

Shooting for Peace: Incorporating Photojournalism into the Theory of Peace Journalism

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Abstract

This thesis presents an argument for the incorporation of photojournalism into the theory of Peace Journalism. It begins with an exploration of the field of Peace Journalism, tracing its foundations within the greater field of Peace Studies and examining specifically the core principles established by Peace scholar John Galtung. It examines and rejects the foundational dichotomy of Peace vs. War Journalism, ultimately determining that the field is in need of a more complex and intuitive understanding of what it means to represent another individual's suffering through journalistic means. Alongside a year-long photo project on homelessness in America, Istanbul, and Morocco by the author, this thesis utilizes a personal and reflective approach in order to further the critical analysis of representation of others within the media, emphasizing the importance of honest and introspective investigation of one's own motivations, actions and reflections as a journalist. Ultimately, this thesis concludes that an examination of the ethical implications of photographing another individual's suffering allows for a deeper level of analysis which would further Peace Journalism as a practical, applicable theory for supporting global peace initiatives.

Introduction

Those individuals who call themselves journalists bear an enormous responsibility: out of all of the events and occurrences taking place in the world's many corners and crevices, journalists choose which stories will receive coverage and attention. While some events scream out for such coverage, like superpower wars and rambunctious revolutions, others bubble below the surface, perhaps waiting for someone to shed light on a current event or a savage inequality. To identify the story is only the journalist's first challenge; the next is choosing how to represent it. Whether the story finds itself on the front page of the *New York Times* or is limited to a single freelancer's blog in cyberspace, a journalist maintains the tremendous power of representation: of individuals, of cultures, of societies and of nations.

Journalism not only tells us what to think about; it plays a vital role in telling us how to think about it. When that "it" involves individual humans, there becomes a risk of one society representing another inaccurately or ineffectively. According to Professor Robert Karl Manoff of New York University's Center for War, Peace and the News Media, "the media constitute a major human resource whose potential to help prevent and moderate social violence begs to be discussed, evaluated, and, where appropriated, mobilized" (Lynch xv). The power of the media can be used in support of or against the goals of equality: it may prevent and moderate social violence or it may foster such violence alongside distorted cultural or societal representations. Therefore, because media coverage deals with the representation of human struggle and suffering, it is integral to global outcomes of war and peace.

The field of Peace Studies has responded to the call to harness the influential power of journalistic efforts in order to increase peace and justice around the world by developing the sub-field of Peace Journalism. Alongside increased global flows that have amplified the number of media participants contributing to the field, the question of journalistic objectivity has become heightened. With individuals and states utilizing the media for their own socio-political gains, there is an even greater need for a framework of principles to guide news coverage in manners that encourage nonviolent responses to conflict (“The Peace Journalism Option” 1).

This thesis will be divided into two core sections. The first begins by exploring the sub-field of Peace Journalism, tracing its foundations within the larger field of Peace Studies and specifically examining the core principles established by Peace scholar John Galtung. I attempt to formulate a comprehensive conceptualization given the standard three-fold definition that is accepted within the field today. Finally, I examine and reject the foundational dichotomy of Peace vs. War Journalism, ultimately determining that the field is in need of a more complex and intuitive understanding of what it means to represent another individual’s suffering through journalistic means. The sub-field should be revised to include types of violence and conflict that extend beyond direct physical warfare, as Peace Journalism currently focuses primarily on media coverage of such overt conflict rather than other issues of social justice. Furthermore, I propose that the field should also include photojournalism, which is loaded with visual representations of individuals and societies and therefore holds great power to either support or reject peace and nonviolence.

