<ve
visual ethnography

www.vejournal.org
DOI: 10.12835/ve2017.1-0074

VOL. 6 | N. 1 | **2017**

ARTICLES

MARIE KOFOD SVENSSON
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

FRAMING A STORY OF POSSIBILITIES: THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD OF A PARTICIPATORY PHOTOGRAPHY PROJECT IN SAN DIEGO, UNITED STATES

ABSTRACT

The article investigates the dynamics of photographic production by refugee and immigrant youth in a participatory photography project in San Diego, United States (The AjA Project). Based on five months of fieldwork and the concepts of 'the takeable photograph' and 'the subjunctive mood', it examines under what ideals the photographic production takes place. I argue that there are particular 'takeable' photographs in AjA framed by the emic concept of story and defined in opposition to students' private photographs. 'Takeable' photographs are produced in and aim for the subjunctive mood to instill the process with a potential for positive change.

KEYWORDS

Participatory photography, immigrant & refugee youth, the subjunctive mood, narratives, San Diego, United States.

MARIE KOFOD SVENSSON

Is a PhD fellow at The Department of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen and the Danish Heart Foundation. She holds a BSc and an MSc in Anthropology from the University of Copenhagen, and she has also studied at the University of Amsterdam

and The Copenhagen School of Film & Photography. Her research interests include social and visual media, youth culture, health and ethnographic uses of photography.

INTRODUCTION

> “My mum just likes taking pictures, so she is just like, ‘what is this?’ Because she doesn’t know, that it is suppose to be telling a story, because she is used to taking pictures of somebody’s face. Most of the pictures I brought home were pictures of grass or floors or trees. And she was like, ‘who wants a picture of this?’”

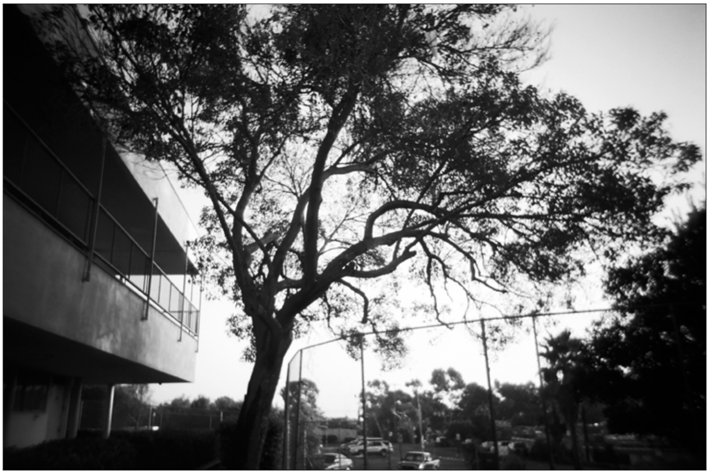


FIGURE 1: PHOTOGRAPHER - BAHATI

19-year-old Bahati, a refugee from Kenya, said this as we were looking through the photographs she had taken during her three years participation in The AjA Project. AjA utilizes the method of participatory photography (PP), which is a process where a group of participants are supported in producing and reflecting on their own photographs, with the aim that they are empowered and acknowledged as they are able to express their perspective (Kia-Keating 2009:385; Yang 2014:233). AjA describes PP as a process that allows the participant to “control how he/she is represented” and helps participants “find their own voice and sense of empowerment” (AjA Project 2014a, 2014b).

The ‘first-person view’ has been a general selling point for PP (Godden 2009), as it has developed into a popular method for researchers, educators, and practitioners working with marginalized or disadvantaged groups, such as victims of domestic abuse, refugee and immigrant youth, homeless, or people who are HIV-positive (e.g. Frohmann 2005; Guerrero and Tinkler 2010; Wang et al. 2001; Photovoice; Zakira), with the aim of allowing these groups, who are often portrayed negatively, to be in charge of their own representation (Kia-Keating 2009:385-386; Prins 2010:426).

However, as Bahati indicates, the photographs taken in AjA adhere to a specific photography ideal, the telling of a story, which conflicts with the students' private photographic practice. There is then, despite PP's aim of giving marginalized groups the opportunity to control their own representation, a limit to this control as the photographic production takes place within an ideal foreign to the students. This article therefore examines the ideals and practices under which photographs are produced and worked with in AjA, and how and why this differs from the students' photographic ideals and practices outside AjA.

In the first part of the analysis, I show that photographs with a story are the 'takeable photographs' in AjA. They require focus on techniques, intentional photographic choices and deal with difficult experiences. I argue that the work with these photographs happens in 'the subjunctive mood'. Secondly, I examine how openness to differing interpretations, a subjunctive mood, is crucial in images with a story, resulting in the devaluation of portraits, smiles and flowers. However, the aim of differing interpretations exists simultaneously with a belief that each student can and should tell their individual narrative[1].

ENTERING A FIELD OF PHOTOGRAPHY

PP originates from participatory approaches to documentary photography (e.g. Ewald 1985; Hubbard 1991), academic research methods focused on intervention and participation, and anthropological uses of photography (Blackman and Fairey 2007:9; Clover 2006:276; Wang et al. 2000:81-82). Theoretical inspiration has come from feminist critiques of academic photography and Paulo Freire's theory of critical education (Wang et al. 2000:81). Extensive literature exists on PP as a research method (e.g. Singhal et al. 2007; Wang and Redwood-Jones 2001; Wilson et al. 2007) even focused on PP with refugee and immigrant youth (e.g. Green and Kloos 2009; McBrien and Day 2012; Ramirez and Matthews 2008; Streng et al. 2004; Yohani 2008). This literature primarily deals with the methodological or empowering potential of the method. However, little qualitative research has been done on NPOs that use PP (Godden 2009), although a few exceptions exist (e.g. Clover 2006; Fairey 2015; Guerrero and Tinkler 2010; Kia-Keating 2009)[2], two of which focused on AjA.

Psychologist Maryam Kia-Keating (2009) examined to what purpose the students at AjA used their photographs, and education scholars Alba Lucy Guerrero and

---

[1] In congruence with Elinor Ochs & Lisa Capps, I define narratives as "verbalized, visualized, and/or embodied framings of a sequence of actual or possible life events" (1996:19). I would add written framings to the list. My point is that photographs are not full narratives but instead fragments of narratives.

[2] A few master thesis' have also been written on the subject (e.g. Belz 2009; Bramsen 2013).

Tessa Tinkler (2010) examined students' photographic interpretations of their identities[3]. Although one study have critically examined PP's ideal of empowerment and individual control of the representation (Fairey 2015), neither of the previous publications have examined the photographic production and ideal in detail nor included the students' private photographic practices - both of which this study contributes with perspectives on.

Previously, photography in anthropology was associated with a realist paradigm (Mjaaland 2009), but today most visual anthropologists have left the notion of an objective photographic content (Ruby 1996:1346). Many instead advocate for analyzing and using photographs as expressive objects, where meaning is not found in the image itself, but in the narratives and behaviors surrounding the image (e.g. Canal 2004; da Silva and Pink 2004; Edwards 1997; Pink 2007 [2001]). This was also my methodological approach during my fieldwork in AjA from January to June 2013. Following visual anthropologist Thera Mjaaland (2009, 2006) I not only inserted myself into the photographic production under study by doing fieldwork in a combined position of intern, teacher, and researcher, but also used photographic methods to produce ethnographic knowledge about photography. I took reportage pictures and constructed a series of portraits in collaboration with four informants, which showed contexts that they found important for their photographic production or life story. Furthermore, most of the 31 interviews that I conducted with 16 students and 3 teachers were based on photographs - some 5,000 photographs taken by AjA students and nearly 2,500 photographs taken by me.

I use the concept of 'takeable photographs' coined by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991) to explore ways in which photography ideals are defined and played out in AjA. Bourdieu's overall argument is that "nothing may be photographed apart from that which must be photographed" (1990 [1965]:24). What must be photographed, the 'takeable photographs', is defined by the values of the group in which it is produced and the functions it is intended to serve (Bourdieu 1990 [1965]:71; Bourdieu 1991:131). Inspired by anthropologists Susan Whyte (2002, 2005), Byron Good (1994), Mary-Jo Del Vecchio Good (1994) and psychologist Jerome Bruner (1986, 1990) I use the concept of the 'subjunctive mood' to examine AjA's emphasis on movement and possibilities. The subjunctive mood refers to narratives, and in Whyte's view also to actions (Whyte 2002:175), steering towards an uncertain future. But as it is not only the mood of doubt, but also of hope, will and

[3] Kia-Keating did research on the Journey program in San Diego, Guerrero & Tinkler on the Journey program in San Diego and a partner-program in Columbia. I do not know why AjA is so well researched, but it might be due to the projects long history and staff members' academic backgrounds.

potential (Ibid.:175), the anthropological authors I use, have shown how the subjunctive can be used as a strategy to gain a sense of control and open up possibilities in despairing situations.

Through combining the concept of 'the takeable photograph' with 'the subjunctive mood' I show how the photographic ideal in AjA is inspired by empowerment theories, particularly Paulo Freire, and how subjunctive practices aim to open up possibilities for positive change for the students.

THE AJA PROJECT

> "As an anthropologist and having studied Paulo Freire, and having studied cycles of oppression and all of that kind of stuff, what I just realized in that moment very quickly in one split milo second - you need to control your own story."

Like several other practitioners in PP, Elena, the executive director of AjA, had been influenced by educational scholar Paulo Freire (Fairey 2015:126; Hubbard 2005:12; 2007:15). This is very apparent in AjA's name and core values. AjA is an acronym for 'Autosuficiencia Juntada con Apoyo', which translates to 'supporting self-sufficiency'. This refers to AjA's ideal of approaching students from an asset rather than deficit based model, which means that they believe students possess the skills and tools for success and self-sufficiency, and AjA merely provides a safe space for them to realize and reflect on this potential. Secondly, the participatory aspect is a core value intended to reverse power dynamics and initiate "self-guided reflection, reconciliation and growth" thereby helping students to "find their own voice" (AjA Project 2014a).

