the themes and qualities agreed upon in the first forum.	Themes of the project discussed and agreed upon. Desired qualities of the images discussed and agreed upon **(objectives set)**

Fig 5, Overall Project Structure

Two separate and distinct overarching purposes define the VOKGL project. In line with the overarching PAR methodology the primary focus of the project was the benefit of the process itself to the individuals directly engaging with it. The secondary purpose of the project was to form the basis of this academic research project, investigating alternative methods for participatory photography projects. An open dialogue with the partner NGO about the nature of the project ensured that these dual purposes were compatible.

As outlined in the ethics section local staff from the KGMC selected the project participants. This enabled the local team to choose participants they felt would benefit from engaging in the project; however, there were practical considerations in this process. Due to budgetary constraints the cost of bringing in and accommodating participants from outside Kigali was too great, because of this, participants had to be residents of Kigali. The forum structure is based on dialogue, and I did not have the resources to employ a translator. Because of this it was a requirement that participants were fluent in English. This meant the project was limited to educated participants. Secondary education in Rwanda is free, however socio-economic factors mean that many poorer young people cannot attend – they are needed

at home to work or care for younger siblings. This had the effect of limiting the reach of the project to a wealthier social group. In the appendix is data from the entry survey to confirm level of education, but not economic group. To my relief, however, on the first day we had a cohort of 13 happy and motivated participants from as broad a demographic as our constraints allowed.

Fig 6, VOKGL Participants and facilitators

The general concept of participatory photography and the specific primary and secondary project goals of the project were introduced to the participants in an initial briefing. During this introduction I gave an overview of the timeline, general project structure and the final exhibition at the Ubumuntu arts festival. We also took this opportunity for the participants to vote on the VOKGL logo.

Fig 7, Chosen VOKGL Logo

Following the introductory presentation key areas of the project were communicated to the participants, enabling them to make an informed decision about their choice to participate. Information sheets and consent forms were distributed to participants. I discussed their questions as a group and individually. Examples of the information sheet and consent form are included in the appendix. The completed consent forms have been kept on file in accordance with data protection regulations.

It was essential that the training complemented and reinforced the dialogic and participant-led nature of the project. A traditional hierarchical approach to delivering the training at this point in the process could easily set the expectation for the rest of the project, effectively shutting down any capacity for the participants to engage in authentic critical dialogue. I took care to ensure that the training methods used were as kinaesthetic as possible, revolving around participants taking ownership of solving practical and theoretical problems. In the first task participants working in small groups put documentary photo-stories in order, effectively curating them in an exhibition. A discussion followed about their interpretation of the photo-stories, and why they had arranged them in a particular way. This task was intended to engage participants with the idea of pictorial storytelling, communicating situations and ideas through sequences of pictures. It also encouraged the development of a verbal language with which to talk about photographs. These visual/verbal language skills were essential for the critical-dialogue that is encouraged in the forums.

Fig 8, Participants Elvis Benimana and Chryssie Karera, placing a photo story in order during a VOKGL training session

Participants were tasked with leaving the classroom in pairs and finding a visitor to the Kigali Genocide Memorial, they then had to photograph that individual and capture their story. This task is designed to develop the process of thinking about how to compose a story with images, and also negotiate the personal communication skills needed when working with humans in a safe space. After capturing these images the participants returned to the classroom and presented their images to the rest of the group. An engaging discussion about the virtues of the images took place. As many technical skills as possible were delivered alongside participants taking pictures, in order to embed practical techniques with creative inquiry.

During the training I discovered that all the participants had smartphones and were active on social media. They put forward an Instagram hashtag: #VOKGL, we also set up a

WhatsApp group to facilitate and encourage communication; embracing the technological tools that the participants were already using benefited the project. As well as sharing images later on I used Instagram to set homework; participants were given practical photographic tasks, the resulting images were presented and discussed the following day. Each workshop and task in the training was designed to facilitate learning collaboratively, through creative inquiry and dialogue. I tried to make the training process as reflexive as possible, responding to and adapting my approach to engage with the participants in a genuine way. I had a range of material prepared, but adapted this to suit the specific situation. Approaching the training as a collaborative, dialogical and reflexive process of learning prepared participants to engage with the rest of the project in a critical and independent way. In these discussions I encouraged the participants to direct questions to each other, not exclusively to me. This was tricky at first as the participants wanted to seek approval from me as the facilitator, but after a few hours the discussions become more free-flowing amongst the participants. This was helped by me taking part in the tasks as a participant and feeding into the conversation as much as an equal as possible.

Forum 1: *Full video available here (Vid A):* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=__CVPlFR2_Y

The purpose of the first forum was to decide upon the general subject areas for the project, or 'generative themes' and a set of 'qualities' for the images to be assessed against. This was intended to avoid a pre-defined agenda for image content and style. Bertrand, a participant that the group selected, chaired the first forum. He led the discussion, directing the questioning, dialogue and voting. At this stage votes were counted with a show of hands.

Fig 9, The first forum

Following an initial briefing giving an overview of the process the participants split into their groups. This was according to the areas of Kigali in which they live, both for practical purposes and to facilitate collaborative working. Each group discussed the themes they thought the project should focus on, refining this into a single area. In the Freireian pedagogical

approach these are called 'generative themes'. We discussed the final exhibition; it was made clear that the participants were responsible for choosing the images that would be shared. They were not asked to focus specifically on negative issues or the challenges they face. The intention of leaving this open was to avoid primers. After the initial idea generation phase each group took turns to present/pitch their idea for the focus of the project to the whole group. My idea for this process was that after discussing each subject area/theme, the whole group would vote on one of these areas for all the smaller groups to focus on. This process worked well; at the small group level the participants actively engaged with the discussion about the themes; in the large group the participants presented their ideas well, but there was less discussion. The nature of the initial smaller groups meant that they were not recorded in the same way as the main forum.

In this section I refer to the video of the first forum, please follow the link above to **Vid A** to observe the dialogue that is discussed here. Kellia discusses the concept of 'Itorero' (Vid A, 8:10), a traditional Rwandan cultural school where citizens learned about their language, history and social relations. During colonial rule Itorero was banned, which has been attributed as a factor leading to the breakdown of cultural relations contributing to the 1994 genocide (rgb.rw, 2019). The Itorero schools were subsequently re-instated by the current government. Kellia goes on to explore the role of the arts in 'building a person' and the relationship between individual artistic expression and the unifying nature of wider family and national identity. During the presentation of the ideas potential themes were discussed, with overlap between them. Divine discusses that when people think about Rwanda from the outside they see only genocide, conflict and poverty (Vid A, 19:15). She says that it would be good to show that people in Rwanda have a normal life, that they have fun and play sports. Divine describes that the theme of 'Rwandan Sports' could be a positive example of 'people coming together'. Djamila explains that in developing countries cultural identity is often left behind as they progress, leading to internationalisation (Vid A, 20:06). She explains her idea of defining Rwandan Values and Taboos, to celebrate what makes Rwandan culture 'beautiful and interesting' so young Rwandans can engage in their culture. She also explains the value of sharing this with visitors, so they can avoid cultural misunderstandings. Following the discussion of the themes it was voted that the final chosen subject area should be decided after lunch (Vid A, 28:05).

In a conversation over lunch something interesting happened; a group of the participants made it clear they did not want to choose a single area for the whole project. They saw that all the subjects presented came under the umbrella of 'Rwandan Culture' and proposed that another option should be put forward; a main subject area of 'Rwandan Culture' with individual groups covering the specific area their theme focused on within it. After the lunch break this was formally put to the group by Bertrand, the chair, and was voted on as the best course of action (Vid A, 28:28). The participants discussed that their culture was often

misunderstood, or ignored by the international community, who are fixated on the country's violent past. They wanted instead to create images that showed positive aspects of their culture. I am immensely pleased that the participants felt able to change the design of the project to better suit their ideas. This shows that the reflexiveness in the design of the project fulfilled its function, and that the project was participant-led. I felt the atmosphere change at this point, this was different from my experience in facilitating other projects. When participants realised that they had influence over the outcomes; they became more interested in the prospect of having their own exhibition. The final agreed subject areas were:

PARTICIPANTS CHOSEN SUBJECT AREAS

Overall theme of 'Culture' with five sub sections:

Group A	-	Rwandan Arts
Group B	-	Rwandan Dance
Group C	-	Rwandan Craft
Group D	-	Rwandan Values/Taboos
Group E	-	Rwandan Sports
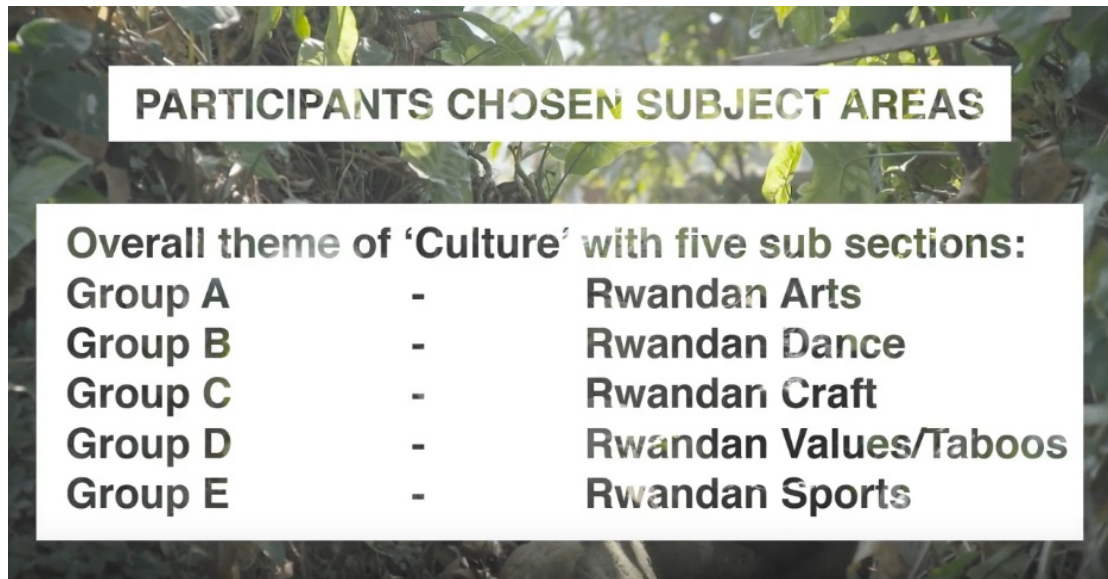
Fig 10, The agreed subject areas for the project (video still)