Having identified the problematic aspects of the overly-dichotomized subfield of Peace Journalism, the second section of the thesis utilizes a personal and reflective approach in order to further the critical analysis of representation of others within the media. Expanding upon the given definition of Peace Journalism, this approach emphasizes the importance of honest and introspective analysis of one's own motivations, actions and reflections as a journalist. In an attempt to expand upon the given definition, as well as to establish my personal understanding of Peace Journalism and its connection to my own awareness as a photojournalist, I draw upon my experiences of representation in own personal project: coverage of homelessness in Washington, D.C. and around the world. Through this case study, I argue that the field of Peace Journalism, and Photojournalism by extension, would benefit greatly from such an introspective bred of analysis. Drawing heavily upon Susan Sontag's Regarding the Pain of Others, I analyze: 1) my motivations as a photojournalist broadly and for this project; 2) the participants, the audience and what rights they own; and 3) the goal of the project and wherein lies its success. In sum, I hope that by incorporating photojournalism into Peace Journalism alongside such honest, personal analysis, this thesis will provide a useful solution to the over-simplified, over-polarized construction of Peace Journalism while also highlighting the individual responsibility and accountability within the practice of representing another's suffering through journalistic means.

Understanding Peace Journalism

In 2005, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick published "Peace Journalism", the first comprehensive guidebook responding to and expanding upon the development of the

Peace Journalism theory over the prior decade, during which scholarly literature and debate in the field of Peace Studies began to emerge on the subject. In this guidebook, Lynch and McGoldrick identify Peace Journalism as journalism in which reporters and editors make deliberate choices in order to create opportunities for nonviolent responses to conflict (5). The authors hold that Peace Journalism seeks to accomplish this through three strategies. The first of these strategies is the utilization of conflict analysis and transformation with the intention of improving standards of balance, fairness, and accuracy in journalistic reporting. This involves understanding core conflict theories and terminologies – most importantly, the preference of conflict mapping to the tendency of framing a conflict through a bipolar model (43).

The second strategy is the establishment of what the authors term an “ethics of journalistic intervention” by tracing the relationships among journalists, their sources, the stories they chose to cover and the consequences of this coverage. This involves taking a deeper look at the effects that specific journalistic choices have on the people and events that they are covering. The third is an emphasis on nonviolence and creativity within the profession, a strategy which finds photojournalism a particularly promising medium (5). With the field of photojournalism shifting to include creative options such as still photography combined with moving images, as well as with sound, the opportunities for creativity within the journalistic field are growing rapidly.

If Peace Journalism is supported by the three-fold definition above, then it is important to consider what regular journalism is. At the heart of the Peace Journalism model is Johan Galtung’s construction of Peace Journalism as the polar opposite to what he terms “War Journalism,” which leads to the assumption that all journalism that does

not follow the three-fold definition can be more easily classified as War Journalism (Lynch 6). Galtung's provides the definitions that each category of journalism ascribes to the term "peace", stating that "peace = nonviolence + creativity" in Peace Journalism, while "peace = victory + ceasefire" in War Journalism (Lynch 47). He then provides four main categories by which to oppose Peace Journalism against War Journalism.

The first of these is Peace/Conflict-Oriented vs. War/Violence Oriented. In Peace/Conflict-Oriented journalism, there is a strong emphasis on conflict formation in order to reveal the role of multiple parties with multiple goals and issues. The formation of this conflict has an open time and space, meaning that its causes and outcomes may date anywhere in the participants' culture and history. The purpose of the coverage is to give all parties a voice, providing transparency and humanizing all sides in a proactive approach at making all goals and desires known to opposing parties, a vital aspect of conflict transformation. Perhaps most importantly, this category of journalism focuses on the invisible effects of violence, such as emotional trauma and damage to a group's culture or structure. On the other hand, in War/Violence-Oriented Journalism, coverage focuses on the conflict arena, emphasizing two parties each equipped with the single-minded goal of winning, making one party's defeat over the other the only feasible outcome. The space of the conflict is closed, meaning that the causes and solutions exist only within the events that unfold during the epicenter of the conflict. Rhetoric that emphasizes an "us-them" dichotomy seeks to dehumanize the "them", and the focus of coverage is primarily on the visible effect of the violence, including weapons employed and bodies killed or wounded (Lynch 6).

The second category by which Galtung opposes Peace and War Journalism is Truth-Oriented vs. Propaganda Oriented. In Truth-Oriented coverage, coverage seeks to expose biases and untruths from all parties and reveal any and all cover-ups, especially those by governmental structures, which proves to be exceedingly difficult in countries where the government claims controls over the media. On the other hand, Propaganda-Oriented coverage seeks to expose “their” truths and aid in furthering “our” cover-ups or lies, furthering the us-them rhetoric and contributing to patterns of omission and distortion which are at the heart of War Journalism (Lynch 5-6).