AjA was founded in 2000 in Mae la Oon refugee camp on the Thailand-Burma border and established the same year in San Diego. In 2002 the 'Journey' program for refugee and immigrant youth started, with an introspective focus on themes of identity and belonging. AjA is located and primarily work in the diverse neighborhood of City Heights - in a city that has both been called 'a refugee hub' due to the substantial amount of refugees that are resettled here[4] (CDSS 2013; Cox et al. 2010), and 'Americas gateway to the Third World' due to its location bordering the Mexican city of Tijuana and the influx of immigrants from South and Central America (Chavez 1998 [1992]:XI).

Today AjA has broadened their target group through the program 'Photo City', which deals with community

[4] San Diego County received the highest number of refugees in California in the fiscal year 2013 with 2.745 arrivals (CDSS 2013).

safety and health aimed at underserved youth in general. Their third program, 'The Youth Advisory Council' (YAC) is an advanced program for select students, but due to AjA's program history there is an overweight of refugee and immigrant students. YAC teaches public speaking, leadership skills, helps with internship opportunities, and during my fieldwork also worked on an art exhibit.

The empirical focus has been on four students from the YAC program - Gustavo, Rebekka, Isha and Bahati (image 2), who showed and told me about their previous photographs and classes in AjA, and I followed their current photography project in YAC, where I was also an assistant instructor.

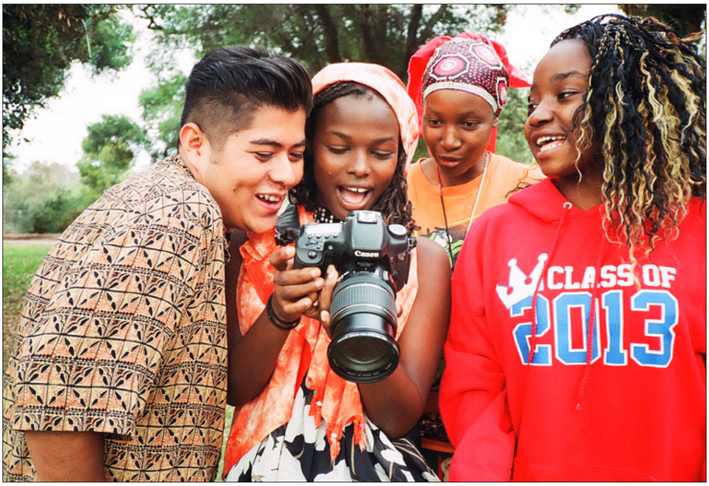


FIGURE 2: PHOTOGRAPHER - MARIE KOFOD SVENSSON (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) GUSTAVO, REBEKKA, ISHA & BAHATI PHOTOGRAPHING FOR FUN WITH THE AUTHOR'S CAMERA DURING A PICNIC AND FOCUS GROUP IN BALBOA PARK.

I also followed a short Journey program with Karen[5] refugee students in collaboration with The Karen Organization of San Diego, and individually interviewed four students who had previously been in AjA, and conducted focus groups with the entire class. Some observations also stem from a 'Photo City program' in a Middle School in City Heights.

THERE IS MORE THAN JUST TAKING PICTURES THERE CAN BE A STORY

Our Story or the Story

A few weeks into my fieldwork, it was asked at a meeting what the AjA staff thought students would say that they do at AjA. Everyone agreed that students would say, "we tell our story".

---

[5] The Karen is an ethnic minority group from Burma, presently called Myanmar. As the military dictatorship in Burma has persecuted The Karen, many have fled to refugee camps on the Burmese-Thai border, and some have been resettled to third countries such as United States (Bowles 1998:11; Neiman et al. 2008).

At the time, it seemed obvious to me that the students were telling their story. However, two weeks later my understanding was challenged, as I looked through photographs with 23-year-old Isha, a refugee coming from Kenya in 2004. She had been with AjA for more than seven years and said:

> "You know how my [photograph of a] tree, it reminded me of old home. They printed that because it was part of my story. I was like 'what I am going to do with a tree'? She [the AjA teacher] was like, 'save it, it could help you in the future, you could talk about it later'. 'No, I don't want it, I want to see myself!' "

Similar experiences and comments followed, indicating conflicts and differences between students' and AjA's photographic ideals. I started to notice, that the word story was ubiquitously present, sometimes as a mere substitute for the word narrative, but often, and particularly by the students, it was used as a normative concept framing the photographic and narrative practice expected to take place at AjA. El Dye, a 17-year-old refugee resettled from Thailand, said, "it is good to take good pictures, but you have to have a great story behind it". Story thus developed from a taken for granted concept, which seemed naturally present in a field dealing with visual narratives, to becoming an analytical focus point.

Bourdieu argued, based on his study of peasant photography in Béarn in 1961-62 (Wacquant 2004:393,409), that "among the theoretically infinite number of photographs which are technically possible, each group chooses a finite and well defined range of subjects, genres and compositions", so-called 'takeable photographs', which give status and affirms the social order (Bourdieu 1990 [1965]:6; Bourdieu 1991:131; Mjaaland 2006:36). I unpack story as a concept framing a range 'of takeable' photographs in AjA. The following analysis therefore defines the 'takeable' photographs, and discusses why and if students and teachers view these as such.

Think before you click

> "You know some people think, taking pictures is just for fun, but now a days I don't view it as for fun. It is more of, you can express who you are, your thoughts, your feelings, your story through photography. So one thing that I learned and I will use, is not just taking pictures for fun, actually trying to, what is the whole story behind (...)

> And also, sometimes I tell my sisters, like sometimes they take pictures with their iPods, maybe when taking a picture just think about it. What do you want to be in the [picture], how do you want the picture to be, why do you want the picture to be like that, which angle do you want to face? Because there is something more than just you taking a picture - there can be a story."

18-year-old Rebekka is a refugee originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and has been in AjA for one year. She points out two photographic practices that were constantly described and enacted as opposing - the practice of taking photographs for fun, exemplified by her sisters taking unplanned photographs with their iPods, and the photographic practice learned in AjA, which is associated with planned photographs incorporating techniques and leading to the creation of a story. Rebekka argues that there is more to photography than just taking photographs for fun. Similarly Bahati, like many other students, rebuffed photographs she categorized as for fun during interviews, as she passed a black and white photograph of her friends hugging (image 3) with the comment that it was "just a picture for fun".

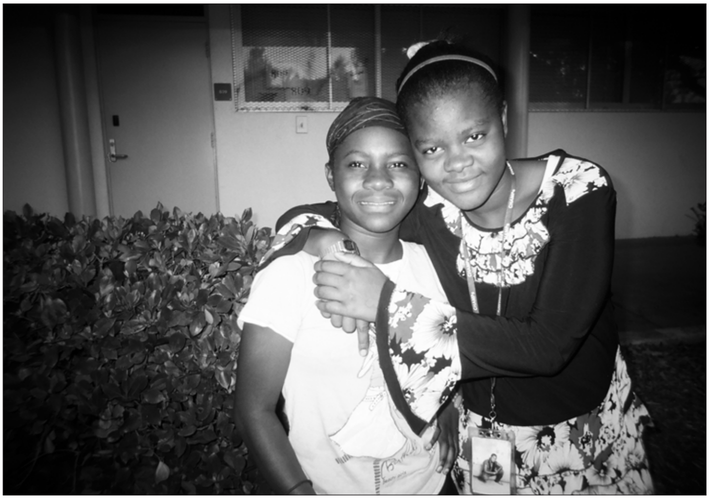


FIGURE 3: PHOTOGRAPHER - BAHATI

If I specifically asked about photographs for fun, students answered me evasively or downgraded the images, initially assuming that I only wanted to see the photographs they considered to be 'AjA photographs'[6], because I had entered AjA as an assistant photography instructor. Bourdieu argues that "to give value to a practice as accessible as this [photography] necessarily includes at least a negative reference to ordinary practice" (Bourdieu 1990 [1965]:47).

---

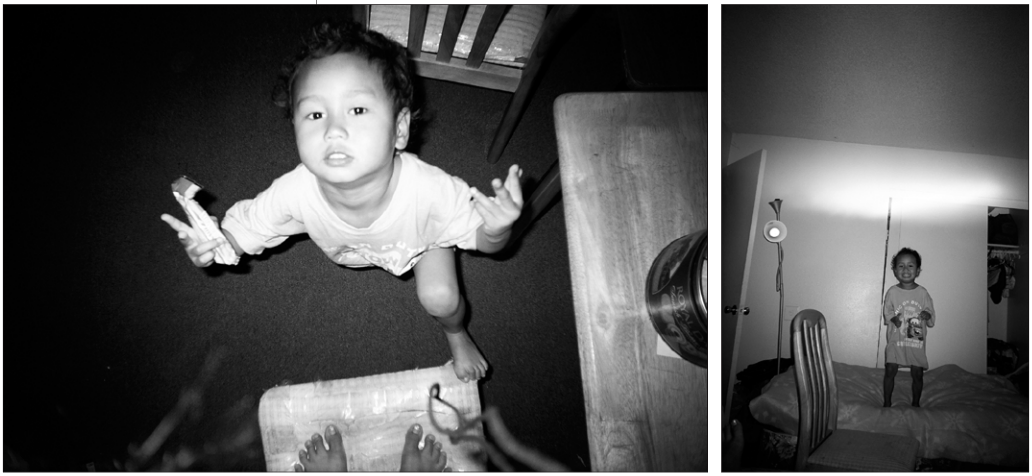
[6] AjA photographs' is not an emic term, but a name I have given photographs considered appropriate for AjA - images with a story. I have marked all emic concepts in italic, but 'AjA photographs' are marked with single inverted commas like the theoretical concepts, as it is an analytical concept.

So giving value to the photographic practice at AjA necessitates an 'ordinary practice' that acts as a negative reference, which in this case is photographs taken for fun, or snapping as some students called it:

> Isha: "I just take it and then snap, and you don't have to worry about the lighting and stuff (...) I don't even have to worry about my subjects and everything, because people saw me with camera and then just start to pose and then smile, and then I was like 'snap'!"
> Marie: "so snapping is when you don't think about the techniques?"
> Isha: "the techniques, or your light, or what you want the picture to look like."