Following the voting on the subject areas/themes for the project the group discussed what makes a 'good' photograph, agreeing on a set of 'qualities' that successful images should possess. The participants were reminded that these would be referred to at the end of the project and used to select successful images. Following on from the open atmosphere of the first part of the forum there was a positive discussion about this, with some very interesting areas raised, such as: The images should be 'mysterious' and 'creative'. There was a general feeling that the images should be positive, to reflect the participants' vision of a Rwanda they wanted to share (Vid A, 37:40). The participants felt that it was important for the images to tell a story (Vid A, 40:30), carrying a narrative that was communicated in the images, but also in a written caption to accompany them. There was a long discussion about whether the images should be honest, and what this means in terms of authorship. I could not hold back and intervened at this point, asking if the pictures should be honest in terms of how they show the subject (Vid A, 44:05). This stimulated a further debate on the nature of honesty in representation. The final agreed qualities are in the image below:
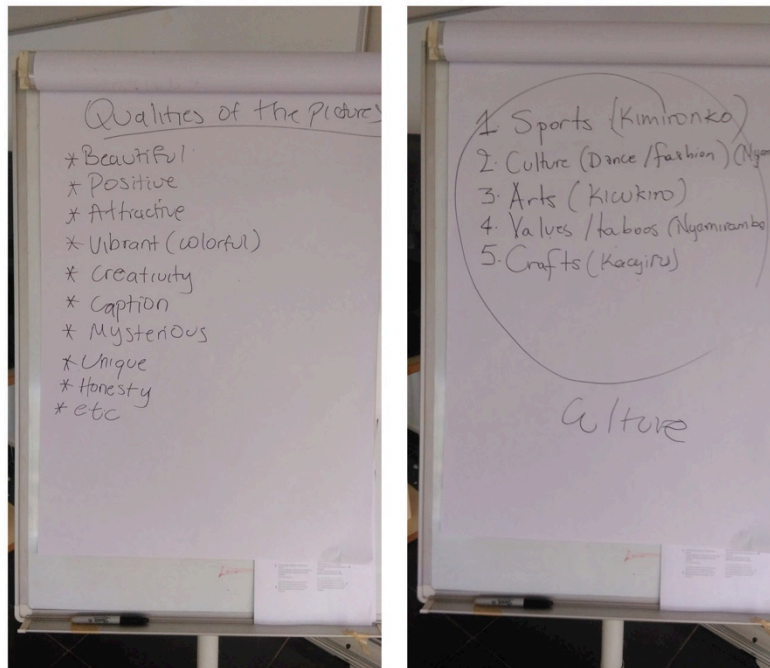
Fig 11, The subject areas/themes and qualities agreed in the first forum.

Image taking

The four days out taking images went well. We visited each group at least once while they were out collecting images. During these visits we offered advice on technique, and discussed the mages they had taken. This was an enjoyable part of the project as we were able to travel around Kigali and see the participants out in the community being creative and making images. The participants encountered very few problems; there were no negative responses from the public or animosity. Two of the groups found it difficult to visualise and capture their subject areas, including the group covering Rwandan Values/Taboos. I feel that this was simply a case of them needing more support with the cameras and visual techniques to build confidence.

Fig 12, Divine and Chryssie taking images

Forum 2 – *Full video available here (Vid B):*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWb_bLAZFQw

Before the images could be discussed and voted on in the second forum they needed to be processed. On the day of the forum each group downloaded their images and reduced them down to a selection of ten. Some of the groups chose to use image-editing software to make adjustments to their pictures at this point, altering colour and cropping. The ten images for each group were then ready to present to the forum.

Placide was elected as the chair of the second forum. Each group was given a voting sheet, with a column for each of the five groups and a square for each of the ten images presented by that group. An elective from each group presented their images, explaining the content, context and how they met the themes and qualities agreed upon in the first forum. Following this presentation of the images a discussion and a vote took place. The participants were asked to give each image a score out of 10 (10 being the highest mark).[3] To avoid the situation of a group not having any of their images selected and being disenfranchised each group had one ratifying vote that would ensure their favourite image would be included. The groups were given the freedom to use this vote on one of their own images or an image from another group; this was signified by a red dot. [4] After the voting was over I inputted all of the scores into a spreadsheet and the highest scoring images were selected for the exhibition.

Fig 13, Second forum image example voting sheet

The presentation and voting system was designed to act as a catalyst for critical dialogue, with the group determining the value of the images or 'codifications'. It is in this space that the images created by the participants have the potential to become either negatively or positively instrumental.

[3] At this point I did not know how many images we could print with the available budget. This system gave each of the 50 images a score, meaning we could select the highest scoring images for the exhibition, shifting the threshold depending on available printing resources.

[4] As it happens this was unnecessary, as after voting each of the groups had a similar number of images that met the threshold to be included. Also each of the images with the red dot scored highly, and would have been included in the exhibition without the use of the ratifying vote.

In this section I refer to the video of the second forum, please follow the link above to **Vid B** to observe the dialogue that is discussed here. In the presentations and discussion various positive attributes were discussed, with some interesting details being brought to the front of the discussion. For group A the forum was struck with the similarities between an image of a traditional Rwandan dancer and similar historic images (Vid B, 2:08), this image was celebrated by the forum as evidence of a living cultural heritage. The meaning of an image depicting a small child crawling on the ground in a traditional pottery was questioned. It was interpreted as that to learn and understand your culture you need to grow up immersed within it (Vid B, 7:28). The bringing together of traditional and modern cultures was discussed with the images of football crowds made by group B. They created a composite image that showed the introduction of modern culture, as traditional culture disappeared, and this was discussed in some detail (Vid B, 20:00). Group D documented Rwandan values and taboos (Vid B, 39:36). Their images were quite varied in style and content and I felt lacked the visual refinement of other groups, however their images covered some of the most interesting areas of the project in relation to the representation of Rwandan identity and how this is perceived. They photographed someone receiving their 'Itorero' award, the revived traditional Rwandan cultural school where citizens learn about their language, history and social relations. This connected to their theme proposal in the first forum about how the arts can build a person, and creativity's relationship with building a national identity in the face of international development and globalization. Group E covered Rwandan Sports, presenting a range of images including pictures of professional football players holding hands, demonstrating unity. The football match they photographed took place at the Nyamirambo stadium, a site of mass violence during the 1994 Genocide.

Exhibition

Following the voting on images the participants selected Placide to be their curator. He worked with George and I to design the layout and installation of the exhibition at the Ubumuntu arts festival. I felt that it would be too difficult to organize the exhibition if we had a large group of people involved. At this point there were many technical issues to resolve, such as printing and mounting. There was also limited budget available for transporting the participants to KGMC to be involved in the process. We asked each group to write a 100-word overview of their subject area and send this to us to be included on their exhibition panel. The exhibition was then printed and installed at the memorial.

VOKGL project Conclusion

In the first forum we hear the participants discussing a range of themes; they are engaged in critical-dialogue about how their culture is under threat from globalisation, and the effect this has on their society at both a community and a national level. Kellia's discussion of 'Itorero', and the effect of its reintegration into Rwandan society enabled her to explore the

role of the arts in 'building a person' and the relationship between individual artistic expression and identity (Vid A, 8:10). Djamila identified that as developing countries progress economically they can also lose their culture, absorbing the cultural identity of the international NGOs and organisations that work in them (Vid A, 20:06). This resonates with the Freireian critique of traditional education, in which the values of the oppressor are absorbed along with the 'deposits' of information (Freire 1970, 45). In this case the culture of the NGOs from the global north is being transferred along with their economic and developmental activities. This is also evidence that confirms Chase-Dunn and Gills' critique of neoliberal globalisation in developing countries, whereby certain societies at the core of the global neoliberal system are allowed to exert power over 'periphery societies' which are often in the developing world. (Chase-Dunn & Gills, 2005, 48). I am confident that the focus on dialogue in the forums enabled the participants to question these sources of oppression. Djamila's group created positive-instrumental images (see fig 20); instead of negative codifications of their oppression, they made images that celebrated the uniqueness of their culture and national identity, images that could be exhibited and put to use against the dominant narratives. This opens the potential for the artistic process to be used in a positive-instrumental way, directing the individualising power of photography against dominant forms of political power - in this case the cultural homogenising power of the huge number of international NGOs operating in Rwanda, each with a political agenda set by their donors.

The greatest success of the first forum is that the participants identified it as being problematic, and were able to intervene and change it. They rejected the plan I had created and put forward their own (Vid A, 28:28). The participants discussed that their culture was often misunderstood or ignored by the international community, who are fixated on the country's violent past (Vid A, 19:15). Instead, they wanted to create images that showed positive aspects of their culture. They proposed a main subject area of 'Rwandan Culture' with individual groups focusing on their specific theme. This moved the focus away from themes and codifications that embody their oppression; through critical dialogue and conscientisation the group made critical connections with the roots of the issues that affect them. They chose to create visual material that would work against their sources of oppression, embodying both the Freireian process of conscientisation and the production of Sekulian positive-instrumental images. This became a space in which the root causes of oppression could be identified and acted upon, bringing reflection and action together.

There was a positive atmosphere in the second forum, and for many participants it was the first time they had seen the images made by the other groups. The success of the various groups was celebrated, with compliments and applause; this felt like an empowering space. The forums were designed to function with limited to no intervention from the facilitator. This was achieved by working on encouraging two-way dialogue in the training, developing critical

dialogue around images and what they mean. Tasks were designed to encourage inquiry by developing the verbal and visual languages.