The third category that establishes Peace and War Journalism as binaries is People-Oriented vs. Elite-Oriented. In People-Oriented Coverage, focus is given to suffering of all individuals who are affected by the conflict, again emphasizing the importance of giving a voice to all parties. It also seeks to identify the individuals that Galtung openly calls “all evil-doers” and uphold and support the “peace-makers”, leaving room for a significant amount of bias or personal opinion by the journalist in determining who the evil-doers and the peace-makers are in the given conflict.

The fourth category, Solution-Oriented vs. Victory-Oriented, emphasizes the two fields’ definitions for peace. By highlighting “structure, culture and the peaceful society,” Peace Journalism highlights creative peace initiatives in order to stop the conflict and also prevent more war. Also, it critically utilizes the conflict transformation strategies of resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation to encourage socio-political satisfaction and a longer-lasting peace. Meanwhile, Galtung proposes that Victory-Oriented journalism focuses on “treaty, institution, and the controlled society” in order to intentionally leave

room for another war, as War Journalism supports the elites who benefit from such conflict. (Lynch 6)

Although Galtung effectively outlines the core functions of Peace Journalism, he fails in following his own suggestions by drastically over-polarizing the field of journalism into two starkly contrasted entities with concrete and opposite goals. Lynch and McGoldrick fail to identify a middle-ground between these extreme categories, continuing in their textbook to provide various examples of coverage that fits neatly into the two categories. They also fail to present that there may be degrees to which an individual journalist or an individual story may adhere to either Peace or War Journalism. Therefore, by examining how the practice of visually representing another's suffering is ridden with ethical implications, and by attempting to resolve these issues with honest, introspective reflection and analysis, this thesis argues for the incorporation of photojournalism into an extended theory of Peace Journalism.

An Extended Theory of Peace Journalism

Homelessness: Through the Lens of Peace Photojournalism

The year-long photo project which I have dedicated myself and my studies to both as a student at Georgetown University and a study-abroad student in Syracuse University's Photojournalism Program serves as a useful case study for developing a more complete theory of Peace Journalism and the ethical implications involved. I first became interested in the subject of homelessness while volunteering in Cusco, Peru in 2008. Walking down the central market street of the city each day to catch the bus to my volunteer placement, I began to know a homeless woman who begged for change there,

sometimes alone, sometimes with an infant slung upon her back and two toddlers waddling around her feet. My relationship with this woman began with eye contact and a friendly smile and soon progressed to as much casual conversation as my broken Spanish would allow. By the end of the month, I had made a friend whose face brightened when she saw me coming down the street and, on my last day in the city, on a day when she sat alone, I asked her if I could take her photograph. She smiled, removed the change from her hat to put it on her head, and stared directly into the camera as I raised it my eye. After just three frames, a man passing by began to scold me in rapid Spanish that I could not understand. I could only presume that he believed I was taking advantage of this woman's suffering by trying to make a beautiful image out of it. Ashamed and embarrassed, and suddenly doubting my own intentions, I thanked my friend quickly and hurried off, never to see her again. I did not know then that this sensation of doubt was my first experience internalizing the ethics of photojournalism. I only knew as I looked down at my camera's screen and saw her piercing eyes and sun-drawn skin that I was in love with the photograph (Image A). That photograph is among the first few that made me want to be a photojournalist, and the experience is among the first few that have driven me to explore Peace Journalism in the context of photojournalism specifically.

I shot the second image that drove me to complete a photo story on homelessness as part of this thesis during a church service at homeless shelter in Washington, D.C (Image B). This experience differed from the experience that shaped Image A. I had been working as a photographer for the prior two years: shooting for local magazines, blogs, and a national think-tank in Washington, D.C. As a result, my awareness of myself as a photographer and the way in which others reacted to my presence with a camera had

heightened, as had my general confidence in completing photographic assignments. I was at Central Union Mission, a Catholic, all-male homeless shelter in the heart of the city, for just a few hours to complete an assignment for one of my classes at Georgetown University, before rushing back to write a term paper. I had little time to interact with the men at the shelter and to make them feel at ease around me, so when a man leaned up against a white-washed wall and lowered his head during a hymn, I lowered my camera to my hip and pressed the shutter, capturing one of my favorite images that I have taken in the process of completing the story, without the subject knowing that he had been photographed. There was no one there to scold me, as I had become relatively skilled in photographing candid moments without others noticing. But my own reaction was the same as when I photographed the homeless woman in Peru – a hint of shame and unease, quickly overridden when I look at the camera's screen and see an image that I love.