Both students and teachers emphasized intentional photographic choices as essential in the production of 'AjA photographs'. Teacher and program manager Caroline even said that, "the main thing that I hope that they remember, is to think before they click (...) just being more intentional about it". As both Rebekka and Isha touched upon, intention is closely related to the use of techniques - both in opposition to photographs for fun. The focus on techniques came to the fore as photo elicitation interviews on photographs from AjA at times resulted in an endless stream of technical comments rather than reflections on the motif. Like Paw Htoo, a resettled Karen refugee from Thailand, described two images she took of her little brother (image 4 & 5) as "oh this one he [the AjA teacher] asked us to do birds eye view, worms eye view".

FIGURE 4 & 5: PHOTOGRAPHER - PAW HTOO BIRD'S-EYE VIEW (LEFT) & WORM'S-EYE VIEW (RIGHT)



Although the emphasis on intent and techniques was often visible in class, as most assignments started with students writing how, and sometimes what, they will photograph, both students and teachers told me, that it is not exclusively intentional photographic choices and techniques that can create 'AjA photographs'. Chloe, a lead instructor and the YAC coordinator, explained this relationship:

> "AjA images would probably be closest related to planned images. Images that the students have actually planned and thought out, but it could also relate to images taken for fun (...) They are the images that were not shot with intent, but then there is a found intent later."

Isha had a similar perception of the importance of finding intent:

> "They come out good, and then the teacher is asking me 'when you were taking this what we you thinking?' I am like 'hmm?' I start to make up stories. The teacher would then say, 'well you took it, so you have to know!'"

This means photographs for fun can become 'AjA photographs' if intent is found in the post-shooting work - during selection, caption writing, presentations, or discussions. The focus on intentional photographic choices therefore seems more related to the process than the result. Both process and intent are concepts central in theories of empowerment (Carr 2003; Freire 2005 [1970]; Yang 2014). Paulo Freire, argued that intentionality is the essence of consciousness, the central theme of his theory of critical education for social change (2005[1970]:79). In this perspective, the focus on intent and process seems related to AjA's aim of empowering the students. However, scholars and practitioners within PP have cautioned against pushing for an unfamiliar or "particular way of seeing" (Ballerini 1997:178-179; Blackman and Fairey 2007:100) - both of which AjA seems to do, as they advocate for a particular photographic style unknown to the students and directly opposed to their private photographs for fun. However, I did not experience it as a matter of "force-feeding dominant aesthetics to those perceived as having no legitimate culture of their own", as art historian Julia Ballerini (1997:179) phrases it. On the contrary, many of the students expressed that the techniques were one of the best things they learned.

19 year-old Gustavo, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, was experiencing heavy bullying as he joined AjA, but the techniques gave a confidence boost:

> "I remember we would actually learn the terms of photography. We learned about environmental, worms-eye and bird's eye. And it was cool, because then I knew the terms when I met people, and I would tell them 'oh I did this from worms eye view' (...) so now that I knew the terms, I was like really happy. I just felt really good about myself."

Isha had a similar experience:

> "When I learned that [the techniques], I was like 'wow!' I thought that photography was really simple - point and shot and you got a picture" (...) You know you have to think before the picture come out - to have it in my head how it is going to come out, before it actually comes out."

Opposed to Ballerini, who describes a specific style and an emphasis on techniques as disempowering for participants (1997:179), Isha and Gustavo portray their acquisition of techniques with a sense of pride and excitement. AjA has sent both on a trajectory towards a photography career - Gustavo as a freelance photographer, and Isha as a photography major in college. However, students who did not intend to pursue photography professionally also valued the techniques. Like Bahati, who said that "my Facebook photos is just like taking my techniques from AjA, but just doing them in a different way". In presentations, training sessions, and interviews I continuously heard that despite the focus on techniques, it was not AjA's aim to create great photographers:

> "It is not necessarily that I hoped that they learned like bird's-eye view, worm's-eye view. I mean I did, because I was being paid to teach them that stuff, but I didn't hope for them, that they learned that (...) What I really hoped that they learned was just to trust themselves a little bit more, to have a sense of respect for their experiences and each other's experiences, to have just a little more self-confidence. I hope that they learned some more English. I hoped that they learned how to make friends with other people in a country that was new to them. So it was more like self-based and a group-thing (...) Photography is just the method

> that we use, but it is not the end goal." (Caroline, teacher & program manager)

Caroline's statement is in many ways the ideal rather than the practice, and practitioners of PP have pointed out, that teaching a particular photographic style is often linked to a need for certain types of pictures as the end product (Blackman and Fairey 2007:100; Hubbard 2007:20). This is also the case in AjA, where each program has specific deliverables, such as producing images for exhibitions, blogs, newspaper articles or reports to funders. AjA need to produce aesthetically well-considered photographs, so that funders can see that students have learned something and exhibitions look good. However, I never experienced these outcomes being stressed to students. Instead, there was emphasis on the process, and I will now examine how this focus fits together with intentional photographic choices and techniques.

Learning to look

> "It gives me great joy to see photos like this come out of our program, because I know they are looking! That they are actually looking for the lesson! If they did this, and they are really looking, and it is not just that they are really looking for the technical lesson, it is that they are learning how to look! And that has application everywhere. How to look around you, be observing of what is happening around you, to look at the details."

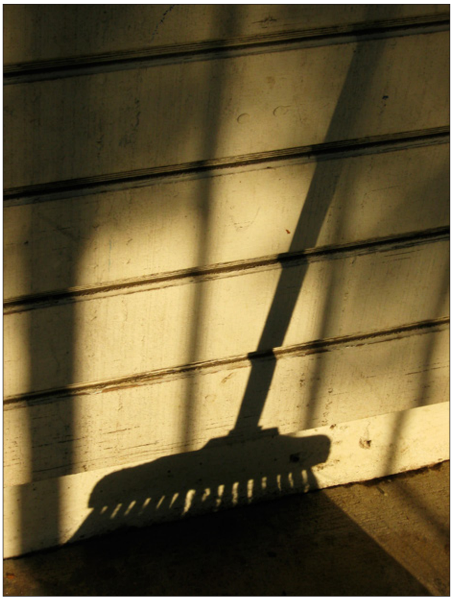


FIGURE 6: PHOTOGRAPHER ISHA

It is teaching how to see, how to see more critically, and with more detail and to observe more."

These were the words of executive director Elena, as she commented on a student photo (image 6). Looking can take place when the motif is selected, as well as in the process of observing the finished photograph. However, Elena points out that observation is also a daily activity. Through learning and applying the techniques and thereby intentionally focusing the camera on a given subject, students will not only learn to look photographically, but will also be more attentive and critically observing in life in general. Such an outcome was seen in a Photo City class:

> "When you take pictures you notice stuff that you didn't notice [before]. Like how many years you have lived here. When you take pictures you learn more about where you live. Before I used to just walk, because I know where to go. And then your perspective changes." (13-year-old female Photo City student)

Similar to Elena's looking, this Photo City student's photographic looking made her notice and perceive her surroundings differently and in greater detail. The emphasis on looking again reveals PP's inspiration from Freire (Wang et al. 2000:81), as his concept of critical consciousness, or the "deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence" (Freire 2005[1970]:109), seems very close to Elena's description of seeing more critically and with more detail. Critical consciousness is a process of becoming aware of views and understandings that shape your interpretation of reality, and consequently understand that you are capable and responsible for changing that reality, thereby opening up a potential for change (Carlson et al. 2006:837; Carr 2003:9). This corresponds well with AjA's aim to "transform the lives of youth and communities" (AjA Project 2014a).

Scholars on photography have argued that the interpretation of sight, like all other sensory experiences, is socially constructed (Classen in Banks 2001:7; Rosenblum 1978:19), and photographic seeing is acquired as photographers learn to selectively focus their visual attention according to the context of production (Rosenblum 1978:19). In AjA students learned how to see with an emphasis on intention and techniques, and as I will show later, specific types of narratives and motifs. However, the AjA way of seeing is taught in a subtle manner, and the students did not feel that the teachers harshly evaluated their images, but rather that it was a joint process of selection, where the student had the final choice:

> Marie: "Were there images that you really, really liked, but then the teachers didn't like them?"
> Isha: "No, it was great like that, because the teachers liked everything we did, because if they didn't, we would stop! (...) In general, they were very positive, but you could tell, that they were not just trying to make you feel better - they actually liked it. That you went through all this work. It is just through the editing, then you choose together which ones are good, which ones are perfect. But they never say 'this one is horrible, don't ever do it again'. They just said, 'oh this one stands out more than this one, and which one would you pick?' They actually look for your opinion."

Teachers had to be supportive for student retention, and the emphasis on dialogue again reveal inspiration from Freire, here in his view of not seeing students as empty vessels to be filled with information by teachers (Freire 2005 [1970]:79-81). Instead, AjA claims to operate from an "'asset-based model rather than a 'deficit-based model' " (AjA Project 2014a), which means that teachers aim for:

> "Seeing the perfection in a person as they exist, and then meeting them where they are in that perfect space, and then just providing the tools, so that they can recognize that perfection." (Chloe, lead instructor)

This ideal is reflected in a practice of asking more questions than giving answers. Appropriating this approach as an assistant instructor was quite challenging, since the students were screaming and pulling in me asking, 'Miss Marie is this bird's-eye view?' or 'Miss Marie what picture should I choose?' Based on the method of Visual Thinking Strategies, developed by art education scholars Abigail Housen and Philip Yenawie (e.g. Housen 2001-2002; VTS 2014; Yenawine 2011 [1997]), I was trained to answer students with questions such as 'what is going on in the picture?', what do you see that makes you say that?', and 'what more do you see?' The intention is to have the students explore the images, their stories and techniques on their own, to achieve skills in what AjA calls "critical thinking, communication, and visual literacy" (AjA Project 2010).