In the second forum participants discussed the value of the pictures in less depth than I was hoping, much of the discussion took place in smaller groups and was not entered into the wider group. The participants presented their images but as discussion was generally confined to the smaller groups they did not have to defend them; they did answer some questions but these were mostly practical and technical (Vid B, 1:03:27). Further discussion about what the images meant to the participants and how they represented their culture would have enabled a deeper critical-dialogue, and engage further in the Freireian process of using critical-dialogue to look beyond perceived personal/individual failings and recognise the source of their oppression as structural and political (Freire, 1974, 15). With this in mind I believe the participants did have more thoughtful discussions, but chose to keep these to themselves rather than bringing a critical voice to the wider group. Many of these smaller conversations were spoken in Kinyarwanda, the participants' first language, this meant that it was not possible for me to understand them. This may I think have been beneficial to the project, allowing the participants to reject a European with a colonial history. With this in mind the atmosphere in the second forum was positive, empowered and celebratory. A serious presentation and confrontational defence of the images would have not fitted with this atmosphere of mutual collaboration.

I feel the presentation and voting system for the second forum could be organised differently to more effectively facilitate critical and positive dialogue. The voting sheet process was simple and effective but meant that the participants discussed the work in their small groups rather than in the wider group. The voting was separated from the dialogue, stopping the participants from engaging with the whole group of images in a creative way. Instead of judging and voting, a collaborative system of curating may work better, with the images printed out and stuck to the wall, mimicking the task in the earlier training sessions. This would be a creative process, rather than a confrontational judgement of quality. At this stage images could be discussed on their merit, and whether they should be included or not as part of the whole, working towards the common goals established in the first forum and with the aim of facilitating mutual-conscientisation and visual material that can more effectively be put to use against forms of power. In many ways the empirical voting system embodied the data driven managerialism that the project seeks to resist, it is effective in ranking images on a clear scale, but in doing this suppress the dialogue and inquiry that is the focus of the process.

Overall the project worked well, the participants were engaged and had a positive experience. There was positive data produced by the entry/exit questionnaires in working towards the project goals agreed with The Aegis Trust (included in the appendix). On reflection I feel much more responsibility for the production of the exhibition should have fallen to the

participants. To remove their involvement at this stage embodies my criticism of many participatory approaches, that the power of representation sits with the systems that support the production and consumption of images, in this case the exhibition at KGMC. After the votes had been counted there were quite a number of images that I was surprised had not made the final selection. I found this quite frustrating as they seemed quite striking. I discussed having an extra panel in the exhibition for the 'facilitators choice'. I resisted this urge, realising that this was in fact an indicator that the project had worked. The fact that the participants selected images that we would not have, and left out images we would have included, meant that they had autonomy within the process, and were not entirely swayed by the facilitators influence.

Exhibition panels:

Fig 14 exhibition introduction panel

SUBJECT: RWANDAN ARTS

Benimana Elvis
Iradukunda Bertrand
Manzi Odillon

In Rwanda pottery is done by a certain group of people who live near the swamps. They get clay from the ground and turn the clay into many forms of art. Mostly they make utensils to be used by the whole community such as: inkono (saucepans), imbabura (stoves,) ibisabo (butter churns) etc. Due to developments some of these utensils are not used as they were before, instead some are used to keep flowers and others for decoration. This work provides an income for these people.
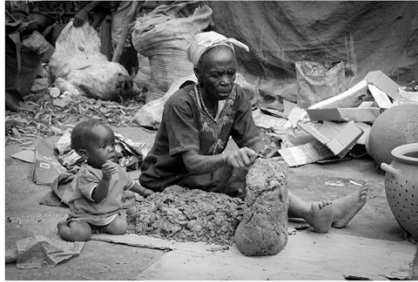
Fig 15, Group A, chosen images

SUBJECT: RWANDAN DANCE

Munyaneza Placide
Mucyo Arnaud

These photos portray culture, focusing on visual culture through dance and fashion from different perspectives. The images of the feet portray the change in culture from the traditional to the modern, through fashion. The sequence of pictures tells a story. Others include dancers from Kigali with various traditional, modern, and more celebratory dances.

Fig 16, Group B, chosen images

SUBJECT: RWANDAN CRAFT
Gashagaza Sabin
Karera Chryssie
Ngabonziza Kellia

Handcrafts are a historical part of Rwandan culture. This is due to useful products like Agaseke, mats, chairs, mortars and other tools such as Umuvure. However, with the modernisation of lifestyles in Rwanda, some products of traditional handcraft are becoming less useful, or even changing use, such as Agaseke - which are now being used as a decorative or symbolic item. However Rwandans still make handcrafts because these products can now be used to provide an income.

Fig 16, Group C, chosen images

SUBJECT: RWANDAN VALUES AND TABOOS
Umwali Nadine
Uwase Djamila

Rwandan youth need to learn about Rwandan culture - these values and taboos form the backbone of our identity. These images show how through hard work, cleanliness and obedience, and other values our culture is formed. These images are to remind Rwandan youth how our culture is beautiful, and to show our Rwandan friends abroad how deeply we value our culture. So Rwandans, let's cherish and taste our culture, because our culture is our brand and identity.

Fig 17, Group D, chosen images

SUBJECT: RWANDAN SPORTS
Keza Divine
Ganza Bertin
Gasaro Raissa

We, as team Kimironko, worked on sports in the community.
First we visited Maison Des Jeunes in Gatenga, which is a school but also a well known site for all kinds of sports due to its large playgrounds. We had the opportunity to photograph and have fun with people playing basketball, volleyball and football. We also admired other various kinds of sports that were being done by young people. Last but not least of our fabulous adventures, we attended a football game between Rayon Sport vs Azam Tanzania. It was a super cool game and we took some really good photographs, including Rayon sport being given the championship cup. Gooooaaaal!!!

Fig 18, Group E, chosen images

Fig 19, Exhibition install at KGMC

Conclusion

This research project has taken me on an unexpected and rewarding journey. As an experienced participatory photography project facilitator I had a set of problems in mind when I asked the first research question: 'What are the political and representational problems with the implementation of participatory photography projects in the NGO environment?'. I expected issues around authorship, aestheticisation and authenticity in relation to commodification. What I discovered were a set of problems based around power. The counter-hegemonic approach of the PAR methodology (Kindon et al, 2007, 9) has enabled me to directly engage with these power relationships. For the second research question: 'Which approaches can enable less problematic outcomes in how images are produced and consumed?' Iterative cycles of action and reflection have allowed me to draw on my personal experiences, and those of the other co-researchers, in a model of shared knowledge production that 'treats participants as competent and reflexive agents' (Kindon et al, 2007, 14). This approach rooted in PAR has enabled me to investigate and challenge the power embedded in the relationship between the 'researched' and the 'researcher' with emancipation and transformation at its heart (McTaggart, 1997, 1). These core motivations have aligned with this project and supported the qualitative approach to create a reflective account of how these methods and approaches to participatory photography impact the communities within which they operate.

In chapter one I use post-structuralist modes of enquiry to explore the origins, applications, limitations and flow of power within participatory photography, forming the first stage of the action-reflection cycle in this thesis. There is a precedent for the integration of post-structuralist critiques into PAR as a method for grappling with the complex multi-layered power relations (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). I begin with exploring the fundamental aim of all humanitarian NGOs to improve the lives of their beneficiaries, this pivots on a central promise to transfer power to disempowered people, through access to resources, education, gender equality, healthcare and financial markets (UN, MDGs, 2018). However I discovered that genuine as the promise is, its potential is compromised by a complex and subtle power relationship simultaneously at play. The rise of neoliberalism in the global north has seen the retraction of the formal state, being replaced by a 'softer' form of power driven by market forces. This has been described as a 'new imperialism' in which societies and organisations at its centre exert power over developing countries, using NGOs as a political tool (Chase-Dunn & Gills, 2005, 48). In a similar way, I believe, participatory photography promises to engage beneficiaries, build partnerships and create visual material that brings to life the issues afflicting vulnerable communities, but in fact all the while is feeding into the reports, publications and inherent managerialism of the neo-liberal development sector. It is this that I attempt to address with the VOKGL pilot.

To survive in this neoliberal environment, large development agencies require reliable accountable information. This is achieved through standardised and measurable processes. However, when we look at the Freireian theory so central to the participatory project, we find a dialogic reflexive process with an emancipatory aim. Freire directly challenges the modern capitalist environment from which global neoliberalism and its management practices have developed, identifying economic patterns as a root of oppression (Freire 1974,15). There is a fundamental tension between the desire to empower and a fixed managerial structure, without which projects would not be funded. This throws light on the inherent conflicts between empowerment and managerialism in many participatory photography projects, where power does not necessarily sit with the camera itself. While these projects are guided by 'managerial logic' the power stays with the process and the organisations that commission and guide them. Ultimately this power feeds back into the neoliberal systems that oppress those in the global south, reinforcing a colonial legacy. In a tragic reversal of its fundamental aims, the participatory project now risks turning beneficiaries into photographers that take the eye of the NGO and the neoliberal systems they represent directly into their communities. Participants unwittingly become complicit in their own oppression.

It is both ironic and exciting that the means to making good this distorted and hypocritical situation exists already, at the radical heart of the participatory process itself. Central to the Freireian approach is a promise to challenge dominant power relationships: 'breaking vertical authority patterns through dialogue participants, learner and teacher alike become jointly responsible for a process in which they all grow' (Rogers, 1978, 108). In 1997 with the photovoice method Wang and Burris directly connected this to participatory photography, where participants use cameras to create photographs that act as Freireian 'codifications'. These cameras enable participants to use a visual language to speak of the issues that affect them. However, from reading John Tagg I can establish that it is not the camera itself, or even the person using it, that holds the power (Tagg, 1988). The wider knowledge-process creates and supports the power within the camera, the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Unless the process as a whole is transferred to the participant the power the camera commands is not transferred. Without dialogue and open inquiry participants are unable to question the dominant power structures by which they are oppressed, and the 'mutual conscientisation' at the heart of the Freireian process cannot take place. A return to focus on dialogue is critical to avoid power contining to reside in the system which authorises and facilitates the process, a system that continues to collect images and use them as a form of knowledge power.