As Peace Journalism openly advocates for, a journalist must seek to explore conflict formation, rather than focus solely on the conflict arena (“The Peace Journalism Option” 1). By identifying multiple parties and multiple causes, such journalism exposes unexpected avenues for dialogue and peace-making. Therefore, research on the root causes of homelessness is essential in order for my photo story to embody Peace Photojournalism and, hopefully, develop such avenues.

The History of Homelessness

The roots of homelessness can be traced back to the first permanent settlement, for as long as there have been homes, there have been those existing without them. Laws in England throughout the 14th and 15th centuries reflected the compassionate attitude of

the populous, emphasizing specifically a sense of responsibility of the upper class to provide for “the poor and the wanderer.” As these laws developed, so did the belief that local government should bear the responsibility of the poor, and the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601 soon became a model for similar laws in the American colonies. (Axelson 463)

One of America’s earliest experiences with a community of homeless individuals who developed their own socio-cultural identity took place during the expansion of the American West. Homeless migratory workers called *hobos* provided the labor to work in the mines, fisheries, on farms and to help build railroads. Public opinion of the hobos was positive, as these men were viewed alongside cowboys as daring characters of the Wild West. However, when the economic depression of the 1890s struck, and “men who failed at business, alcoholics, young boys escaping from home, those avoiding the police, gamblers, thieves, and con men” mixed with migratory workers and began to settle in urban areas, public opinion of the homeless community shifted towards a more negative view (Axelson 464). The new homeless of the 1930s were shaped by a series of economic depressions and coinciding bank failures, mortgage foreclosures and droughts. While some individuals suffered under these circumstances, other members of society managed to elevate themselves above the economic depression. This marked the start of public opinion in the United States that labeled the homeless as lazy and incompetent, rather than suffering from a lack of economic resources.

This socioeconomic philosophy is known as Social Darwinism, and it has drastically shaped the way in which contemporary America views the homeless community. A series of English scholars throughout the 18th and 19th centuries used

Social Darwinism to argue that aid to the poor and homeless would disrupt natural selection and population control, both of which were necessary to elevate the overall quality. Furthermore, notions of the American Dream encouraged an individualistic attitude of self-elevation and success, and as a result, the US and its public policy greatly overlooked the problem of homelessness until it reached new heights in the 1970s and 1980s. (Axelson 464)

Because of the breadth of analysis on the subject, an entire thesis could certainly be dedicated to the exploration of the structural causes of homelessness around the world, or the United States specifically. For the purposes of my photo story, which focuses primarily on homeless in D.C., a brief look at America's urban housing crisis is critical towards uncovering the formation of the conflict I chose to report on. In "Changing Character of Homelessness in the United States", Leland J. Axelson and Paula W. Dahl summarize the failure of low-income housing to adequately meet the needs of the poor:

In 1985, twice as many low-income households existed in the United States as there were low-cost housing units available, and in some metropolitan areas the ratio was four to one. Approximately 500,000 low-rent dwellings continue to be lost each year to condominium conversion, community revitalizations, economic development, abandonment, arson, and demolition. Spiraling rent inflation leads to increasing eviction rates for the population of low-income families, and the monthly housing allowance for [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] recipients approximates only 45% of the fair market rent value of the lodgings available. (466)

When housed, the low-income community suffers under weak or non-existent legislation to protect tenant rights. As a result, tenants are often refused legal recourse when their home is physically uninhabitable, yet another example of government and society's refusal to recognize and represent these individuals.

