UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES

Regional Master's Program in Peace Studies

MASTER'S THESIS

Role of Photography in Process of Reconciliation

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September 2017, Belgrade

Acknowledgments

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Prof. Dr Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović as she helped me to get through the whole process of writing my first important study. She steered me in the right direction and was always very responsive and engaged. Moreover, I am very grateful to Svenka Savić and Stanka Janković, for being helpful and encouraging in right moments.

I would also like to acknowledge Uroš Mamić, as constant support and consultant on all great matters for academic empowerment. For all the inspiring talks and past, as well as the future travelings, that are certainly not without influence, thank you.

Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to my parents and to my sisters for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my MANY years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

Table of Figures	3
Abstract	4
Introduction	5
Literature Review and Theoretical Framework	9
1. RECONCILIATION AS A CONCEPT	9
1.1.Definition of reconciliation	9
1.2. Elements of Reconciliation	9
1.3. Democracy and Reconciliation	12
1.4. Three Stages of Reconciliation and Actors Involved	12
2. CREATIVE APPROACHES TO RECONCILIATION	14
2.1. Theory of Aesthetics	14
2.2. Theatre, Music and Rituals	15
2.3. Memorials	16
2.4. Visual arts	17
3. PHOTOGRAPHY AS A CONCEPT	18
4. LINK BETWEEN PHOTOGRAPHY AND RECONCILIATION	20
4.1. Photography as Universal Language	20
4.2. Photography as Evidence	21
4.3. Cognitive Image Processing	22
4.4. Photography as Memory	22
4.5. Photography as Social Construct of Reality	23
4.6. Photography as Evoker of Empathy	23
Methods	25
Case Study Method Design	26
Case Studies	27
CASE STUDY: PERU	27
Lutura direction to the conflict in Dame	27

Truth and Reconciliation Commission	28
Photo Exhibition Yuyanapaq	29
CASE STUDY: SERBIA	37
Introduction to the conflict in Yugoslavia during '90s	37
Role of State and NGOs	39
Photo Exhibition <i>Blood and Honey</i>	43
Discussion	52
Organization of Exhibitions	54
Photographs	54
Type of Conflicts	56
Socio-historical Context	57
Conclusion	59
Appendix	62
Bibliography	69

Table of Figures

Figure 1-1. The Burning Monk6
Figure 2-2. At the Ayacucho Regional Hospital in 1983, Celestino Ccente, a
peasant from Iquicha, Huanta, recovered from wounds inflicted by Shining Path
guerillas
Figure 3-2. A woman carried her belongings to a secure place after Shining Path's
attack on Calle Tarata, Lima, in July 199233
Figure 4-2. A policeman was buried after being killed in Lima during a Shining
Path raid in 198433
Figure 5-2. A woman hold the identification photograph of her husband36
Figure 6-3. Lion's Cemetery: Sarajevo 1993
Figure 7-3. Croatian victims of shelling await burial. Croatia 199146
Figure 8-3. A Serbian father and son. Croatia 199147
Figure 9-3. Serbs kiss to celebrate their victory in Vukovar. Croatia 199147
Figure 10-3. Cover of the Book Vivisect

Abstract

This paper explores the role of photography in process of reconciliation in post-conflict societies

by using the examples of Peru and Serbia. First, concepts of reconciliation and photography are

introduced on the basis of existing literature. Among many, special concentration is made on the

restorative methods in reconciliation based on creative approaches such as art, music, dance etc.

Then, the link between photography and reconciliation is explained through different theories

and presumptions. As a specific research, the study made a comparison of the photo exhibitions

of Peru and Serbia by using the comparative case study design method. It analyzes thoroughly

exhibitions, type of photographs presented and reactions they caused. Results showed differences

in reactions to exhibitions, both positive and negative, and moreover they showed

interconnection with other elements of reconciliation as well. The research findings are presented

and analyzed against the background of the contact hypothesis and other theoretical approaches.

Keywords: photography; restorative approaches; reconciliation; Serbia; Peru.

4

Introduction

Throughout history, and still nowadays the world is dealing with many types of violent conflicts that leave a mark in every society that was a part of them. Countries get majorly effected economically, politically and, the most important, socially. In order to start moving towards peace after violent conflicts, there are few steps. First is the end of violence while the last would be the development of cultural positive peace which includes substituting legitimation of peace with legitimation of violence in every aspect of living¹. The step in between is, however, the most crucial one and it is called reconciliation.

It is a process which includes the search for truth, justice and forgiveness in order to finally establish a long-term peace. To create trust and understanding between former enemies is very challenging task. Therefore, there are no universal methods of reconciling, as societies vary from one another.² Traditionally, reconciliation and reconstruction of one post-conflict society use more often retributive methods. They include seeking justice through courts, punishment and prosecution. This punitive method in many cases resulted in dealing with problems superficially, postponing the transition or, in the worst case, repetition of violence. Therefore, other alternative approaches that seek restorative justice were seen as more essential.