I continue the cycle of action/reflection in chapter two when addressing the second research question. Reflecting on the limitations explored in the first chapter I take a theoretical approach to the design of a fresh participatory photography method. This led me to the work of Allan Sekula, to whom there has been a recent resurgence of interest among photography

scholars. Sekula did not disappoint; in his essay 'The instrumental image: Steichen at war' (1984) he explores how photography can be used to direct various forms of power. This is interesting in relation to this research, as there are parallels between Sekula's discussion of the 'instrumental-image' put to use by reconnaissance platoons, and the participatory photography project. As I discussed in chapter 2 both are used to direct action: In the case of the military use, to assess where to direct physical violence, in the case of the participatory project, they direct a 'softer' post-colonial from of power. This analysis is useful, as in defining how images are used negatively creates a set of actions that can be reversed, putting the instrumentality of images to use in a positive way.

Allan Sekula expands the potential to turn the negative instrumental image to a positive application in his essay 'Photography and the Limits of National Identity' (1993), in which he describes a process called 'counter-forensics', where the structures of the forensic investigation are reversed and used to hold oppressive and genocidal regimes to account. This process disarms the negative-instrumental image; instead of being used to identify and annihilate, the instrumental image is used to identify and remember the victims of oppressor states. In the VOKGL project I use this reversal of the flow of power as a template for a revised participatory process; instead of investigating oppressive regimes, the participants investigated their political and social reality. The VOKGL forums enabled the participants to guide the systems which authorise and facilitate image production and consumption. Sekula identifies that through counter-forensics photography can develop a function that counteracts Foucauldian notions of surveillance and knowledge-power (Sekula, 1993, 55). I designed the VOKGL pilot to allow participants to direct the process and investigate their own situation, addressing the power relationships at play in the participatory photography project.

During this research project it became clear that the capacity of photography to individualise participants was a key factor in enabling those participants to steer the process. Michel Foucault identified that individualisation was vital for the development of pastoral power within the state, and goes on to establish the importance of knowledge over the individual in providing a foundation for this power. The power of photography to individualise is used by systems of power to oppress; through counter-forensics this same power can be re-purposed and turned back to the oppressor. Thomas Keenan and Allan Sekula make a case for counter-forensics to have the potential for the transferal of ownership of 'individualising-power' back to the oppressed and allow it to be used as a form of counter-political practice. I put to use the transferal of this 'individualising-power' in the VOKGL project, allowing the participants to identify and discuss the issues that define them as individuals and a community.

The VOKGL iteration of the participatory method was intended to handle photographs dualistically as Freireian 'codifications' and as 'positive-instrumental-images'. What they are

emphatically *not* is a final product, a commodity to be used by the neo-liberal managerial system to reinforce the post-colonial power of the NGO. The information they contain is indexed and analysed as part of a dialogic process that directs knowledge-power against dominant forms of political and corporate power. The emphasis is returned to the spaces in which objectives are set and the photographs are read; in the Freireian 'culture circle' images are unpicked through 'critical dialogue', in Sekula's counter–forensic 'forum' photographic testimony is entered. Like Freire, Sekula directs the flow of power-knowledge back at dominant forms of political power. In these spaces dominant power is defined by the participants. In both the 'culture circle' and the 'forensic-forum' images are reflected upon and used to direct action through 'praxis'. It is only through a process of genuine critical-inquiry, owned and directed by participants, that this process can stop being a tool of Foucauldian knowledge-power and oppression. The VOKGL approach brings the theories of Sekula and Freire to participatory photography projects, using transformative critical dialogue to enable less problematic outcomes in how images are produced and consumed. The video documentation of the process aims to make visible the dialogue at the centre of the project.

As described in chapter 3, the participants in the pilot VOKGL project in Rwanda made some profound connections during the forum processes between their personal, cultural and economic situations and the wider global and historical context of their lives. I was particularly struck by Djamila's identification that developing countries can lose their culture as they progress economically, absorbing the cultural identity of the international NGOs and organisations that work in them (Vid A, 20:06). As a result of this Djamila's group created images (see fig 17) celebrating the uniqueness of their culture and national identity. Similarly, in response to the colonial era banning and subsequent post-colonial revival of Itorero, Kellia used the exploratory space of the forum to discuss the role of the arts in 'building a person' and the relationship between individual artistic expression and identity (Vid A, 8:10). PAR enabled this cycle of action and reflection to build a dialogic engagement with the participants, who were engaged as co-researchers, orienting the research towards their experience, increasing the capacity for political empowerment and transformation (Kindon et al 2006; Fals-Borda 2006). I don't believe that insight of this depth and gravity could have been achieved with a more directive approach.

The participants identified that they were able to intervene and change the first forum. They adapted the plan I had created, and put forward their own (Vid A, 28:28). This reflexivity was a success, as the participants could have easily felt that they were not able to intervene. The participants discussed that their culture was often misunderstood, or ignored by the international community, who are fixated on the country's violent past (Vid A, 19:15), they wanted to create images that showed positive aspects of their culture. This moved the focus away from themes and codifications that embody their oppression, as through critical dialogue and conscientisation the group made critical connections with the roots of the issues that

affect them. They chose to create visual material that would work against the sources of their oppression, embodying both the Freireian process of conscientisation and the production of Sekulian positive-instrumental images. I was taken aback by the fact that instead of focusing on the negative, they made images that celebrated the uniqueness of their culture and national identity, images that could be exhibited and put to use against dominant forms of power.

While watching the documentation of the VOKGL forums I was surprised by an unexpected similarity between Allan Sekula's exploration of national identity and the VOKGL project. Sekula considered the relationship photography has to the definition of two very different national identities; that of the USA and the people of the people of Kurdistan. In the case of the USA photography has been used to celebrate individuals and the culture they are a part of. Photography is used to export American culture abroad, through advertising photography, but also in publications and traveling exhibitions. In Kurdistan photography has been used to identify individuals and direct violence, in repeated attempts to destroy the people of Kurdistan (Sekula, 1993, 30). The parallel with the VOKGL project is that when given the freedom to choose what to represent the participants chose 'Rwandan Culture'. In the initial forum they identified that their culture was often misunderstood, or ignored by the international community, who are fixated on the country's violent past. As covered in the introduction, depictions of the Rwandan genocide are more prevalent in the media now than ever before (Möller, 2013, 82). The VOKGL participants chose to take an active role in defining their national identity, in the wake of attempts to destroy it. Using the counter-forensic approach to the participatory process created a space in which the participants could direct the project against echoes of their violent past. In forums they debated the direction they wished to take the project; instead of creating negative 'generative-themes' that illustrated their oppression, they created positive 'generative-themes' that celebrated their culture. By taking ownership of the method they found Paulo Freire's emancipation in cultural celebration, which could then be directed against the post-colonial view of their culture. These Instrumental-images were debated in the second forum as 'codifications' of their culture; in that space the participants shared that which united them, and I believe through this positive critical dialogue found an emerging critical consciousness.

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Appendix

South Sudan Case Study:

Kaujok, South Sudan, participatory photography and community security.

In 2013 I facilitated a participatory photography project in South Sudan, working with communities at risk of conflict. The project was implemented with the NGO Saferworld as part of a large peace-building project using the 'community security' approach, which they have developed and defined. In 2013 I travelled to the remote town of Kaujok in northern South Sudan to facilitate a participatory photography project with the NGO Saferworld. South Sudan is the worlds youngest country, having been formed in 2011, when I first visited in 2012 the country was just one year old. South Sudan has had a turbulent past, decades of civil war have led to serious tensions between various political and ethnic groups in society, combined with political power battles for mineral and oil recourses. Since it's independence the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) has advised against all travel to South Sudan.
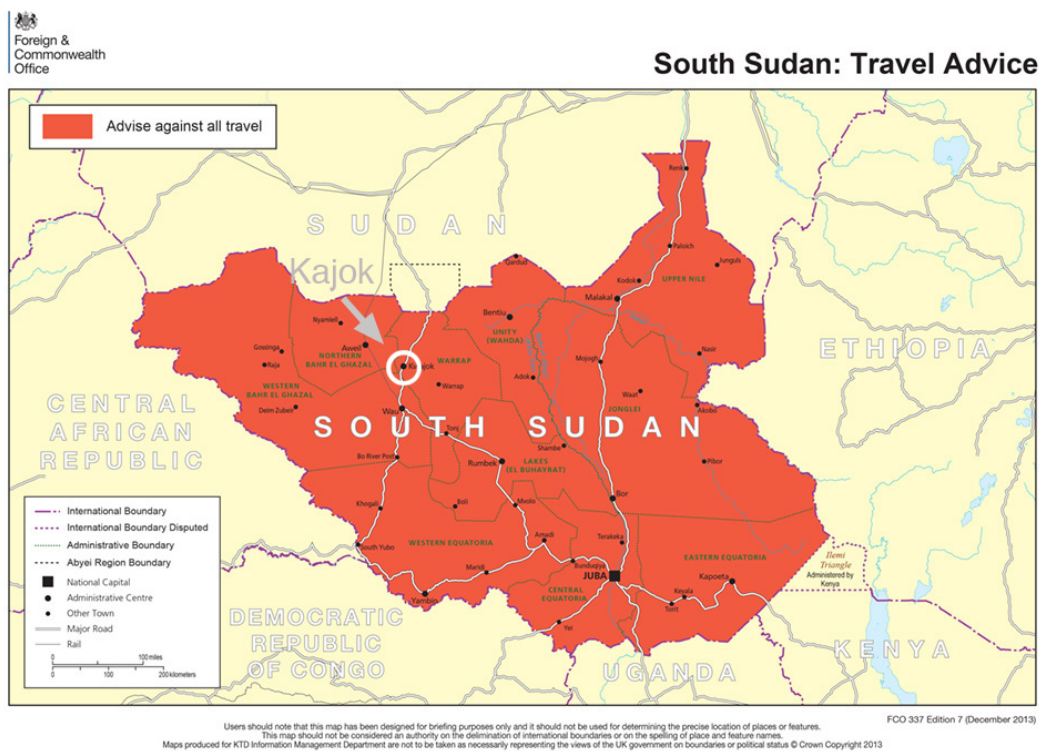
Fig, 20, FCO South Sudan Travel advice map

The non-governmental organization Saferworld has been operating in the region that became South Sudan since 2002, they work with members of the community, local authorities, civil society partners and 'hard to reach' groups such as young people, women and 'non-state security providers'. Working with these groups they 'identify and address safety and peacebuilding needs that are specific to the different communities' (Saferworld, 2018).