Whether its because of society's tendency to interpret homelessness as individual laziness or failure, or perhaps simply because the sight of a homeless person on a street corner has become so normalized in our minds, homeless individuals are often unseen not only under stagnant public policy, but also by individual members of the collective society of which, by their basic humanity, they remain a part. As a result, *Homelessness: Through the Lens of Peace Photojournalism* seeks to reiterate this lack of seeing by photographing homeless individuals while having their faces obstructed to the viewer in some way, either through composition or intentional blurring of the subject. The intention is to leave the viewer with an experience of unease or frustration, in order to reverse the effortlessness with which much of society overlooks the homeless community each day.

Indirect Violence: Structural and Cultural

The proposed photo story on homelessness differs in a critical way from the type of coverage that contemporary Peace Journalism tends to focus on, and therefore serves as a useful model for expanding the field to make it more dynamic and inclusive. While the Peace vs. War Journalism dichotomy typically limits coverage to instances of direct, physical violence, the proposed story on homelessness deals with indirect violence, which can develop in the form of structural or cultural violence. Structural violence is “where a structure, usually understood as a system of political, social or economic relations, creates barriers that people cannot remove – barriers to attaining food, shelter, education, jobs [or] security” (Lynch 59). It is a form of violence that is typically invisible and, over time, becomes engrained in the ways that a society and its institutions function, particularly in relation to specific individuals and groups within that society. The way in

which a community's institutions interact with the homeless community, as explored and examined above, is a primary example of structural violence. Similarly, cultural violence is an invisible form of violence in which aspects of a society's culture are used to legitimize or justify other types of violence, such as direct or structural (Lynch 60). Therefore, in the case of homelessness, cultural violence can be seen in the way in which individuals perceive the homeless community, which, as outlined above, allows society to justify the way in that community is mistreated.

The inclusion of these indirect forms of violence into the study of Peace Journalism is critical to expanding upon Galtung's overly-dichotomized theory because it rejects the notion that violence, and coverage of violence, is able to fit into two neatly organized categories. Instead, emphasizing the role of indirect violence in a given conflict supports the belief that journalism should seek to reveal the dynamic nature of that conflict. By seeking to understand and give attention to invisible root causes, such journalism makes room for more dynamic solutions that address all perspectives. In this way, there is a greater likelihood of inclusive compromise, effective solutions and long-lasting peace.

Proposing and Embodying Peace Photojournalism

This section proposes a theory of Peace Photojournalism that is rooted in honest reflection and introspective analysis, rather than the more generalized dichotomy of Peace vs. War Journalism that dominates the current theory. It extends from the assumption that a photojournalist is what the field of Peace Research has identified as a "participant-observer", meaning an individual who is present to observe an event or

conflict and consequentially enters into a relationship which will inevitably impact the outcome (Lynch 34). Using Susan Sontag's Regarding the Pain of Others, which takes a close look at the ethics of war photojournalism and problematic aspects of one individual representing another's suffering, this section will highlight three critical subjects of analysis relevant to the concerned photojournalist: the photographer's intentions broadly and for the project specifically; the participants, the audience and what rights they own; and the goal of the project and wherein lies its success. Using *Homelessness: Through the Lens of Peace Photojournalism* as a case study, I examine my own awareness in relation to Peace Photojournalism, ultimately concluding that although such analysis may not produce easy solutions to Sontag's problematic aspects, the process of reflection upon these issues brings us closer to embodying the goals of Peace Journalism without giving in to an over-polarization of the field.

Alongside rapid technological changes in mass media, the illusion of objectivity that once accompanied conflict reportage has become largely overshadowed by an increased awareness of a journalist's presence. With even the most reputable and professional of news organizations highlighting their reporters as a cast of charismatic individuals, whom maintain their own individual blogs on which they often express individual socio-political opinions, journalists are increasingly able to condition the story that they chose to cover. An awareness of and responsibility for this ability is absolutely critical to embodying Peace Journalism. For the purposes of incorporating photojournalism into this definition, and maintaining an awareness of my own presence in the completion of my photo story, an exploration of the crisis of objectivity of a photograph is critical. Virginia Woolf wrote, "[Photographs] are not an argument; they

simply are a crude statement of fact addressed to the eye.” However, just as easily as she touts the photograph as a factual document, Woolf adds, “the eye is connected with the brain; the brain with the nervous system. That system sends its messages in a flash through every past memory and present feeling.” Hence, Woolf leaves room for the notion of a photograph as a personal testimony as well as an objective record, “both a faithful copy or transcription of an actual moment of reality and an interpretation of that reality.” (Sontag 26)