Replacing answers with questions keep possibilities open - the possibility that something is realized by the student on his or her own. Keeping the process open, and allowing for a variety of interpretations, explanations, or understandings can be analyzed as an action in the 'subjunctive mood'. The subjunctive is "the mood of doubt, hope, will and potential" (Webster dictionary in Whyte 2002:175). Although this theoretical concept has often been used to analyze a specific way of telling narratives, anthropologist Susan Whyte argues that it is also a way of doing as "it is a mood of the verb, it is about action, and especially interaction" (Whyte 2002:175). In what can be analyzed as a subjunctive interaction, I was unable to satisfy the student's immediate requests, but instead had to embark on the more demanding task of starting a dialogue. In the nature of the subjunctive, this type of interaction encompassed both doubt and potential. The student might succeed in finding the answer on his or her own, making it an even bigger accomplishment than having been served an answer, but the student might also fail to find the answer, thereby making it a bigger failure. This makes the stakes higher for both student and teacher, and the process much more intricate. However, the result seems to be that, the students feel involved. As Isha emphasized, she felt that the teachers "actually look for your opinion".

So learning to look for students means looking closely and critically at the photographs as well as the world, to find answers on their own. Inherent in this ideal of critical looking is also a risk, or even aim of creating narratives of difficulties, which I will now look at.

Moving Through the Difficult Story

> "When I came here I had some anger problems. I was still dealing with some stuff from Africa (...) They [the AjA teachers] said 'you can share your story, you can be free, you can take pictures' (....) I think the most thing I learned, is that everybody has a story, and every story of anybody matters. I used to think I am the only one who went through a lot."

Participating in AjA had allowed Rebekka to process difficult experiences of war and subsequent flight from The Democratic Republic of the Congo, which her family had trouble addressing. Several of my key informants described how their participation in AjA had enabled them to talk about and process difficult experiences - often for the first time.

This is also a specific goal in AjA, particularly in the Journey program, as it aims to help refugee and immigrant youth "process their experiences of leaving war torn countries, living in refugee camps and arriving in an unfamiliar country" (AjA Project 2014b). Many of the students' photographs also elicited these types of stories (e.g. image 7-9):

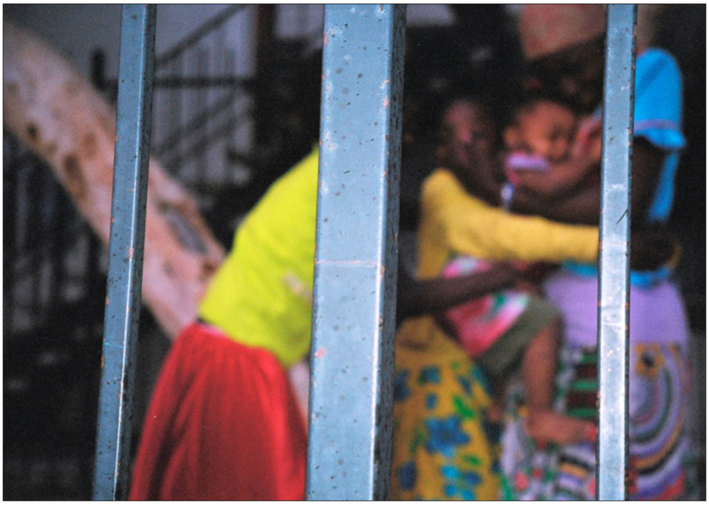


FIGURE 7:
PHOTOGRAPHER BAHATI
"IT REPRESENTED THE BORDER, BECAUSE IT WAS BLURRY ON THE BACK (...) I REMEMBER LIKE IT WAS YESTERDAY, BECAUSE I LEFT SOME OF MY CLOSEST FAMILY MEMBERS AND MY FRIENDS THERE."
(CAPTION FROM INTERVIEW)

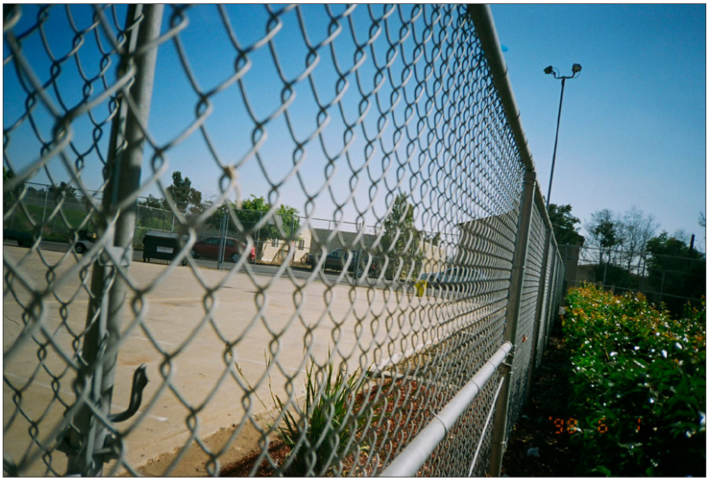


FIGURE 8:
PHOTOGRAPHER PAW HTOO
"IT REMINDS ME [OF] WHEN I WAS IN CAMP, AND HOW WE CANNOT GET OUT. THE FENCES ARE VERY SIMILAR (...) YOU STAY IN CAMP, YOU SEE PEOPLE GO AROUND, LIKE THEY DRIVE AROUND - YOU CANNOT."
(CAPTION FROM INTERVIEW)

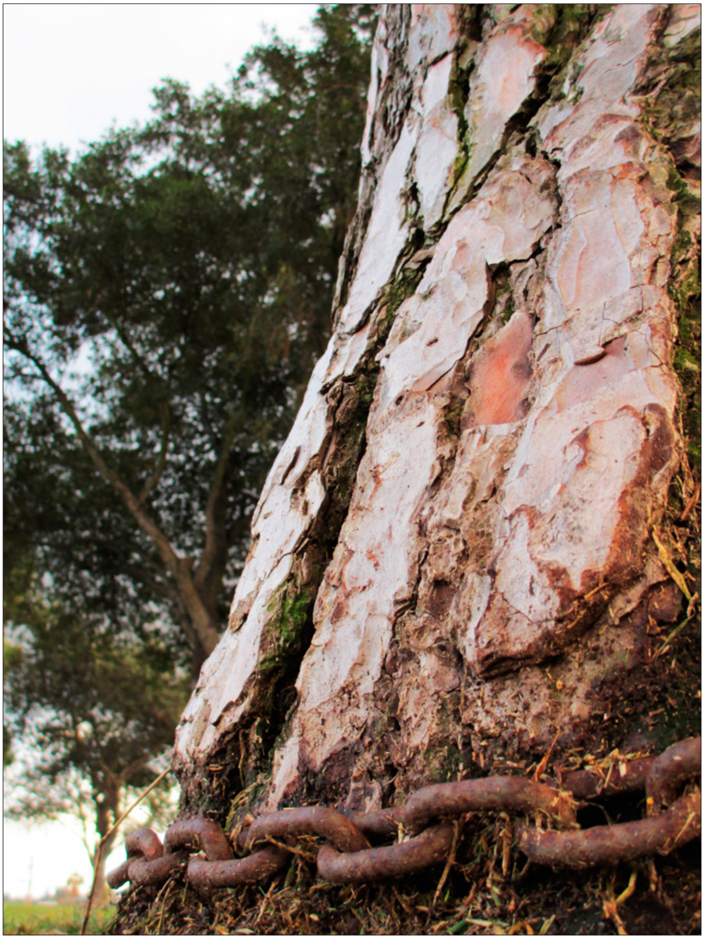


FIGURE 9: PHOTOGRAPHER MAW THI "NO MATTER HOW BIG YOU ARE OR HOW STRONG YOU ARE, DON'T LET A LITTLE THING PULL YOU DOWN. BECAUSE WHEN SOMETHING LITTLE PULLS YOU DOWN, YOU MIGHT NEVER BE ABLE TO PICK YOURSELF UP AGAIN. IT IS HARD TO BE THE STRONG AND BIG PERSON THAT YOU USED TO BE." (STUDENT CAPTION FROM AJA)

When Isha described the difference between 'AjA photographs' and photographs intended for Facebook, this focus was also evident:

> "That one [pointing to an AjA photograph] is where you came from, who you are, and how that changed when you came here - an old home new home kind of thing. (…) they want you to dig deeper, they want you to see inside yourself. Like if you just take a picture of you doing like [showing a pose] that doesn't have a story behind it!"

Again, the 'takeable photograph', as Bourdieu would call it (1991:131), is photographs with a story. This story needs to be one the students have dug deep inside themselves to find, and should be about difficult experiences often related to migration. But working with these types of narratives is an uncertain undertaking according to executive director Elena:

> "It can trigger kids, and you can accidentally get them stuck somewhere (...) that is why I talk about the importance of moving through things, and I think it is also important to only allow students to go as deep as they want to go into a topic, and not to stay there too long. I don't think you should linger over and over and over on the same question. Because chances are, just the introduction of the idea, even if they reject it right then, they will come back to it at their own pace, in their own time, in a way that is safe for them. And we don't have anyway of knowing that. So to kind of repeat something for too long, is to lead them to a cliff."

Moving through is a process full of if's and maybe's aimed at the future. This again seems to be an action in the subjunctive mood, where the facilitation of the photographic production and unfolding of the narrative is expressed as a 'wish' or a 'hypothetical' or 'prospective' outcome in psychologist Jerome Bruner's vocabulary of the subjunctive (1986:26). As Elena says, "chances are" that the students might come back to the subject, but "we don't have anyway of knowing that", or as Bruner points out, "to be in the subjunctive mood is, then, to be trafficking in human possibilities rather than in settled certainties" (Ibid.). However, these possibilities or outcomes were rather loosely described, and Caroline, the program manager, expressed insecurity about the end goal:

> "We are pushing them to think about things that they might not want to think about, to what end? Like what is the benefit of thinking about those things? I don't know the answers to that. Like what did they get out of thinking about leaving per se?"