Saferworld have developed and defined the 'Community Security' approach to peace-building. At the heart of the community security approach is the concept of 'human security' defined in the influential 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR). The HDR report outlines that security is a universal entitlement, which is required as a fundamental foundation for human well being, and is a pre-requisite for all other forms of development. The HDR report calls for a new definition of security away from a national perspective onto a human scale, which should be assessed and approached with people at its centre. (UNDP, 1994, p3)

The Community Security approach pioneered by Saferworld aims to directly tackle issues causing insecurity at a community level. It does this through a 'people-centred approach' aiming to 'directly improve the relationships between and behaviours of communities, authorities and institutions' this process provides individual actors with opportunities to identify their security concerns, then plan appropriate collective responses and actions. Ultimately it aims to 'empower communities to hold to account those who should be delivering their security' (Saferworld, 2014, p3). Saferworld executive director Paul Murphy defines community security in their 2014 Community Security Handbook: 'Community Security affirms the need for institutional and technical reforms, but rejects the idea that security is the sole preserve of the state. The public is engaged as having both the right and the opportunity to articulate security priorities and to be a part of planning and implementing responses.' (Saferworld, 2014, foreword I)

It is within the context of a wider Community Security programme that the Kuajok participatory photography project was established. There are many ideological resonances between the emancipatory promise of the participatory photography process, and the promise of the community security approach to empower communities to hold those in power to account. The commonality of the rejection of top-down politics links these approaches, in this context the use of participatory photography projects allows participants to identify the issues that affect them, open a dialogue in their community and feed that information up the power chain, enabling voices to be heard and enabling positive social change.

The format of the participatory photography project in Kaujok followed the typical method outlined earlier in this chapter (p2). Saferworld identified that a participatory photography project would fit in with their wider community security programme in the region as part of a range of focus groups and community interventions, working with local partners to assess how security issues could be addressed. In the terms of reference for the project Saferworld defined their position and objectives of the project: 'We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace' (Saferworld, ToR, 2012). From this

mission statement we can ascertain that the organization aim to simultaneously directly improve the security of the participants while also generating insight and subsequently advocacy material to be used to influence policymakers. This is further explained in the overall project aims in the ToR:

'The overall aims of the participatory photography project are to:
- involve communities and build their sense of ownership of the wider community safety and security project being carried out by Saferworld and partners
- provide first hand visual and oral material of individual and community concerns over safety and security. This will be useful for communications, funding and national/international advocacy work
- provide a 'baseline' for follow-on regular six-monthly updates with identified individuals providing stories of change and impact. This will be useful for communications, funding, advocacy, and monitoring and evaluation.'

(Safterworld, ToR, 2013)

Staff from a local partner organisation helped select the group of participants, these included those that hold power in the community such as police and members of the security forces, and representatives of vulnerable people such as local journalists and respected elders. The range of participants selected was in part designed to bring them together, as there is often poor communication and tension between these groups. These participants are also in the position to be able to offer a level of insight into the various security issues that affect the community, which is useful for evaluation and advocacy aims.

In the training element of the project basic technical skills were delivered so that participants were able to use the cameras, methods of visualising stories and understanding how to communicate ideas through image making. At this point the subject of the images to be taken was also given to the participants, this was to create images that show 'what safety and security means' to them. Saferworld had predefined this subject at the beginning of the project, because the purpose of the project was to so directly linked to issues around safety and security this directive approach was taken to define the subject to be photographed. It was also made clear that it was not the purpose of the project to create images of violence, insecurity or conflict, and that in now way were participants to put themselves in any danger when creating images.

Fig. 21, The author delivering training in Kuajok South Sudan

During training the participants were given two hours to complete a practical task: to go out into the town and collect images that showed someone or something that required protection. It was emphasised that this did not necessarily mean to photograph vulnerable people, as often people in positions of power also require protection. After the image collection the participants would return, download their images and begin a discussion with the rest of the group about their content.

Fig 22, Image collection in Kuajok South Sudan

After the two hour period had elapsed the participants started to return; as we downloaded their images from the cameras it quickly became apparent that quality of the content of the images had exceeded the expectations of myself as the facilitator and the staff working for Saferworld. This was the first participatory photography project I had been involved with, for the preceding seven years I had been struggling to gain a level of insight and understanding into the issues affecting communities like these, carrying the burden of a

practitioner wrestling with the fundamental issues of authentic representation in the post-colonial NGO environment. The participants in Kuajok had managed to gain access to their community and create a set of images that showed the issues that affect them with seemingly more depth and authenticity than I could possibly achieve as a western outsider, with just a mornings training and two hours collecting images. For me documentary photography in the NGO context would never be the same again.

Fig 23, Images taken by participants in Kuajok South Sudan, (The identities of vulnerable people have been obscured)

The participants retuned with a range of images that covered a surprisingly diverse and engaging set of topics. A participant who was a policeman decided to document the struggle of children displaced by the conflict who had no family to help and support them, they are regularly forced to steal food form the market to survive. He photographed the young boys after they had been caught by police and beaten. The policeman found the situation distressing, as he was also forced to catch and punish these young people, although he knew what they really needed was support that is not available. A participant who was a soldier photographed an ex child soldier who was suffering with serious mental health problems due to trauma from the conflict. In a country with a long history endemic conflict and no support for ex-combatants this is a common situation. A female journalist who was a participant photographed women who were being imprisoned because their husbands had not paid the marriage dowry due to the family, the journalist had been trying to raise awareness of this

injustice. Each of these issues would have been very hard to research as an outsider, let alone negotiate access to photograph them.

In that moment, the participatory photography process seemed to be a magical silver bullet for the ethical paradoxes at the heart of authentic representation in the NGO environment. Tasking the people who understand their situation best with documenting it from their own perspective seemed like a simple solution. Over time I have realized that the participatory process can be just as ethically paradoxical as traditional documentary processes, drawing the participants into an even more complicated political relationship.

In terms of the aims set out by Saferworld in the project ToRs the participatory project was generally a success. The first aim was to 'involve communities and build their sense of ownership of the wider community safety and security' (Saferworld, ToR, 2013). Community elders were surprised to hear that the police were uncomfortable with arresting and punishing young people who had no choice but to steal food, conversely the police were grateful for a forum in which they could share their frustrations and show that they understood the complexities of the situation. When the female journalist explained the injustice in women being imprisoned to punish their husbands there was a discussion about how matters of gender equality could be approached in the community, the images themselves formed the central point of these discussions. From this we can ascertain that the first aim of the project was a success. The second aim of the project was to 'provide first hand visual and oral material of individual and community concerns over safety and security' (Saferworld, ToR, 2013). Saferworld now have a body of material they can draw upon to directly communicate the security concerns of those living in this region of South Sudan.

The third aim of the project was to 'provide a 'baseline' for follow-on regular six-monthly updates with identified individuals providing stories of change and impact' (Saferworld, ToR, 2013). Unfortunately shortly after I left South Sudan in 2013 a new civil war started again, there were tensions between various political and Ethinic groups, but a strong sense of optimism for the future of this new country. The town of Kuajok was on the frontline of this conflict, many of the people I had met and worked with in the project were displaced and it was not possible for the project to continue, however, the cameras are still out there, perhaps they are still being used.

Literature notes:

Allan Sekula

Allan Sekula was a photographer and an academic that explored the 'language and power' inherent in the photographic process. He writes on the reading of images and how they are put to use in 'instrumental' ways, either positively or negatively directing forms of power. In his text 'Photography and the Limits of National Identity' he builds a case for photography to have a function that counteracts Foucauldian ideas of surveillance and state controlled knowledge-power. Sekula writes that photography is often used as an instrument of 'surveillance and cataloguing' and that 'forensic methods … offer a tool for oppressive states' (Sekula, 1993, 55). Investigating the work of American forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow Sekula examines how forensics can be re-purposed and used to counteract this flow of oppressive knowledge-power. Sekula was the first to define the term counter-forensics.

Michel Foucault

Key elements of my critique of the inherent power hierarchies within participatory photography and the NGO environment are built from Michel Foucault's writing on the relationship between power and knowledge. I draw primarily on Foucault's text 'The Subject and Power' in which his objective is 'to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1983, 208). Foucault explores the modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects and the 'power relations' at work.

John Tagg

John Tagg explains that as photography developed alongside the apparatuses of state, industry and science, the integration within these power structures bestowed power upon the medium of photography: 'What gave photography it's power to evoke a truth was not only the privilege attached to mechanical means in industrial societies, but also its mobilisation within the emerging apparatuses of a new and more penetrating form of the state' (Tagg 1988,61). Through this close association with the mechanics of the state the state itself effectively guarantees the 'truth' and authority of the images it creates. I use Tagg's writing on the systems that authenticate the power of photography to understand the power relationships involved with image production in the NGO environment.

Tiffany Fairey

In 1999 Tiffany Fairy co-founded the organisation PhotoVoice. Since then Tiffany has been at the forefront of facilitating and developing participatory photography in the NGO environment, having worked with organisations such as The Red Cross, World Vision and the NSPCC. In 2009 Tiffany left PhotoVoice to study for a PHD in sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London, her PHD thesis 'Who's pictures are these? Reframing the promise of participatory photography' (2014) has for me become a key text in understanding the political

complexities of the participatory process in the NGO environment. Tiffany makes a case for a pluralistic approach to participatory photography, that acknowledges its paradoxical uncertain and negotiated nature (Fairey, 2014, 3). Tiffany is now a lecturer at the London College of Communication, University of the Arts London.

Photo Voice

British organization PhotoVoice act as a consultancy delivering participatory projects in partnership with NGOs across the globe, they also advocate for the method, producing research and guides that have defined the participatory photography in the current NGO environment. Their 'PhotoVoice Manual' published in 2007 has become the industry standard reference for those wishing to establish a participatory photography project in the NGO environment. Although the manual does seek to address some of the ethical tensions at the heart of the process it functions primarily as a practical guide, not an academic investigation.