Artists “make” paintings, sculptures, and drawings, while photographers “take” a photograph. In this way, they are, to a certain extent, denied responsibility for the social or political ramifications of an image they “capture.” The assumption is that a journalistic image presents a scene as it occurs in real life. However, if Sontag is correct and a photograph is a documented truth, yet simultaneously a medium that plays upon a viewer’s memory and emotion in order to accomplish its task, then perhaps it is the photographer’s intention that determines the objectivity of a photograph. Sontag disagrees, stating that “the photographer’s intentions do not determine the meaning of the photograph, which will have its own career, blown by the whims and loyalties of the diverse communities that have use for it” (Sontag 39). I argue that, although it is undeniable that viewers will interpret an image individually and circumstantially, according to their own history, memory, or position on the subject, a photographer’s intention may not determine meaning entirely, but can instead drastically mold and shape that meaning.

Consider the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographers who covered the Great Depression in the 1930s. The FSA produced over 80,000 photographs depicting a

poverty-struck nation and distributed these photographs to newspapers and magazines in order to foster popular support of the government's New Deal legislation and the rural programs it established. The intention behind the work of the FSA photographers was to represent the American landscape as struggling and in dire need of federal assistance that could elevate the poor from devastating economic conditions. "Three generations after their creation, the FSA photographs remain the basis for Americans' visual understanding of the Great Depression", and the increased public support that the New Deal programs experienced after the photographs were distributed reveals how drastically the photographers' intentions affected the way in which they were received by society. ("Every Picture Tells a Story" 1)

A close look at my motivations broadly as a photojournalist, as well as specifically for this project, reveals the similarities, as well as honest differences, within my own intentions, and helps to shed light on the importance of honest, introspective reflection in embodying Peace Journalism. The question of why I became photographer is extraordinarily loaded with personal experience, emotion, significance, and even uncertainty. I found photography at a time when I was searching for something stable and reliable to call my own. Photography quickly transformed from a hobby to a passion when I started to recognize within myself the feeling that I experienced when I felt that I had produced a beautiful image. The ethical implications of finding beauty in and consequentially feeling joy from a photograph that depicts another's suffering will be discussed in the analysis of the success of a photographic image. However, it is important to recognize my initial motivations in pursuing photography: a selfish desire to improve and elevate myself.

It was only after completing my first collection of photographs – a series of portraits of homeless women and men in urban and rural Peru, which influenced my cousin to take a gap year and volunteer in the community that I photographed – that I began to envision the ways in which photography could motivate change. By creating a compelling visual story that someone in another part of the world might otherwise never have had the opportunity to know, I could, in a small but nevertheless present way, encourage cultural understanding. I began to move beyond satisfaction based on aesthetic beauty towards the recognition that uncovering issues of social justice could motivate changes towards peace. This motivation has remained at the core of the social justice photography that I have completed since then, including for *Homelessness: Through the Lens of Peace Photojournalism*. Therefore, there is an obvious tension between the reality of a journalistic image, and on the other hand, the fact that a photograph represents the view of *someone* in particular, meaning one individual person behind the lens. An honest look at these splits and tensions reveals the complexity of photojournalism in relation to the issue of journalistic objectivity. This paper therefore argues strongly for introspective reflection of individual intentions in order to better understand changing notions of objectivity in Peace Journalism.

The second critical subject of analysis that I argue should be examined for each journalist seeking to embody Peace Journalism is the consideration of the participants, the audience, and the rights they own. Sontag holds that “perhaps the only people who have the right to look at images of suffering...are those who could do something to alleviate it...or those who could learn from it. The rest of us are voyeurs, whether or not we mean to be” (42). Sontag refers to the more gruesome images of wartime suffering,

but I argue that all images of representation demand a practice of selectivity in regards to who may view what images. Since the images in my project reveal the mental and emotional suffering caused by indirect forms of violence, we may ask the same questions in determining the rights of the viewers. Do these images belong to the subject only, to the community with which that subject identifies, or to anyone that could potentially contribute to the cause of homelessness in some way? The later is an enormously large field, as it spans from politicians and policy makers to any citizen who has or ever will have the opportunity to give money or food to a homeless person as they pass them on the street.