Her colleague Chloe, a lead instructor, was more optimistic:

> "I have had youth tell me, that they have never spoken about things prior to being in the classroom (...) And they have always in every instance given me feedback after that account, that it was a really good thing. (...) It is about them being able to safely navigate through those experiences. And be able to self-reflect in the respect that they gave insight into themselves as an individual, and into their circumstance, and have it empower them. So that they know that it is part of who they are, and it is shaping who they are becoming, and an understanding of what that looks like, and being able to success-

> fully navigate through that, and really being able to kind of move through it versus getting stuck in it."

In Chloe's words this process of moving through can empower the students, as they come to realize how their former experiences, in particular about migration, have shaped who they are. This again seems inspired by Freire's concept of critical consciousness as a process that enables you to become aware of the views and circumstances that shape your understanding of reality (Carlson et al. 2006:837; Carr 2003:9). It also resembles anthropologist Marita Eastmond's argument that creating a sense of home and belonging for immigrants "is a matter of constructing a coherent narrative about oneself and one's experiences" (2007:255). Together Rebekka, Isha, Elena, and Chloe's comments point toward a goal and hope of healing - similar to the subjunctivizing theme described by anthropologists Byron Good and Mary-Jo Del Vecchio Good, where the future is "a potent source for change and healing" (1994:840).

However, for the process to be empowering or healing rather than leading to a cliff, the narrative needs to be unfolded in a certain way. First of all, there is emphasis on movement in opposition to getting stuck, and on possibilities in the future rather than despairing experiences or memories from the past or present. This was exemplified in a Photo City class, as involvement and attendance decreased, after a long period where students had eagerly identified problems in their community. A student figuratively described it like driving a fire truck and seeing a fire, but not being able to help, because he was neither an adult nor a firefighter. The teachers realized they had lingered too long on the negative issues of the community, and the students were seeing the severity of the issues but lacked a path of possibilities. Therefore, Caroline, the AjA program manager, did a presentation on what she called 'the ripple effect', where she explained that her motivation for teaching the students, were that they would later affect other people, causing a ripple of potential change. Again, the emphasis was on movement and potential, on doing something with unknown results rather than doing nothing. Secondly, moving through means not digging too deep, and a Photo City student's strong emotional response to a photograph revealed how this is intended to be done. The episode made the executive director caution us against asking about feelings directly, but instead replace feel with see - asking 'what do you see in the picture', as direct use of feel could push students into talking about a difficult subject, they might not want to engage with.

Both students and teachers suggested that photography is a particular good medium for moving through difficult experiences - for example Rebekka:

> "I think I find it more powerful that photography was there, because even though I didn't want to share my story, like I didn't share most of it, but then I think I took some pictures that helped me express, even when I didn't say."

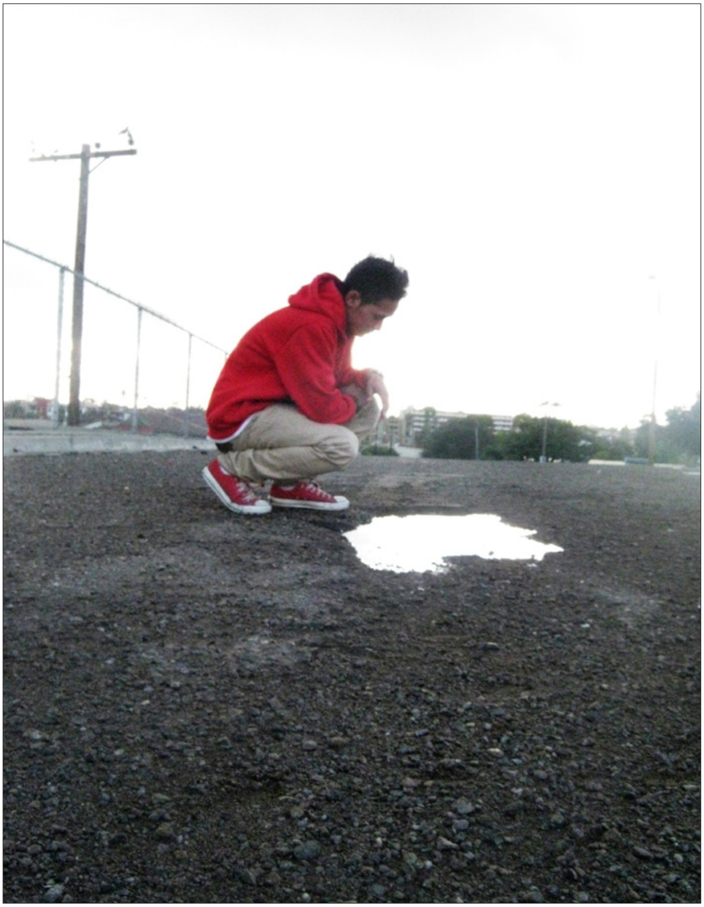
Chloe, Rebekka's present YAC teacher, argued that photography is an intermediary for students, which "allows them the space to step away". Similar arguments have been made about photo elicitation interviews in anthropology, where photography is described as a third party, which relieves the informant of the stress of being the subject of interrogation (Collier and Collier 1986:105-107). Much the same can be said about the class situation in AjA, where focus is often on the image and fellow students' interpretations. Like Rebekka points out, photography also allows students to take pictures that might not even symbolize a difficult experience or emotion, but then fellow students unfold or reinterpret the narrative. So the photographer does not necessarily have to spell out what might be a very sensitive or painful point. Anthropologist Gemma Canal argues that photographic content and the narratives they evoke open up "routes to knowledge that cannot be achieved by verbal communication" (2004:38), and a similar belief seems to underpin AjA's philosophy, both through photographic looking as discussed previously, and by moving through as discussed here. Diversity of interpretations is the core strategy for realizing this philosophy, which I will now zoom in on.

A GOOD PARTICIPATORY PHOTOGRAPHY IMAGE DOESN'T TELL YOU A LOT

Faces, Smiles & Flowers

A group of Karen youth is looking at a slideshow with a teacher selection of their photographs. A photograph appears portraying one of the students in profile looking into a puddle (image 10). The students curiously ask their teacher, Mr. Adrian, why he likes the image, and he promptly replies, "the person is not looking into the camera!"

FIGURE 10:
PHOTOGRAPHER
SAW HTOO



Again the ‘takeable photograph’ in AjA is defined and given value in opposition to a ‘negative reference’ as Bourdieu calls it (1990 [1965]:47). However, the positive evaluation of images not focused on faces remained unexplained in this class, but in an interview Caroline, the program manager, explained:

> “I think a good PP image doesn’t tell you a lot. It brings up more questions than automatic answers. (...) So what I found consistently for me, is that the ones that I choose as good PP images often don’t have faces as the primary thing. Because I think that it is easier for people to see themselves in the image, or to make up stories using their own selves, when the face isn’t the prominent in the image.”

This definition of the good PP photograph is strikingly similar to Bruner’s definition of good narratives, or what he calls “subjunctive stories”. He argues that, “to make a story good, it would seem, you must make it somewhat uncertain, somehow open to variant readings" (1990:53-54).

So besides helping students in the subjunctive mood, by asking more questions than giving answers, and handling difficult stories in the subjunctive mood with focus on movement and the future, the 'takeable photograph' should also be in the subjunctive mood, posing more questions than giving answers and allowing viewers to make up stories using themselves as point of departure. Bruner also points out, similarly to Caroline, that subjunctive stories are easier to enter and identify with, and they also allow for suspense between reality and imagination, particularly if it is blurred that it is "somebody's story" (1990:54-55). Caroline described how this blurring of identity also occurs in AjA's practice of omitting student's last names in credits:

> "I think that the intention is protection, but I think that a consequence of it, which is not necessarily a bad thing, in some ways a good consequence, is that by not including last names, it sort of does the same thing with these PP images not showing faces as the primary identifier, because it allows you to sort of like 'this could be any kid', it is not that specific kid."

Like the emphasis on intention and techniques, the ideal of not focusing on faces is in opposition to student's photographs for fun, and Isha explained how these opposing ideals sometimes clinched:

> "We always tell them, that we wanted the pictures printed, but they always print the ones where we are not posing, the ones that mean something, but we want ourselves!"

Despite this regulating practice, the students used AjA cameras to take self-portraits or posed portraits of family and friends (e.g. images 11-14), and the teachers allowed this, as long as they did the assignments. As Isha said about the Journey program she attended before YAC, "I'd take the assignment, and then when I had enough, the rest I could do whatever."

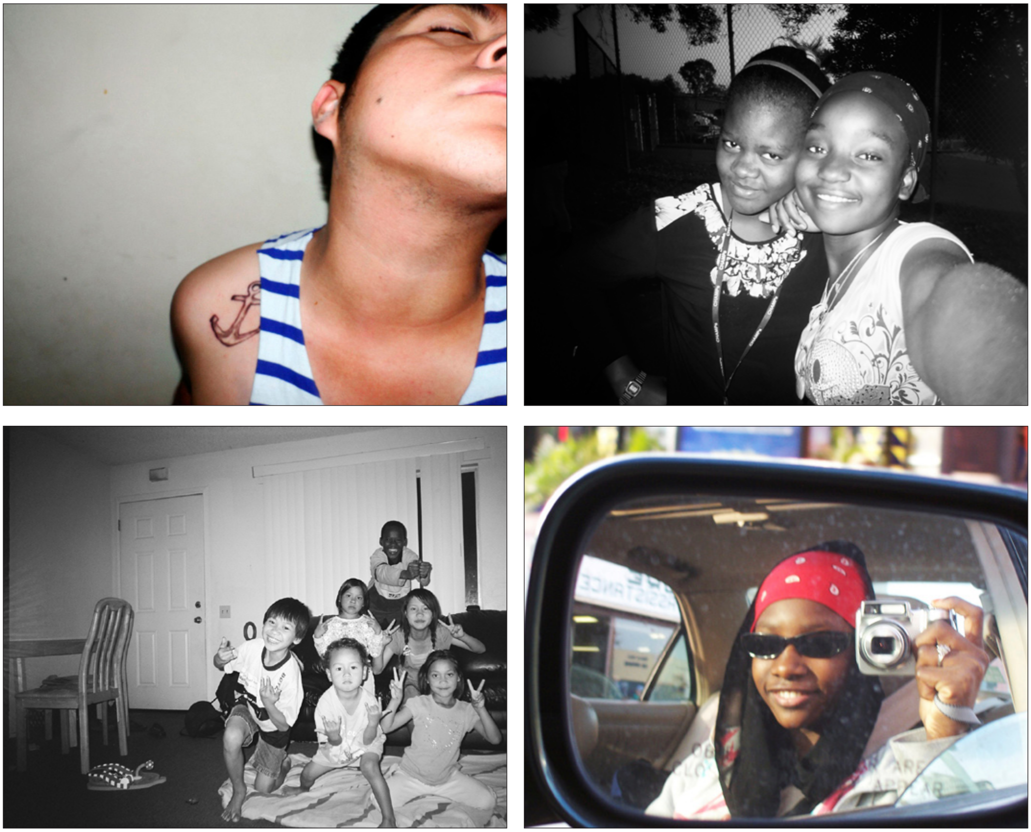


FIGURE 11-14: PHOTOGRAPHERS (LEFT TO RIGHT) - GUSTAVO, BAHATI, PAW HTOO & ISHA

Outside AjA portraits aimed for Facebook were the most prevalent type of photographs. During a focus group Gustavo, Isha, Rebekka, and Bahati in unison shouted “beauty!” as I asked them what characteristic they would give Facebook photographs. Initially they defined Facebook and ‘AjA photographs’ as contradictory categories, but ended up concluding that both types of images are about self-discovery, albeit two very different kinds. Later Bahati elaborated on this:

> “From AjA you discover some new things that you didn’t know (...) You just learned so many new things about yourself that you never thought you could do, or know how to do. And then through Facebook pictures, you just see yourself in a different way (...) sometimes a little confidence is good - just a little confidence (...) Even though like some people say, ‘oh you are pretty’, but sometimes you don’t believe it. So you have to see it for yourself.”

Both types of images give confidence, but where Facebook images are primarily about appearance, ‘AjA photographs’ are about practical skills and self-knowledge.

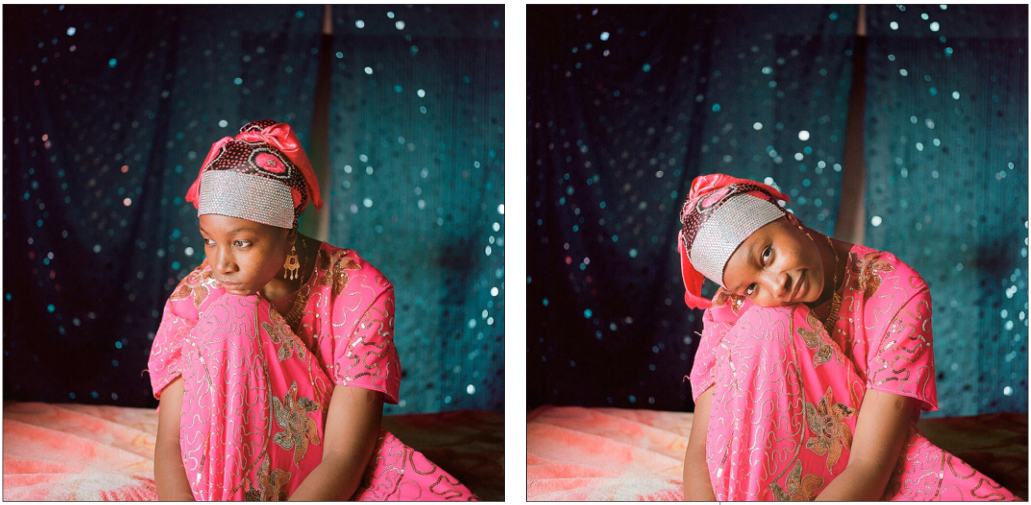


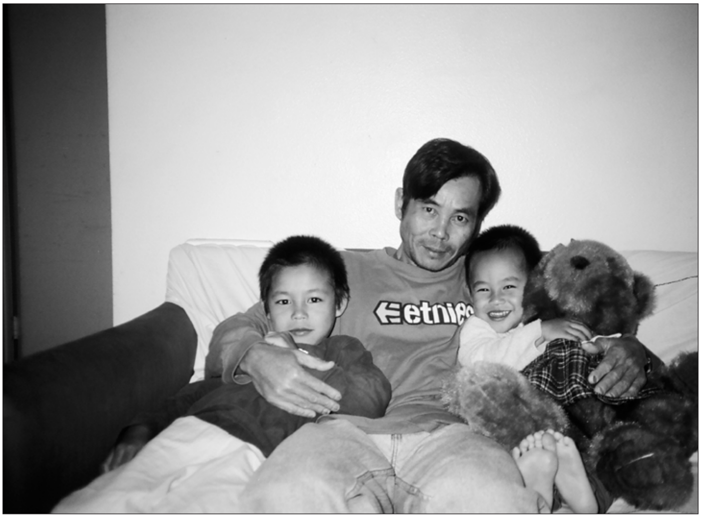
FIGURE 15-16: PHOTOGRAPHER MARIE KOFOD SVENSSON IN COLLABORATION WITH ISHA

The difference between the two is also the smile, or lack of it, as Isha described when she looked through a set of portraits I had taken of her:

> "This is the kind of picture (image 15) I take when I am actually doing like a project. Trying to do things for somebody else, for like school or for AjA that got nothing to do with my own feeling. This is the kind of picture (image 16) I would be taking for my cellphone or for Facebook.
> You know how when you are taking pictures for a project, you are not supposed to be doing like - snapshots. If I am looking for something with a story behind it, I'll tell my subject not to smile"

Story is again the defining marker for 'takeable photographs', and they should be without smiles, in line with AjA's intention of getting students to photograph or talk about difficult issues. This starkly contrasts the use of photographs outside AjA as a way to create or capture happy memories. Isha pointed out "when you take a picture, it is like a moment, a frozen moment, then you are happy forever", and El Dy said about a photograph of her dad and siblings (image 17) that "it feels happy, how we used to be".

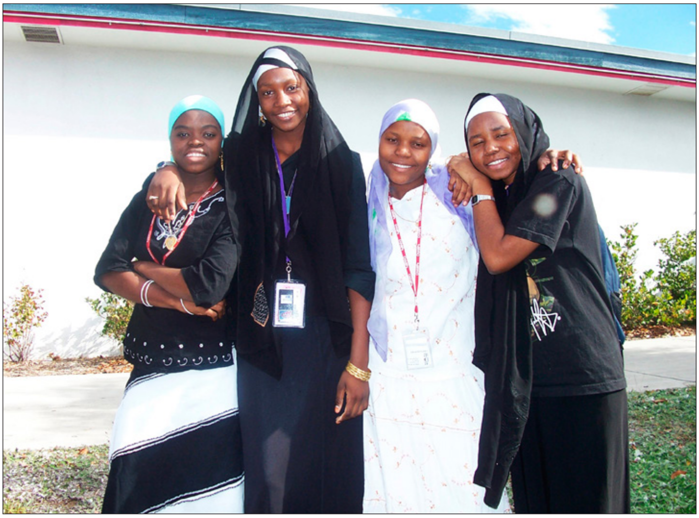
FIGURE 17:
PHOTOGRAPHER EL DY



The devaluation of smiles and faces is connected to the interpretive possibilities:

> "I often look for multilayered images, so again something like this (image 18). There is basically one layer to it - it is a layer of singular people in a line. There is not much going on in the image, and there is not much question, in terms of like - they got smiles on their face, they are posing for the camera."

FIGURE 18:
PHOTOGRAPHER ISHA



Caroline, the program manager, here equals a singular line of smiling people, with a singular interpretation, which restricts the opportunity for diverse interpretations possible in multilayered images, and acts against the ideal of photographs in the subjunctive mode.

In his study of peasant photography in Béarn in the 60's Bourdieu found that "by means of obeying the principles of frontality and adopting the most conventional posture, one were seeking as far as possible to control the objectification of one's own image" (1990 [1965]:83). In this perspective frontal posing and smiling can be analyzed as a means for the students to control their representation, as it freezes you happy forever as Isha pointed out, whereas AjA strives for photographs in the subjunctive mood, open to a variety of interpretations. This again shows that the selling point of PP as a first-person viewpoint is quite simplified (Godden 2009), and that the empowering potential is not necessarily, or at least not exclusively, a matter of how the process "allows him/her to control how he/she is represented" as AjA writes in their methods description (AjA Project 2014b). Instead it seems that many of the empowering ideals are played out in the heavy focus on process, which a second negative counterpoint to 'AjA photographs', flower photographs (e.g. images 19-22), again revealed:

> "I am like argh, more flowers (...) I do think when students photograph flowers a lot, then often they are looking for beauty. But I also think that it is easy to photograph a flower, when you don't know what else to, 'oh I am going to take a picture of a flower'. You know, that is a default we all have!" (Elena, executive director)

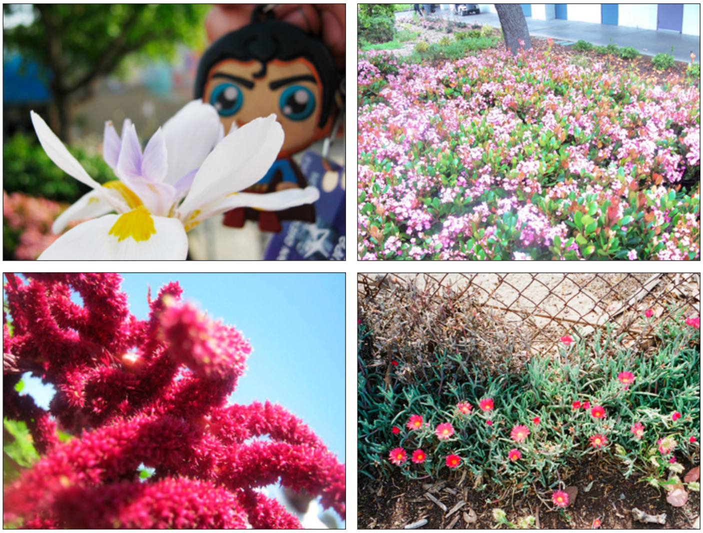


FIGURE 19-22: PHOTOGRAPHERS (LEFT TO RIGHT) - GUSTAVO, ISHA, MAW THI & EL DY

The students valued flower images, much like smiling portraits, for their beauty and ability to create happy memories. As El Dy said, "it is pretty, it is beautiful, it makes me feel good when I see it".