Eyal Weizman

In 2010 Eyal Weizman founded the research agency 'Forensic Architecture'. Formed of academics, artists, architects, filmmakers, scientist, journalists and lawyers, the agency is based in London at Goldsmiths University. The agency has come to define and apply an approach to 'investigate state and corporate violence' (Weizman, 2017, 9). Through interdisciplinary collaboration they use this forensic approach to produce evidence files and investigate the agencies that are responsible for violence. This approach often incorporates a diverse range of material such as: models, animations, video analysis and interactive cartography. The forensic architecture group have recently been shortlisted for the prestigious Turner Prize, causing a debate about the role of political activism within the visual arts. Eyal Weizman continues to write and publish about the applications of counter-forensics.

A note on forensic Architecture:

Recently the 'Forensic Architecture' agency were shortlisted for the 2018 Turner Prize, perhaps the most famous visual arts prize in the world. This crossover between counter forensics as a counter political tool of investigation, academic research agency and fine art practice is note-worthy. This perhaps reflects more on the art worlds desire to be seen as having an impact, and to be of use, rather than the goals of 'Forensic Architecture' to inhabit the fine art world. This may have something to do with the visual appeal of the evidence files, models and maps that the agency create, they are clearly designed with aesthetics in mind. This could be be seen as a development of the trend for documentary and socially engaged art practice to be included in fine art exhibitions.

Ethics Documentation:

APPROVED

EA2	Please word-process this form, handwritten applications will not be accepted	UNIVERSITY OF LINCOLN
Ethical Approval Form: Human Research Projects		

This form must be completed for each piece of research activity whether conducted by academic staff, research staff, graduate students or undergraduates. The completed form must be approved by the designated authority within the College.

Please complete all sections. If a section is not applicable, write N/A.

1 Name of Applicant	Thomas Martin	
	School: LSFM	College: COA
2 Position in the University	Lecturer/PG Student	
3 Role in relation to this research	PG Student: MA by Research in Media and Cultural studies.	
4 Brief statement of main Research Question	This research explores representation in documentary methodologies – I ask: how can we represent vulnerable communities and the issues that affect them in authentic terms, specifically through the use of participatory media projects. There are problems with the use of participatory projects to further the penetration of the hegemonic gaze within the NGO environment. Can the use of techniques pioneered by research into forensic architecture offer a new insight into how these images are produced and consumed?	
5 Brief Description of Project	In partnership with the NGO 'The Aegis Trust' and the 'Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre' I will facilitate a participatory photography project, this will form part of their established peace education programme in Rwanda. As a consultant I have experience in running projects like this in a variety of locations, such as rural and displaced communities in South Sudan and Bangladesh. I will run this project in a similar way to the previous projects, but with some key structural differences, this will enable me to examine several aspects of the project after it has taken place.

The project will adopt the structure of a forensic investigation; the images are created in the field, then examined in a forum, to determine their evidential value. After this process the images will be exhibited at the Ubumuntu arts festival in Kigali, in an exhibition curated by the participants themselves.

It is my intention for the participants to have as much control over the process as possible, including but not limited to: the subjects to be photographed, the way in which these subjects will be represented, the selection process of images against the criteria, and the curation of the exhibition. This will hopefully widen the lens out to a larger picture, beyond the narrow focus of a specific NGO project.

Once the objectives have been agreed upon, and the photographs taken, the images will be presented by their photographers in a forum consisting of all the participants. The images will be discussed, evaluating their merit in how they meet the objectives agreed upon by the group at the beginning. It is these conversations my research will focus on. I will document the process, creating several videos to be screened at a variety of locations in the UK and more widely. | |

	Approximate Start Date:	Approximate End Date:
	30th June 2017	18th July 2017
6 Name of Principal Investigator or Supervisor	Investigator: Thomas Martin Supervisor: Dr Conohar Scott	
	Email address: tmartin@lincoln.ac.uk cscott@lincoln.ac.uk	Telephone: 01522835135
7 Names of other researchers or student investigators involved	1. 2. 3. 4.	
8 Location(s) at which project is to be carried out	Kigali, Rwanda	

9 Statement of the ethical issues involved and how they are to be addressed –including a risk assessment of the project based on the vulnerability of participants, the extent to which it is likely to be harmful and whether there will be significant discomfort. (This will normally cover such issues as whether the risks/adverse effects associated with the project have been dealt with and whether the benefits of research outweigh the risks)	**Introduction** This project is being run in partnership with the NGO 'The Aegis Trust' and the Kigali Genocide Memorial. The participatory project will form part of their existing and established peace education programme, which includes participatory media projects. The Kigali Genocide Memorial was established in 2002 by the Aeigis Trust and is the official national genocide memorial, during this time they have worked extensively with survivors of, and those affected by the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The memorial is supported by the Rwandan government, the British Department For International Development (DFID), and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) amongst others. The Aeigis Trust has been running the peace education program in Rwanda since 2009, resulting in extensive experience in working with young people as well as survivors of Genocide. In 2015 the peace education programme was embedded into the Rwandan national school curriculum. There is an extensive support system in place at the memorial for visitors and those who engage with its education programme, including a resident counselling team. The team are on site to provide immediate and follow up support for projects like this one. As the organisation has experience in facilitating and supporting projects of this type I intend to follow their established protocols, procedures and systems. This will ensure that the project is supported, but more crucially that the participants will be adequately supported. In addition to this I have submitted my plans to the Aegis Trust, for approval by their ethical procedure, a signed copy of their authorisation is attached. **Potential ethical issues** There are a range of potential ethical issues present in the project: • Selection of participants from a range of cultural and religious backgrounds. • Informed consent, this is a complicated project with several strands, participants need to be aware of what they are consenting to and their responsibilities. • Protection of participants. I have a primary responsibility to protect participants from physical or mental harm during the investigation. Alongside typical protection responsibilities I will be working in a post conflict environment, there are specialist factors that need to be taken into consideration.

Conformation with university's ethical principles
Following consultation of the university's 'Ethical Principals for Research with Humans' I have included a breakdown of the project, reviewing conformation with the three ethical principals that govern research with humans conducted under the authority of the university:

- The principle of respect for persons
- The principle of beneficence
- The principle of justice

Selection of participants
Participants will be selected by local staff from the Aegis Trusts' existing database; in this process participants have already been interviewed by the organisation ensuring their suitability. Basic information is collected and retained so they can be supported according to their individual needs, or contacted at a later date. Records are kept in accordance with data protection laws. Participants are already known to the education programme and have been selected because they will benefit from the training given as part of this project.
After guidance from the local team the breakdown of participants will be as follows: 12 18-25yr olds, 6 male 6 female, representing a cross section of religious, cultural and economic backgrounds. The participants will all be residents of Kigali to reduce travel and accommodation costs.

Consent
Prior to the project commencing the participants will be fully briefed on the nature of the research and the level of participation required at each stage of the project. They will be invited to enter into an agreement to give their informed consent to participate in the project. This written consent form will clarify the nature of the research and the responsibilities of each party. It will be made clear that they are free to participate, decline to participate or withdraw from the research at any time. Any factors that may affect the participant's willingness to participate will be explained at this point. These may be risks involved in using camera equipment in their communities, the possibility of people being unhappy with having their images taken, or fear of exhibiting their work publically.
It will be made clear prior to giving of consent that this project will be conducted in public with an externally facing exhibition, and that the entire project will be documented through video and photography, therefore anonymity and confidentiality cannot be assured to participants.

Protection of participants
The Aeigis Trust has been running a peace education programme at the Kigali Genocide Memorial since 2009, they have extensive experience in working in this post conflict environment. As this research will form part of that education programme it will fall under their local infrastructure and support network, this network includes a resident counselling and support team. As part of this process the participants will receive training in how to assess the risk of a variety of situations. This training will include guidance on how to make reasoned judgments, and implement control measures. This will include guidance on what to do if members of the community are unhappy with having their photographs taken or fearful of the process. It will be made clear to the participants that they are not to place themselves, or others at any level of risk of harm or discomfort greater than that in ordinary life.

> **Commented [TM1]:** Explanation of risk control measures for participants

Conclusion
In line with the university's ethical principles the participants will be kept informed about the nature, results, and conclusions of the research, and I will attempt to correct any misconceptions that participants may have.
I am confident that by implementing the measures outlined above the ethical principals for research with humans will be adhered to during this project. I am also confident that by embedding the project within the Aegis Trust's existing procedures and support network that the participants will encounter no risk of harm or discomfort greater than that in ordinary life.

Ethical Approval From Other Bodies

10 Does this research require the approval of an external body ?	Yes ☒ No ☐
	If "Yes", please state which body:- The Aegis Trust
11 Has ethical approval already been obtained from that body ?	Yes ☒ -Please append documentary evidence to this form. No ☐ If "No", please state why not:-
	Please note that any such approvals must be obtained and documented before the project begins.

APPLICANT SIGNATURE

I hereby request ethical approval for the research as described above.
I certify that I have read the University's ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH HUMANS AND OTHER ANIMALS.

T.Martin   16/06/17

Applicant Signature   Date

Thomas Martin

PRINT NAME

--

FOR STUDENT APPLICATIONS ONLY –
Academic Support for Ethics

Academic support should be sought prior to submitting this form to the designated Ethics Committee within the Faculty
.

          Undergraduate / Postgraduate   ***Academic Member of staff nominated by the***
          Taught application   ***School (consult your project tutor)***

          Postgraduate Research   ***Director of Studies***
          Application

I support the application for ethical approval
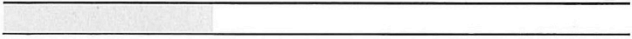
Signature of the Chair of the designated Ethics Committee within the College

Signature _____ Ⱥⱪₑ pp. SP _____ Date 27/6/17

Chair of ____ Ethics Committee ____

Academic / Director of Studies Signature Date

PRINT NAME

FOR COMPLETION BY THE DESIGNATED ETHICS COMMITTEE WITHIN THE COLLEGE

Please select ONE of A, B, C or D below:

☐ A. Ethical approval is given to this research.