Restorative approaches of reconciliation are deeper processes which include as unit of analysis interpersonal level of society. Their main aim is to restore the relations as far as possible, not just between victims and offenders, but the whole community as well.³ Tools of restorative approaches could be different, from public discussions and group meditation to art. Art-based processes are shown to be effective as they consist within themselves emotional component which could ease the sharing of common cultural experiences and rebuilding of broken relationships. Moreover, recent studies have shown that its effects are not just desirable, but also

¹Galtung, J.(1996) Peace by Peaceful Means, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, p.87

²Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook. 1st ed.

Stockholm: International IDEA, p.107

³*Ibid*. p.111

long lasting. One of the fields of art that are in that sense lasting the most is visual art, and particularly photography.

Power of photography is seen in its ability to raise consciousness, to influence people's actions and to be used as a way of communication which could be significant in the reconciliation activities. That visual communication where the transmission of information is happening through symbols and imagery is believed to be the type that people rely on the most.⁴ One of the examples of photography's effectiveness is certainly the photograph *The Burning Monk*.

In 1960s most of the Americans didn't know where Vietnam is on the map, nor that they were engaged in war with them. However, now everybody recognizes the unforgettable moment of Thich Quang Duc, monk who immolated himself on a Saigon street captured in this photograph.



Figure 1-1. The Burning Monk (Photograph taken by Malcolm Brown, 1963)

What words couldn't explain, this Pulitzer Prize-winning photo did. It raised many reactions all over the world, and even President Kennedy commented: "No news picture in history has

⁴What Is Visual Communication? - Definition, History, Theory & Examples - Video & Lesson Transcript | Study.com. [online] Retrieved from: http://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-visual-communication-definition-history-theory-examples.html

generated so much emotion around the world as that one."⁵ It became symbol of not just protest, but also the unlimited human struggle in fight for peace. *The Burning Monk* influenced people to question the U.S.'s association with Vietnamese government, which soon after resulted in the Administration's decision not to interfere with a coup that November.⁶

However, artistic and cultural renewal are not likely to be highlighted as essential during the process of reconstruction of the society, mainly as it is seen as luxurious in contrast to basic needs such as shelter, food and security. The problem at hand is that in the most of rebuilding of post-conflict communities art is not at the top of the agendas of negotiators and administrators who plan for reconstruction⁷. It is neglected as unimportant factor of reconciliation. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to research whether photography, as field of art, could be a useful tool in processes of reconciliation and should it be considered as an essential form of practice in the future.

The study will firstly present the overview of literature relevant for this topic. In the beginning two main concepts will be introduced: reconciliation and photography. In order to reader's better understanding, reconciliation as a concept will be defined, its elements will be explained as well as its three stages. Through this part, contrasting views will be represented as well as different factors that influence it and possible ways of dealing with it. Among many, special concentration will be on those creative approaches that are mostly connected to visual arts and photography. On the other hand, photography as a concept and its importance will be presented through few major examples in history. Finally, the link between photography and reconciliation will be explained through different theories and presumptions.

The work will then shed a light on practice in which photography was used, precisely in cases of photography exhibition in Peru and photography exhibition in Serbia. They will be both analyzed in the same manner, through three steps approach, in accordance to qualitative research method and comparative case study design. First, it will be outlined a short history of each conflict. Then, the analysis of photo exhibitions will be presented. It will answer questions when the

⁵100 Photographs | The Most Influential Images of All Time. (2017). See the Image That Marked The Start Of the Vietnam War Era. [online] Retrieved from: http://100photos.time.com/photos/malcolm-browne-burning-monk [Accessed 3 Aug. 2017].

[°]Ibid.

⁷ Cohen, C. Creative Approaches to Reconciliation, Brandeis University, p.2

exhibition took part, in relation to conflict; which type of photos was shown and whether the exhibition caused positive or negative reactions.

Lastly, the comparison between two cases will be drawn. It will be contrasted type of their conflicts, role of crucial institutions, type of photographs and exhibitions, and countries' different socio-historical contexts. The final remarks will be to evaluate whether photo exhibitions caused positive or negative results in further process of reconciliation in two cases formerly presented.

The concluding chapter will attempt to answer to the main research question and other specific hypotheses, and in addition suggests areas of future research and practices concerning the analyzed topic.