But in Elena's words, these photographs are too easy and 'default images'. So parallel to teaching students to 'really look' through intentional photographic choices and the use of techniques, the devaluation of portraits and flower images seem intended to get the students to approach the photographed subject with a sense of critical thinking, to refer to AjA's vocabulary (AjA Project 2014b), rather than commonplace familiarity. Scholars on empowerment have argued that novel experiences or challenges often help ignite a process of empowerment (Hart in Carr 2003:14), and similar arguments have also been made in connection to PP (Carlson et al. 2006:846,849). Despite differences in photographic ideals between private photographs for fun and 'AjA photographs', students also appreciated the new insights 'AjA photographs' gave them:

> "The best thing that I learned...I learned a lot of stuff. I didn't know a picture can tell a lot of stories from different people looking at it. Just a little picture can tell a big story (...) It is funny how little pictures can say a lot about others, what people can see through their eyes." (Bahati)

> "It did give me an expansion of perspective - I was expanding my perspective on every single detail of life basically (...) When I got into AjA I am like 'oh this is different way of seeing photography." (Gustavo)

The diversity of interpretations is integral to the photographic practice because AjA approach PP as a "springboard for storytelling" and "group-dialogue" as it was phrased at an instructor training I attended. This again seems inspired by Freire, who argues that dialogue on the basis of 'coded materials', such as drawings or photographs, is pivotal for building 'critical consciousness' (Freire 2005 [1970]:104-106,114-119; Purcel 2009:112), as it makes participants "'re-consider,' through the 'considerations' of others, their own previous 'consideration'" (Freire 2005 [1970]:112). However, the emphasis on diversity of interpretations exists simultaneously with an ideal of allowing students to communicate and control their individual story, and I will now examine these apparently contradictory ideals.

> "There are technical and creative lessons [in image 23] - that you need to be able to control your images, technically and creatively, for them to tell the story that you want to tell (...) I think if you ask a student 'what is going on in this picture?' You are going to get so many different stories, so many different stories. And that is the whole margin - if you say [what is going on] in this picture, then you will get lots of different stories, then that's a great photo for PP!"

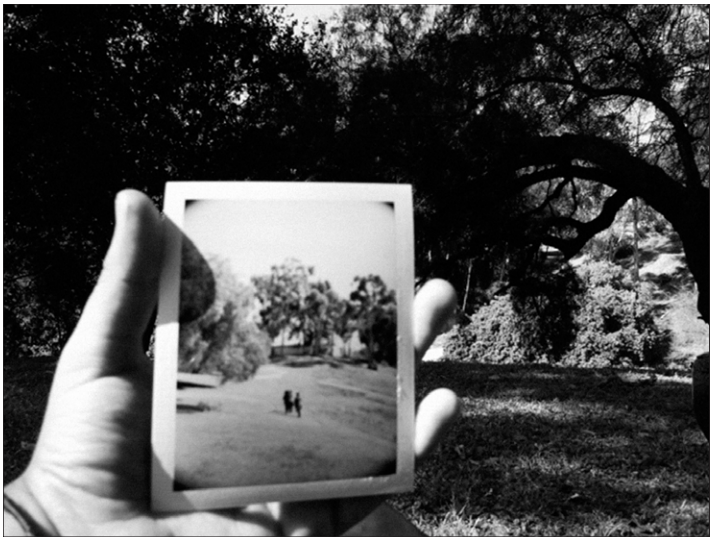


FIGURE 23: PHOTOGRAPHER GUSTAVO

Elena, the executive director, here exemplifies two conflicting ideals that this article has touched on - that AjA aims for the PP process to allow participants to individually "control how he/she is represented" (AjA Project 2014b), but on the other hand that the photographic production happens within a limited photography ideal, that aims for photographs to be open to a variety of interpretations, which I have analyzed as 'the subjunctive mood'. However, the students did not seem to find it so conflicting:

> "People will see the picture first, and come up with their own story - like what is behind the picture. And then at the end I will tell my story, so [we] could compare it - if it is what they saw, when they looked at the picture (...) That was really interesting because most of them got it right, because the picture tells the story. And some of them they come up with a more interesting story then the one I had. It is fun!"

Isha here seem to feel in control of her photographic representation, as “the picture tells the story” and most of her fellow students “got it right”. However, she also acknowledges that her photograph elicits differing interpretations, and she does not find these annoying or wrong, but rather intriguing and adding on to her narrative. But how can photographs both tell the photographers intended narrative while simultaneously also being open to interpretations?

Writer, filmmaker, and political activist Susan Sontag defines photographs as quotations or fragments believed to be pieces of reality (2005 [1973]:56,58,82), and sociologist Barbara Harrison argues that photographs “invite us to imagine, to construct a narrative and they may hint at relationships and contexts. But they are otherwise silent” (2002:105). In line with Sontag and Harrison I propose looking at AjA’s photographic practice and ideals through an understanding of photographs as ‘fragments of narratives’. This makes both Elena and Isha’s statements seem less contradictory, as students can then learn to control photography as a fragment, but not necessarily control the unfolding of the full narrative in the interpretive act. Once fellow students have unfolded their narrative suggestions from the photograph in class, the photographer then decides “which one of those [interpretations] that goes with the picture”, as Isha explained to me. This often results in written captions, and these are crucial in fixing students’ ‘intention’, as Chloe, lead instructor, pointed out when she had difficulties choosing examples of good PP photographs for our interview:

> “Seeing them [the student’s photographs] out of context is sometimes a little difficult, because you don’t really know what the intention was. So I think sometimes it is easier, when they are paired with captions.”

Chloe’s statement points to a view of photographs as merely fragments, which require text to pin down their full narrative, or intention as she calls it. Anthropologists Elinor Ochs and psychologist Lisa Capps also point out, that narratives are rarely monomodal, but often weave visual modes together with modes of words (1996:20). In AjA, students often make written preparations for their photographs or write narratives or captions based on their favorite photograph. Bahati described the process:

> “We used to have this journal - we pick our pictures and a favorite, and then glued it on a piece of paper, and then we write about what were we thinking, or what was the picture about.”

The students are then ultimately the ones that pin down the full narrative through their writings, although these are sometimes guided by written or verbal prompts from teachers. So despite an ideal of ‘AjA photographs’ being in what I have analyzed as ‘the subjunctive mood’, and thereby eliciting various different interpretations than the one intended by the photographer, this is mostly in the process of making and talking about the photographs. Products for exhibitions, reports, articles or students’ personal journals mostly have a written single interpretation attached to them. This again highlights the focus on process in AjA, but it also complicates the question of who controls the photographic representations, because it shows the degree of control to be varying throughout the photographic process.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that AjA has a limited range of ‘takeable photographs’ framed by the emic concept of story. I analyzed this ideal and photographic practice to be in or aim for the ‘subjunctive mood’, as ideal photographs should be open to multiple interpretations, there is emphasis on process and movement rather than end products and univocal answers, and focus is on the future as a potential place of change and healing. This photographic ideal and practice seem heavily inspired by empowerment theories, particularly Paulo Freire.

AjA’s photographic ideal is defined in opposition to students’ photographs for fun intended for purposes outside AjA. The analysis showed how ‘AjA photographs’ with a story should ideally be created with intent through techniques to make students engage in critical thinking and observation. AjA photographs should not feature flower images or be focused on faces or smiles, because these motifs delimit the interpretive possibilities and work against AjA’s ideal of empowering students through moving through their difficult experiences. Photographs for fun are directly opposite with little emphasis on techniques, but with smiling portraits and flowers as popular motifs. They are also intended to control the representation, create or capture happy memories. The differentiation between ‘AjA images’ and photographs for fun’ takes place because

AjA believes that the production and work with ‘AjA photographs’ creates narratives and actions with possibilities for positive change for the students, whereas photographs for fun are considered too familiar, closed for interpretation, and too superficial to initiate any significant reflection, discussion, or change of behavior.

AjA claims that the PP process helps participants “find their own voice and sense of empowerment” (AjA Project 2014a), which is a classic PP focus on the ‘first person view’ and individual control of representation. However, this article has shown that the PP process in AjA is a social rather than individual matter, and the question of control is complex. On one hand students have to navigate within a limited and foreign photography ideal, but on the other hand photographs for fun are sometimes allowed to become ‘AjA photographs’, and the degree of control varies as photographs are expected to be open to interpretations in classrooms but are pinned down in end products through captions or narratives.

The article shows students to gain positively from the PP process. It has not been the focus to conclude whether these outcomes are sufficient, and to what degree they can be ascribed the label of empowerment. However, my findings emphasize that research wishing to evaluate the empowering effects of PP should always approach it as a social practice, and should entail a close examination of how and under what ideals the photographic production takes place. It furthermore points to a need for changing the rhetoric around PP away from first person views, individual control of representation and descriptions of photography’s inherent empowerment qualities. Instead, it seems more useful to openly share the objectives and power relations within each project with students, and explain the connection to the photographic ideals and practices.

REFERENCES

AJA PROJECT
2010 Annual Report - The AjA Project. Accessed online, September 13, 2014: *issuu.com/ajaproject/docs/aja_annualreport_2010*
2014a *Organization*. Accessed online, September 13, *www.ajaproject.org/html/organization.html*
2014b *Method*. Accessed online September 15, 2014: *www.ajaproject.org/html/method.html*

BANKS, Marcus
2001 *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London & Los Angeles: SAGE.

BALLERINI, Julia
1997 Photography as a Charitable Weapon: Poor Kids and Self- Representation. *Radical History Review,* No. 69, pp. 161-188.

BELZ, Emily
2009 *Whose Pictures Are These? The Ethics of Participatory Photography*. M.A. thesis, Department of Teaching + Learning in Art + Design, Rhode Island School of Design.