☐ B. **Conditional** ethical approval is given to this research.

Please state the condition (inc. date by which condition must be satisfied if applicable)	

☐ C. Ethical approval cannot be given to this research but the application is referred on to the University Research Ethics Committee for higher level consideration.

Please state the reason	

☐ D. Ethical approval cannot be given to this research and it is recommended that the research should **not** proceed.

Please state the reason, bearing University's ethical framework, ⁱe primary concern for Academic	

VOKGL Additional Documentation:

Visionaries of Kigali
Participatory Photography Project

Information Sheet for Consent – 03/07/17

Project: Participatory photography project at KGM from the **1ˢᵗ – 16ᵗʰ of July 2017**
Conducted by **Tom Martin** from the University of Lincoln

Key contacts: Tom Martin tmartin@lincoln.ac.uk
Marc Gwamaka Marc.Gwamaka@aegistrust.org.rw

Overview: **Visionaries of Kigali** is a community peacebuilding participatory photography project that seeks to use photography as a catalyst for communication, expression, discussion and social change.
The project will also form the basis of a wider research investigation into how images created in participatory projects can be used to represent vulnerable communities in authentic terms.

Primary goals

- Use photography to build relationships in the community
- Use storytelling and discussion to contribute to wider social understanding
- Represent participants and their stories with honesty and authenticity
- Assess/increase the evidential value of the participatory images
- Investigate the authenticity of images created in a participatory context

Secondary goals

- Enable participants to identify vulnerable groups in their community
- Create images that can be used as peacebuilding advocacy material
- Contributing to the development of participants ability for critical and independent thinking and problem-solving skills

What is required from you: During the project you will be trained in the use of digital cameras and tasked with photographing a range of subjects you feel are important in your community.
You will be required to attend **four days of workshops** at the Kigali Genocide Memorial at the beginning of the project; from the **2-5ᵗʰ July**.
Then return to your community for 3-4 days to take your images, during this time you will be visited by the project facilitator to help you and offer assistance. There will then be a **forum on the 10ᵗʰ of July** at KGM in which the group will vote on the images to be included in an exhibition at the Ubumuntu arts festival. You will also be required during the exhibition for an interview. **A detailed schedule will be supplied**.
During the project you will be required to communicate with the project team and enter into discussions with other members of the project. You will also be required to fill in surveys and be interviewed at various points.

Documentation: We are making a documentary video about the project; participation in the project requires that you consent to being filmed/photographed during the process. This video will be screened online and internationally. Documentation will include; the photography training, the forums, the

collection of the images and formal interviews. **You may request us to stop filming/photographing at any time.**

Confidentiality and security of information:

Your personal information will not be shared with any third parties, and not used for any other purpose beyond this project. Once the project is completed all records which hold personal information about the participants will be destroyed.
Written questionnaires will be anonymous and not refer to individuals. However in interviews and footage recorded with audio and/or video you will be identifiable. This project will be conducted in public with an externally facing exhibition, and the entire project will be documented through video and photography, **therefore anonymity and confidentiality cannot be assured.**

Participation:

Participation in this research is completely voluntary; you are free to participate, decline to participate or withdraw from the research at any time, without prejudice or negative consequences.

Potential risks:

All reasonable precautions will be taken to limit the risk to you and others arising from partaking in this research. There may be potential risks involved in using cameras in your community, or people may be unhappy with having their images taken. You will be trained in how to assess and control risks when taking photographs in a variety of situations.

Camera equipment:

The camera equipment you use for this project will be on loan from the University of Lincoln. It is your duty to make sure that this camera equipment is kept safe and properly looked after. You will be instructed in how to take care of the equipment during the training. If any equipment is lost or stolen this will be investigated.
The cameras remain the property of the University of Lincoln.

Costs incurred:

The Aeigis trust will cover your travel expenses to and from KGM on the days you are required to attend. There will also be catering provided on these days.

Certification:

On completion of the project you will receive a certificate in photography signed by Thomas Martin lecturer in photography at the University of Lincoln.

Please continue to attached informed consent form.

Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF
LINCOLN

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated 03/07/17	☐
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	☐
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	☐
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	☐
5.	I understand this project will be conducted in public with an externally facing exhibition, and the entire project will be documented through video and photography, therefore anonymity and confidentiality cannot be assured.	☐
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	☐
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	☐
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	☐
9.	I understand my name may be used and what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs.	☐
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	☐

Participant:

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date

Researcher:

Thomas Martin   _____   _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

Example informed consent form

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AEGIS

PREVENTING CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Aegis Trust
PO Box 7251
Kigali, Rwanda

15th June 2017

To whom it may concern,

We are supporting **Tom Martin to facilitate a participatory photography project from the 1st to the 17th of July at the Kigali Genocide Memorial** as part of the existing peace and values education programme. This project has been reviewed by our ethical procedure and is deemed to meet our requirements for the safety and support of those involved.

The Aegis Trust is an international organization working to prevent genocide. Aegis honours the memory of the victims of genocide and enables students, professionals, decision-makers and a wider public to meet survivors and learn from their experiences. Through education, we work to build long-term peace by encouraging communities to change from mindsets of mistrust and prejudice to a position of shared responsibility for peace and stability. We also help survivors in difficult circumstances to rebuild their lives.

Aegis conducts and encourages research about genocide to improve the practice of prevention. We work on places where genocide is a current threat, campaigning for decision-makers to help protect those most at risk. Our advocacy involves taking the voices of those at risk to politicians, the media and the public.

The Aegis Trust has developed a successful model for peace and values education in Rwanda, giving tens of thousands of young people across the country the knowledge and tools to overcome the legacy of fear and suspicion left by the genocide, to break the long term cycle of violence and to build reconciliation, trust and cooperation for a brighter future.

Starting from a pilot programme in 2008 at the Kigali Genocide Memorial, in December 2013 our work in this area expanded with the launch of the Aegis-led Rwanda Peace Education Programme (RPEP) and the Genocide Research and Reconciliation Programme (GRRP). Supported by the Swedish International Development Agency and the UK Department for International Development, we are working in collaboration with USC Shoah Foundation, Radio la Benevolencija and the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP). Supporting partners include NIOD, RDB and UTL.

In 2014, drawing on recommendations from a pedagogical committee set up as part of the Rwanda Peace Education Programme, the Rwanda Education Board announced inclusion of peace education as a cross-cutting element in Rwanda's new national curriculum. In May 2015, Rwandan teacher trainers received training in delivery of this peace education component – and in the participatory, interactive methodology used in the Rwanda Peace Education Programme.

Kindest Regards,

Freddy Mutanguha
Africa Regional Director

Kigali's Visionaries Participatory Project July 2017 Tom Martin							
Date		**Times**	**Description**	**Location**	**People**	**Resources**	**Contacts**
30th June	Fri	21:50	Depart London Rwandair Flight WB 701		TM/GRJ		
1st July	Sat	07:30	Arrive in Rwanda - Kigali Airport, book into Hostel, Visit KGMC?, rest, run equipment tests	n/a	TM/GRJ		
2nd July	Sun	09:30-12:00	Meet participants introduce/discuss project, icebreakers	KGMC	TM/GRJ/		
		13:00-17:00	Training workshop 1	Classroom	Visionaries		
3rd July	Mon	09:30-17:00	Training Workshop 2	KGMC Classroom	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
4th July	Tue	09:30-17:00	Training Workshop 3	KGMC Classroom	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
5th July	Wed	09:30-17:00	Forum 1 - setting objectives/criteria for the exhibition	KGMC Classroom	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
6th Jul	Thu		Photography - 4days Participants will be visited by TM/GRJ for formative training/assistance/troubleshooting.	Visionaries communities	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
7th July	Fri			Visionaries communities	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
8th July	Sat			Visionaries communities	TM/GRJ/ Visionaries		
9th July	Sun			Visionaries communities	"TM/GRJ/ Visionaries"		
10th July	Mon	09:30-17:00	Forum 2 - Selecting work for exhibition	KGMC Classroom	"TM/GRJ/ Visionaries"		
11th Jul	Tue		Printing Turnaround (2/3days)				
12th July	Wed						
13th July	Thu		Exhibition install				
14th July	Fri		UBUMUNTU FESTIVAL - EXHIBITION OPENING	KGMC Exhibition Space	Everyone!		
15th July	Sat			KGMC Exhibition Space			
16th July	Sun			KGMC Exhibition Space			
17th July	Mon		wrap				
18th July	Tue	12:20	Depart Rwanda, Rwandair flight WB 700		TM/GRJ		

Fig 24, VOKGL Project Schedule

Further information about the Aegis Trust peace education programme:

https://www.aegistrust.org/what-we-do/activities/peace-education/

Fig 25, Example participant completion certificate

Empirical Data

As the project is situated within a larger peacebuilding project I am required to provide data to the commissioning NGO evaluating the efficacy of the project. To assess this aspect of the project I have added to the questions used by the organisations external monitoring and evaluation consultant. This has the potential to create a conflict, as a move away from oppressive managerialism is key to my approach. A certain amount of flexibility and pragmatism is required here, as it would be unrealistic to expect an organisation to fund a project with no method of measuring its success. This research intends to push against high levels of managerialism in the NGO environment, but I have to accept that to practically test an approach I must to a certain extent operate within the typical functions of the environment. With this in mind the commissioning NGO 'The Aegis Trust' have been very accommodating with this research, allowing me to work independently within their existing peace education programme. I do not draw on the empirical data produced by these questionnaires in this thesis, however a selection of the data is included here in the appendix. Care was taken to ensure that the data was collected under standardised and academic conditions, taking the form of an entry and exit questionnaire. Care was taken to acknowledge and limit acquiescence response bias, leading question bias and reduce 'click-through' responses. To achieve this a mixture of question styles was used, including the Linkert scale with item-specific questions and item-specific response options.