The relevance of this topic is worldwide. There were and still are violent conflicts all over the globe. How countries and societies recover from them is of great importance. By understanding concepts of reconciliation and photography, and more importantly its potential connection, could be valuable for further studies in this field. In addition, another objective is to raise the awareness of the academic community and the general public in Serbia about the significance of art, and restorative approaches in reconciliation. Ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, wars and dictatorships in 1990s caused painful and difficult process of reconciliation among these nations. Even though today between Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Slovenia and Montenegro there are no open conflicts or acts of violence, positive peace is still not created. As stated by Nikolić-Ristanović, "The past cannot offer any model of reconciliation in the Balkans: no reconciliation among national groups has ever been attempted in this region. Thus we shall have to explore models of reconciliation successfully implemented elsewhere." Therefore, by introducing practice of photography through this work, it could be further helpful in revealing alternative measures of overcoming hostilities and building stronger relations between former Yugoslavian countries, but in other parts of the world as well.

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⁸Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2003) *Possibilities for restorative justice in Serbia*, in L. Woldgrave (ed.) Positioning Restorative Justice, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishers., p.240

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1. RECONCILIATION AS A CONCEPT

1.1. Definition of reconciliation

In the aftermath of a violent conflict, relations between people and groups or so called "social relations" are usually disrupted. Process of rebuilding them is called reconciliation. It is very long lasting, deep and broad process which includes many factors and in addition, its success depends on specific context of not just the conflict, but the society as well. One of the most precise definitions of process of reconciliation is given by the authors of Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse in *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook* – reconciliation is:

- Finding a way to live that permits a vision of the future
- Coming to terms with past acts and enemies
- A process of acknowledging, remembering and learning from the past
- Voluntary and cannot be imposed. 10

1.2. Elements of Reconciliation

Even though many authors have differences in defining the concept of reconciliation, majority of them have agreed on four key elements of this process: truth, forgiveness, justice and peace.¹¹

⁹Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*. 1st ed. Stockholm: International IDEA, p.11

¹⁰ Ihid n 14

¹¹Pruitt,D. and Kim, S.H.(2004), *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement,* 3rd Ed. Boston: Mcg raw Hill, p.218

Truth

First step in the process of reconciliation is establishing the truth. If two parties in conflict have diverse versions of truth, overcoming the differences becomes an impossible path. In order to make progress, establishing of one truth is inevitable. However, dealing with the past can be very hard not only for victims, but perpetrators as well. By revealing the truth, both parties go through painful remembering while in the same time they deal with variety of emotions. Victims often are not ready or simply don't want to show their pain, while perpetrators and bystanders find it very hard to expose and confront shame and guilt.¹²

Once been established, truth contributes to further steps in reconciliation and creates space for other elements to develop.

Forgiveness

Possibly one of the hardest parts in the process of reconciliation is precisely forgiveness. Our ability to forgive and not to seek revenge depends on the culture that surrounds us. For some societies, it is natural road to take, while for others it is unimaginable.

One of the successful examples is certainly South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. After many years of violations, South Africans learned to firstly acknowledge what happened, to confront it and finally find a suitable way to forgive. One of the approaches they have used was physical meeting of victims and perpetrators.

"Remaining in that state locks you in a state of victimhood, making you almost dependent on the perpetrator. If you can find it in yourself to forgive then you are no longer chained to the perpetrator." —Desmond Tutu

¹²Ibid. p.218

¹³Forgiveness Project.(2017). *Desmond Tutu (South Africa) - Forgiveness Project*. Retrieved from: http://theforgivenessproject.com/stories/desmond-tutu-south-africa/ [Accessed 22 Jul. 2017].

Justice

There are two form of justice – retributive and restorative. Retributive justice is based on prosecution with the main idea that perpetrators shouldn't go unpunished. ¹⁴ It has its positive effects as it individualizes guilt; strength legitimacy and democratic governance; make victims feel safer; break the cycle of impunity and avoid private revenges. ¹⁵ However, throughout practice, retributive justice has shown not to be enough. Prosecutions are perpetrator and punitive oriented, trials can lead to re-victimization and many evidences could be destroyed in seeking of truth, which are just few of its shortcomings. The main issue is that the trials and prosecutions are usually not thorough enough to deal with people's feelings.

On the contrary, restorative justice works with full participation of victims and relevant communities forming a dialogue and discussions about the past, current feelings and future steps. ¹⁶ Its main objective is to restore the broken relations not just among victims, but also between victims and perpetrators, and their relation with entire community. ¹⁷ Restorative justice doesn't highlight punitive methods, but moreover tries to understand and effectively deals with both sides of the conflict, which further leads to longer lasting peace.

Peace

Derived from Galtung's peace theory, there is negative and positive peace. Negative peace is 'absence of violence of all kinds' ¹⁸, while positive peace means total substitute of culture of violence with culture of peace. It includes solidarity, dialogue, participation and integration ¹⁹ in one society in order to establish social harmony. It is the final step that comes after reconciliation, and it is the best protection against further violence.