BLACKMAN, Anna - FAIREY, Tiffany
2007 *The Photovoice Manual: A Guide to Designing and Running Participatory Photography Projects*. London: Photovoice.

BOURDIEU, Pierre
1990 [1965] Introduction, The cult of Unity and Cultivated Difference & The Social Definition of Photography. In: *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Bourdieu, Pierre (ed.), pp. 1-10, 13-72,73-98. Oxford & Cambridge: Polity Press.
1991 Towards a Sociology of Photography. *Visual Anthropology Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 129-133.

BOWLES, Edith
1998 From village to camp: Refugee camp life in transition on the Thailand-Burma Border. *Forced Migration: Review,* Issue 2, pp. 11-14.

BRAMSEN, Maren
2013 *Kunstens dialogiske potentiale, En analyse af Point and Shoot - a social photographic project.* M.A. thesis, department of Art & Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen.

BRUNER, Jerome
1986 *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*. Cambridge London: Harvard University Press.

1990 Acts of Meaning. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press.

CANAL, Gemma Orobitg
2004 Photography in the Field: Word and Image in Ethnographic Research. In: *Working images: Visual research and representation in Ethnography*. Sarah Pink, László Kürti, Ana Isabel Afonso (eds.), pp. 31-46. London: Routledge.

CARLSON, Elisabeth D - ENGEBRETSON, Joan
CHAMBERLAIN, Robert M.
2006 Photovoice as a Social Process of Critical Consciousness. *Qualitative Health Research*, Vol. 16, No. 6, pp. 836-852.

CARR, E. Summerson
2003 Rethinking Empowerment Theory Using a Feminist Lens: The Importance of Process. *Afilia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 8-20.

CDSS, California Department of Social Services
2013 Accessed online, October 23, 2013: *www.cdss.ca.gov/refugeeprogram/res/pdf/Arrivals/Arrivals2013_todate_(3).pdf*

CHAVEZ, Leo R.
1998 [1992] *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

CLOVER, Darlene E.
2006 Out of the Dark Room: Participatory Photography as a Critical, Imaginative, and Public Aesthetic Practice of Transformative Education. *Journal of Transformative Education,* Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 275-290.

COLLIER, John Jr. - COLLIER, Malcolm
1986 [1967] *Photography As a Research Method.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

COX, Greg - JACOB Dianne - SLATER-PRICE, Pam Ron Roberts & HORN, Bill
2010 *Refugee Employment Services Plan.* County of San Diego: Health and Human Services Agency.

DA SILVA, Olivia - PINK, Sarah
2004 In the Net: Anthropology and Photography. In: *Working images.* Sarah Pink, Lászlo Kürti & Ana Isabel Afonso (eds.), pp. 156-165. London: Routledge.

EASTMOND, Marita
2007 Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 248-264.

EDWARDS, Elisabeth
1997 Beyond the Boundary: A Consideration of the Expressive in Photography and Anthropology. In: *Rethinking the Visual.* Marcus Banks & Howard Morphy (eds.), pp. 53-80. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

EWALD, Wendy
1985 *Portraits and dreams: Photographs and stories by children of the Appalachians.* New York: Writers and Readers.

FAIREY, Tiffany
2015 *Whose Pictures Are These? Re-framing the promise of participatory photography.* PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, Goldsmiths, University of London.

FREIRE, Paulo
2005 [1970] *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* London & New York: Continuum.

FROHMANN, Lisa
2005 The Framing Safety Project: Photographs and Narratives by Battered Women. *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 11 No. 11, pp. 1396-1419.

GODDEN, Rob
2009 *Participatory photography - Jack of all trades, master of none?* Accessed online, March 25, 2014: *therightsexposureproject.com/2009/08/05/participatory-photography---jack-of-all-trades-master-of-none/*

GOOD, Byron
1994 The Narrative Representation of Illness. In: *Medicine, Rationality and Experince: An Anthropological Perspective*. Pp. 135-165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GOOD, Byron - DEL VECCHIO GOOD, Mary-Jo
1994 In the Subjunctive Mode: Epilepsy Narratives in Turkey. *Social Science Medicine,* Vol. 38, No. 6, pp. 835-842.

GREEN & KLOOS
2009 Facilitating Youth Participation in a Context of Forced Migration: A Photovoice Project in Northern Uganda. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 460-482.

GUERRERO, Alba L. - TINKLER, Tessa
2010 Refugee and Displaced Youth Negotiating Imagined and Lived Identities in a Photography-based Educational Project in the United States and Columbia. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* Vol. 41, Issue 1, pp.55-74.

HARRISON, Barbara
2002 Photographic Visions and Narrative Inquiry. *Narrative Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 87-111.

HOUSEN, Abigail C.
2001-2002 Aesthetic Thought, Critical Thinking and Transfer. *Arts and Learning Research Journal,* Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 99-131.

Hubbard, Jim
1991 *Shooting back: A photographic view of life by homeless children*. San Francisco: Chronicle.

2005 *Everyone Is A Photographer*. Accessed online, October 7, 2014: *www.shootingback.net/wp-content/articles/Everyone_Is_A_Photographer.pdf*

2007 *Shooting Back: Photographic Empowerment and Participatory Photography*. Accessed online, October 21, 2004: *old.culturalagents.org/int/programs/pdf/Hubbard%20-%20Shooting%20 Back.pdf*

KIA-KEATING, Meryam
2009 Participatory photography and school/community-based youth participatory photgraphy programs. In: *Handbook of Positive Psychology in the Schools*. R. Gilman, E. S. Huebner, & M. Furlong (eds.), pp. 383-397, New York: Taylor & Francis.

MCBRIEN, Jody Lynn - DAY, Rebecca
2012 From there to here: Using photography to explore perspectives of resettled youth. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 4.1, pp. 546-568.

MJAALAND, Thera
2006 Saleni, fotografer meg! Om sammenhenger mellom fotografisk representasjon og forståelse av personen i Tigray, Etiopia. *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 33-47.

2009 Evocative Encounters: An Exploration of Artistic Practice as a Visual Research Method. *Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 22, No 5, pp. 393-411.

NEIMAN, Amy - SOH Eunice, SUTAN, Parisa
2008 *Karen Cultural Profile. ethnomed.org/culture/karen/karen-cultural-profile*
(Accessed October 7, 2014)

OCHS, Elinor - CAPPS, Lisa
1996 Narrating The Self. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 25, pp. 19-43.

PHOTOVOICE
Accessed online, October 7, 2014: *www.photovoice.org*

PINK, Sarah
2007 [2001] Ethnographic Photography and Printed Text. In: *Doing Visual Anthropology*, pp. 146-168. London: SAGE.

PRINS, Esther
2010 Participatory photography: A tool for empowerment or surveillance? *Action Research,* Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 426-443.

PURCEL, Rod
2009 Images for change: community development, community arts and photography. *Community Development Journal,* Vol. 44, No 1, pp. 111-122.

RAMIREZ, Marcela - Matthews, Julie
2008 Living in the NOW: young people from refugee backgrounds pursuing respect, risk and fun. *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 83-92.

ROSENBLUM, Barbara
1978 *Photographers at Work: A Sociology of Photographic Styles*. New York: Holmes & Meyer.

RUBY, Jay
1996 Visual Anthropology. In: *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology vol. 4*. David Levinson and Melvin Ember (ed.), pp. 1345-1351. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

SINGHAL, Arvind - LYNN, Harter M. - KETAN, Chitnis, DEVANDRA, Sharma
2007 Participatory Photography as Theory, Method and Praxis: Analyzing an Entertainment-Education Project in India. *Critical Arts*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 212-227.

SONTAG, Susan
2005 [1973] *On Photography*. New York: Rosetta Books.

STRENG, J. Matt - RHODES, Scott D. - AYALA, Guadalupe X. - ENG, Eugenia - ARCEO, Ramiro PHIPPS, Selena
2004 Realidad Latina: Latino adolescents, their school, and a university use photovoice to examine and address the influence of immigration. *Journal Of Interprofessional Care*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 403-415.

VTS, Visual Thinking Strategies
2014 *vtshome.org/what-is-vts*
(Accessed September 21, 2014)

WACQUANT, Loïc
2004 Following Pierre Bourdieu into the field. *Ethnography,* Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 387-414.

WANG, Caroline C. - CASH, Jennifer L. - POWERS, Lisa S.
2000 Who Knows the Streets as Well as the Homeless? Promoting Personal and Community Action through Photovoice. *Health Promotion Practice*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 81-89.

WANG, Caroline C. - REDWOOD-JONES, Yanique A.
2001 Photovoice Ethics: Perspectives from Flint Photovoice. *Health Education & Behavior*, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 560-572.

WHYTE, Susan Reynolds
2002 Subjectivity and Subjunctivity. Hoping for Health in Eastern Uganda. In: *Postcolonial Subjectivities in Africa*. Richard Werbner (red.), pp. 171-190. London: Zed Books

2005 Uncertain Undertakings - Practicing Health Care in the Subjunctive Mood. In: *Managing Uncertainty: Ethnographic Studies of Illness Risk and the Struggle for Control*. Vibeke Steffen, Richard Jenkins & Hanne Jessen (eds.), pp. 245-264. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.

WILSON, Nance - DASHO, Stefan - MARTIN, Anna C.
WALLERSTEIN, Nina - WANG ,Caroline C. - MINKLER, Meredith
2007 Engaging young adolescents in social action through photovoice: The youth empowerment strategies (YES!) project. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 241- 261.

YANG, Kyung-Hwa
2014 Participatory photography: can it help adult learners develop agency? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 233-24.

YENAWINE, Phillip
2011 [1997] Thoughts on Visual Literacy. In: *Handbook of Research on Teaching Literacy Through the Communicative and Visual Arts*. James Flood, Shirley Brice Heath & Diane Lapp (eds.), pp. 845-846. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Publishers.

YOHANI, Sophie C.
2008 Creating an Ecology of Hope: Arts-based Interventions with Refugee Kids. *Child Adolescent Social Work Journal,* 25, No. 4, pp. 309-323.

ZAKIRA
2014 Accessed online, October 7: *www.zakira.org*