Entry/Exit Survey Comparison:

Full data set available on request

1-
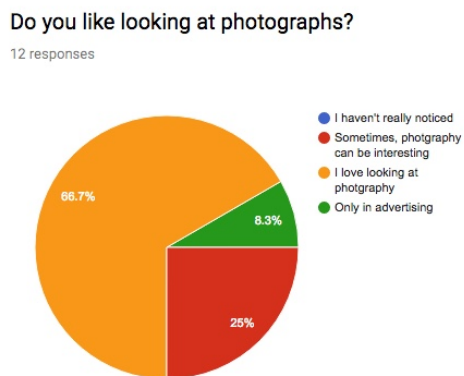
How well do you know the members of your community?

13 responses
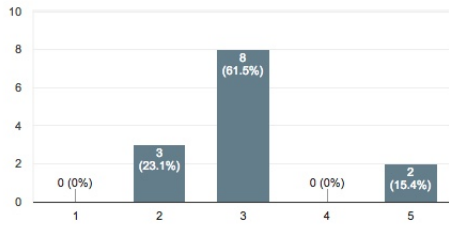
How well do you know the members of your community?

10 responses
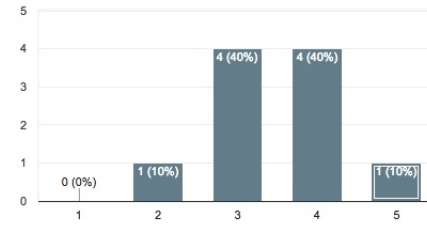
1 = Note very well, 5 = Very well

Do you understand the everyday challenges that members of your community face?

13 responses

- Yes
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- No
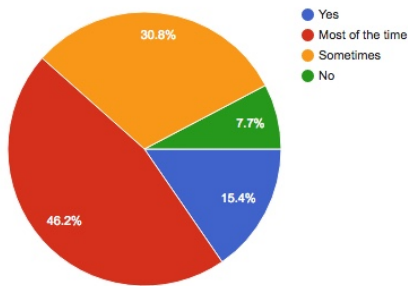
Do you understand the everyday challenges that members of your community face?

10 responses

- Yes
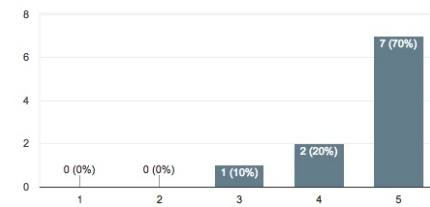- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- No
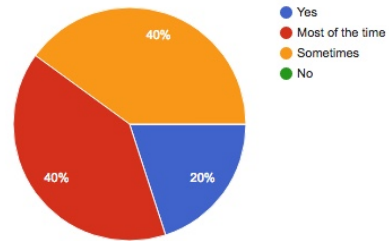
Do you feel that art brings people together?
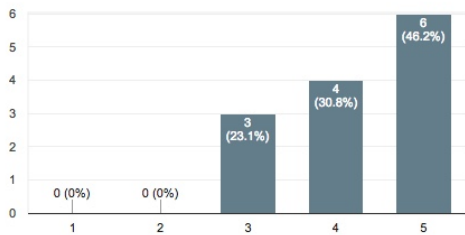
13 responses

Do you feel that art brings people together?
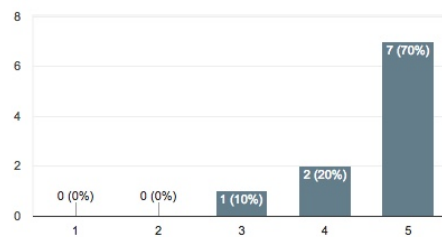
10 responses

1=No, 5=Yes

Do you feel that you and your community is:

13 responses

- ● Understood by the rest of the world
- ● Reasonably understood by the rest of the world
- ● Ignored by the rest of the world
- ● Mostly misunderstood by the rest of the world
- ● Misunderstood by the rest of the world

69.2%
7.7%
23.1%
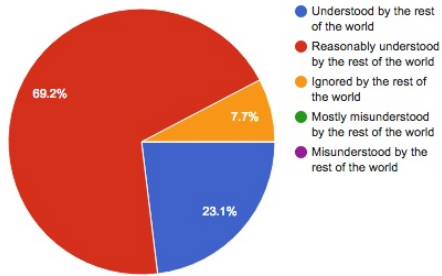
Do you feel that you and your community is:

11 responses

- ● Understood by the rest of the world
- ● Reasonably understood by the rest of the world
- ● Ignored by the rest of the world
- ● Mostly misunderstood by the rest of the world
- ● Misunderstood by the rest of the world

18.2%
72.7%
9.1%
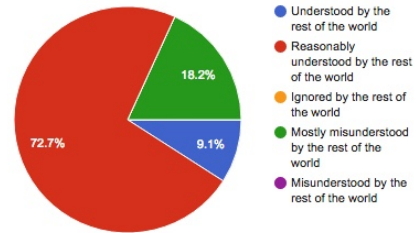
Do you think photographs tell the truth?

13 responses
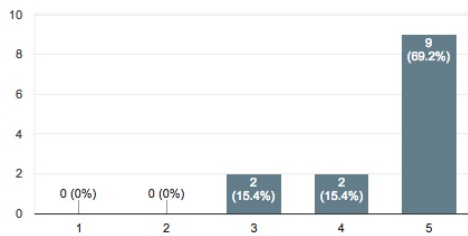
1=No, 5=Yes

Do you think photographs tell the truth?
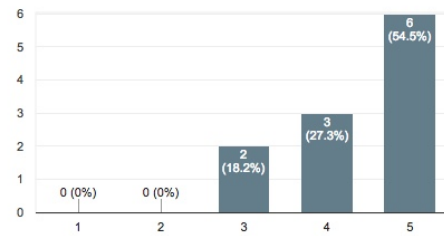
11 responses

Do you feel that international charities and NGOs understand you and your community, and the challenges you face?

13 responses
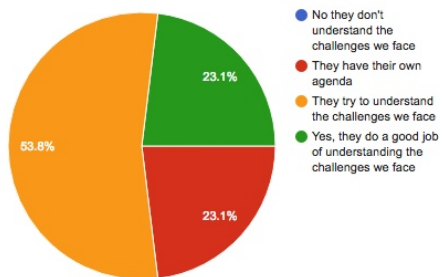
- ● No they don't understand the challenges we face
- ● They have their own agenda
- ● They try to understand the challenges we face
- ● Yes, they do a good job of understanding the challenges we face

23.1%
53.8%
23.1%

Do you feel that international charities and NGOs understand you and your community, and the challenges you face?

11 responses

- ● No they don't understand the challenges we face
- ● They have their own agenda
- ● They try to understand the challenges we face
- ● Yes, they do a good job of understanding the challenges we face

72.7%
27.3%

102
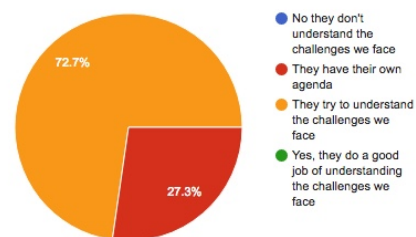
Do you feel that you and your community are:

13 responses

30.8%
7.7%
15.4%
46.2%

- Represented fairly by the international media
- Reasonably represented by the international media
- Ignored by the international media
- Mostly misrepresented by the international media
- Misrepresented by the international media
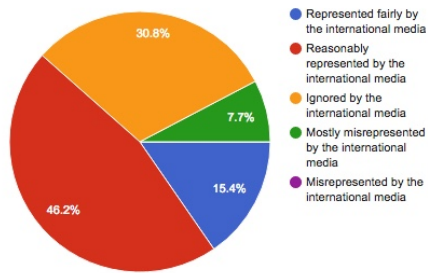
Do you feel that you and your community are:

11 responses
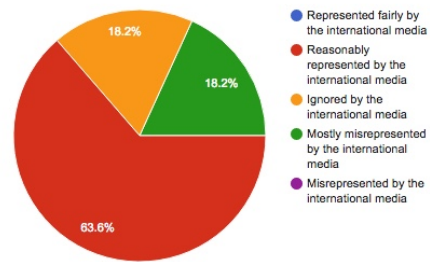
18.2%
18.2%
63.6%

- Represented fairly by the international media
- Reasonably represented by the international media
- Ignored by the international media
- Mostly misrepresented by the international media
- Misrepresented by the international media

Do you feel that art brings people together?

13 responses

0 (0%) 0 (0%) 3 (23.1%) 4 (30.8%) 6 (46.2%)
5 Count: 6

Do you feel that art brings people together?

10 responses

0 (0%) 0 (0%) 1 (10%) 2 (20%) 7 (70%)
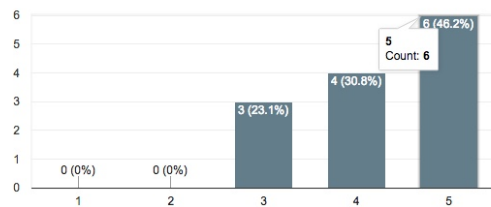
1=No, 5=Yes

How happy were you with the choices made for the exhibition?

11 responses

18.2%
9.1%
72.7%

- Very happy
- Mostly happy
- Quite happy
- Not happy
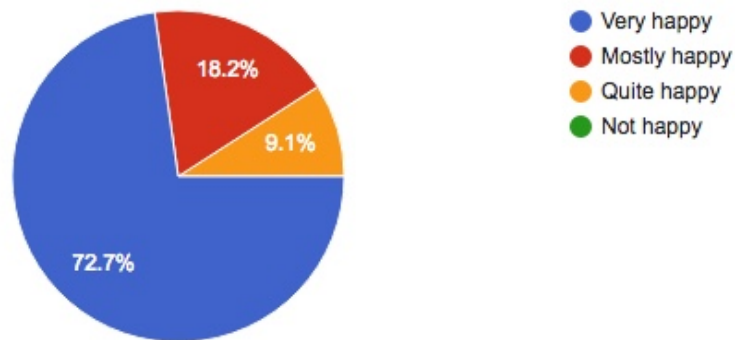
Video links:

Sites of Production: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=__CVPlFR2_Y
Sites of Consumption: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWb_bLAZFQw

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Acknowledgements