Perhaps more important to self-reflection and evaluation which is critical to Peace Journalism is an examination of the rights of the participants. One of the most infamous photographs in the Great Depression collection by the Farm Security Administration is also one of the world's most infamous photographs depicting human suffering and the plight of the poor. "Migrant Mother" is one of a series of photographs taken in February 1936 by American photographer Dorothea Lange ("Migrant Mother"). The photograph features Florence Owens Thomson and three of her seven children on a pea picker's camp in Nipomo, California. With her strong yet painfully hopeless expression and far-off gaze, Thomson became the face of the Great Depression, and Lange's photograph exists today as one of the most iconic images of that time. (About the image, Roy Stryker, the head of the RA/FSA photography section, explained, "She has all the suffering of mankind in her but all of the perseverance too. You can see anything you want to in her. She is immortal.") About the relationship between Lange and Thomson, Lange said, "There she sat in that lean-to tent with her children huddled around her, and

seemed to know that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me. There was a sort of equality about it” (Hariman 1). But Lange never asked for Thomson’s name, and when the Associated Press finally tracked down Thomson in 1975, the subject of the photograph did not agree that there had been equality in the exchange. Instead, she told the AP, “I didn’t get anything out of it. I wish she hadn’t of taken my picture...She didn’t take ask my name. She said she wouldn’t sell the pictures. She said she’d send me a copy. She never did.” (Hariman 1)

As a result of the article, Thomson received criticism for what many perceived to be greed and ingratitude, surprised that she was not more proud to have been chosen to represent the struggles of an overwhelmingly voiceless community in such a landmark era. Others disapproved of how the article undermined such an iconic symbol of individual need and collective action by portraying Lange as exploitative and ill-motivated. However, the great disconnect between photographer and subject in this example illustrates the dire need for an evaluation of the rights of the participants that a proposed theory of Peace Photojournalism would provide.

Again, using my photo story as a case study provides a framework for evaluation under such a theory. Four out of the twelve photographs in my project were taken without the subject’s consent – three of these feature men whose names I do not know. They are perhaps the most powerful images in the collection, as the lack of awareness of my presence as a photographer allowed for complete honesty and transparency that is certainly tangible within the photographs. This subject raises the complicated issue of what rights these men own in relation to their images. First, a theory of Peace Photojournalism should include the study of privacy law. Privacy law in America dictates

that any individual on public property consents to having their photograph taken, and potentially published, by nature of being in that public space, unless s/he has secluded him/her self in a location where there is reasonable expectation of privacy, including a dressing room, restroom, or medical facility (Krages 111). Therefore, a proposed theory of Peace Photojournalism argues that photographers have the responsibility to distinguish between legal and moral rights to privacy, and to develop an individual ethical code to decide how and when to use a candid photograph.

A photographer should consider the degree to which a photograph may be considered unflattering or demeaning to the subject. This can be particularly troubling in war photography, or photography that aims to capture violence or injustice and expose the often unflattering truths of violence. In cases such as these, a photographer must consider how accurately his or her image presents the reality of the photographed scenario. Furthermore, a visual image is capable of falling victim to tricks of the eye, which may misrepresent or misconstrue the reality of a given event, so a photographer must always remain committed to the reality of the moment when s/he shot the image. Therefore, a photographer should consider how his or her image presents its subject, whether or not the subject would be pleased with that representation, and, above all else for commitment photojournalists, how accurate or truthful that representation is. Each individual photographer must take an honest and introspective look at his or her own intentions in order to strike a balance between these considerations in the construction of one's own ethical code.

The final area of analysis that I propose is essential to an introspective theory of Peace Photojournalism is a consideration of the goal of the project and wherein lies its

success. Sontag outlines several ways in which an image may be considered successful, the most important of these being the extent to which a photograph instructs society to identify and remember certain people or moments in our collective history. She explains, “Photographs that everyone recognizes are a constituent part of what a society chooses to think about, or declares that it has chosen to think about. It calls these ideas ‘memories’...which encapsulate common ideas of significance and trigger predictable thoughts, feelings” (85). The triggering of these feelings is essential to inspiring what Sontag terms “collective instruction”, or the ability of images to figure into people’s consciousness and command them not only to remember, but to internalize that particular moment of history and potentially act according to that internalization. This should be the goal of photo stories that represent suffering. Those photographs that force society to mark an instance or experience as a critical, memorable conflict, such as the FSA photographs of the Great Depression, should be viewed as successful photographs.

It is in this way that my story seeks to mark homelessness as a memorable conflict of the twenty-first century. By connecting a series of visual images to the experience of an increasingly isolated population, the story seeks to ascribe a collective significance to the conflict of homelessness, which is largely absent at the moment. Through evocative images that insert themselves into the viewer’s conscious, the story seeks to trigger thoughts about inequality and injustice, and hence feelings of frustration and empathy, which seek to motivate the viewers to act in a way that would confront and perhaps change the given conflict. These actions might include changing individual attitudes towards the homeless population, volunteering at shelters or soup kitchens, or political participation aimed at influencing government housing policies.

The second goal of my photo story lies in its aim to be beautiful. The reasons behind this goal are two-fold. On the one hand, a beautiful image is more likely to attract widespread attention and hence accomplish collective instruction, as Sontag outlines above. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that passionate photographer receives such intense personal satisfaction from a beautiful image, and that this motivation is far more selfish than other more reputable motivations. The goal of creating a beautiful image is the reason why photographers fine-tune their technical skills, and underpins nearly every decision that they make while shooting. For me, as a photographer, my goal is always to make the most beautiful image that I can make, so that I may feel that rush of satisfaction and joy. Since beauty is a highly subjective term, I define a beautiful image as one which is well-composed and well-lit, and which utilizes photographic techniques such as white balancing (to create the most accurate coloring) and depth of field (to determine focus within the photograph) in order evoke emotion from the viewer. This measure of success becomes increasingly problematic the photographer intends to portray beauty in another's suffering.

Looking at war photography in particular, Sontag confronts the problem of finding beauty in suffering. She explains, "To find beauty in war photographs seems heartless. But the landscape of devastation is still a landscape. There is beauty in ruins" (76). She uses the example of photographs of the attack on the World Trade Center, a horrific event that could hardly be described as beautiful, especially by any of the thousands of individuals who were personally affected. However, she names several photographers who captured images that are heart breaking and intensely evocative, claiming that beauty lies in this representation. Therefore, in order to address this

dilemma, Sontag suggests that a morally alert photographer should adhere more strictly to the journalistic side of photography, rather than the artistic side. Photographs that represent suffering and devastation should be treated as documents, and the photographer should aim to capture the most accurate and compelling documentation of the given experience. Hence, though aesthetic beauty can be harnessed for positive social change by giving a photograph a more striking presence, Peace Photojournalism requires the photographer to return to an introspective examination of his or her intentions, and provides direction by encouraging honesty, awareness and balance within these motivations.

Conclusion: Ways Forward

This thesis concludes that an examination of the ethical implications of photographing another individual's suffering may not reveal all of the correct solutions. However, it does allow for a deeper level of analysis which would further Peace Journalism as a practical, applicable theory for supporting global peace initiatives. A revised theory of Peace Journalism identifies areas of ethical tension in the field of photojournalism and emphasizes honest and introspective investigation of one's own motivations, actions and reflections as a journalist alongside these ethical tensions. By providing a useful solution to the over-simplified, over-polarized construction of Peace Journalism that exists today, the successful incorporation of photojournalism into the theory of Peace Journalism depends not only on formalized criteria for what Peace Journalism seeks to accomplish, but also on personal and introspective reflection. Therefore, the proposed theory of Peace Journalism, with its inclusion of Peace

Photojournalism, furthers the critical analysis of what it means to represent another's suffering in our ever-changing, ever-evolving, ever-globalizing media world.

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