¹⁴Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*. 1st ed. Stockholm: International IDEA, p.97

¹⁵*Ibid*. p.98

¹⁶*Ibid*. p.111

¹⁷Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri-Columbia, p.15

¹⁸Galtung, J. (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means*, Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Institute; p.31

¹⁹*Ibid*. p.32

Finally, it is important to mention that these four elements are interconnected and have the same relevance for the process of reconciliation. Truth alone cannot be sufficient element of reconciliation, nor any other of them. They are inseparable and key parts of the process of reconciliation.²⁰

1.3. Democracy and Reconciliation

What is furthermore inseparable to reconciliation is a democratic form of government. Why? There are few countries nowadays that are absolutely homogenous. In addition, that indicates that there are many differences among society in not just one country, but between different countries as well. Those differences are often the cause of violent conflict, either between countries or within its borders (intrastate conflicts).²¹ By trying to eradicate them, it could also lead to violent end (one of the examples is Hitler's extortion of Jew population in the Second World War).

On the contrary, democracy is the system that brings out and acknowledges the differences, respects human rights and favors tolerance. In that manner there is a development of basic minimal trust within society, which is further essential for reconciliation. As we can see, democratic culture and process of reconciliation are interdependent - while democracy is producing solutions for the conflict in issue, reconciliation addresses the relationship between those ones who are implementing those solutions.²² What is important to highlight here is that not only politicians and deal-makers are included in this process, but the whole population as well. This point will be more thoroughly analyzed through the following part.

1.4. Three Stages of Reconciliation and Actors Involved

According to Luc Huyse, there are three essential stages of the reconciliation process as well as different actors that are involved through each of them.

²⁰Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*. 1st ed.

Stockholm: International IDEA; p. 24

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

First one is "replacing fear by non-violent coexistence" which requires equally for victims and perpetrators to deal with truth, self-pity or guilt. The major aim is to rebuild the communication in a community, and especially between two conflicted parties.²⁴ Actors that are necessary in this stage are political and community leaders, non-governmental organizations and religious institutions.²⁵ Moreover, second condition of creating 'non-violent coexistence' is safety of the environment, where the main role is played by local and/or international political decisionmakers.26

Second stage includes 'building of confidence and trust'²⁷. This step is especially hard, as there has to be a common belief in humanity. How could it be created in one society? By establishing functional democratic institutions such as non-partisan judiciary system, civil services and legislative structures. 28 Courts of law have a special role in this stage, as they individualize guilt. Thus, victims will know at whom to aim their anger or sadness, which creates more space for overcoming it. Once people in the community build a trust in the institutions, they are ready for the final step.

Empathy, as the ultimate goal, comes when the victims are ready to confront their offenders.²⁹ This step usually happens through Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. If victims are ready to acknowledge and share the identity of human beings with the offenders, that is when the true reconciliation takes place. Empathy is necessary element of this stage, but it is important to emphasize that it doesn't exclude the feeling of anger or sadness.³⁰

These three stages are part of so called interpersonal reconciliation. It represents the interaction between victims and perpetrators as its central part, in which mainly restorative practices are used. Although this work doesn't diminish the importance of retributive practices, it will speak in favor of restorative approaches as more effective and long lasting mechanism of interpersonal reconciliation. The main reasons and elaboration are in the section that follows.

²³Ibid. p.19 ²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸*Ibid.* p.21

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

2. CREATIVE APPROACHES TO RECONCILIATION

Creative approaches are considered to be the part of restorative reconciliation. Why should the attention in rebuilding post-conflict society be aimed at art and culture? Can art and culture be a catalyst of positive social change in post conflict societies?

Art-based processes are shown to be effective tool by sharing common cultural experiences, raising awareness and rebuilding relationships. There are different types of art: music, performance art (theatre, dance), film, literature, poetry and visual arts such as film, paintings, sculptures and photography. What they all have in common is the emotional component,³¹ which is essential for peace building, and thus for the process of reconciliation as well.

2.1. Theory of Aesthetics

Engagement in art processes and its outcomes could be understood through theory of aesthetics, with special concentration on visual perceptions. By looking at some form of art, it influences both our sensory, as well as our cognitive system.³² The beauty in a photo, painting or a movie awakens the awareness of our ability to see, hear and feel. Artistic expressions form a link between rational and emotional. We become aware of the ways we perceive and also of the possibility to change the meaning of that perception.

"Human beings tend to find the inter-animation of our sensory and rational faculties especially enlivening, causing states of alertness and awareness that are infused with feeling." highlights Cohen. Therefore, in the process of reconciliation art can be helpful in the terms of making both sides of the conflict aware of each other and thus creating the common ground for better understanding.

³¹Rank, C. (2008) *Promoting Peace Through The Arts: The Role of Anti-War and Peace Art in Building of Cultures of Peace*, Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies Coventry University, IPRA Conference Art and Peace Commission., UK, p.1

³²Cohen, C. Creative Approaches to Reconciliation, Brandeis University, Boston: Massachusetts; p.5

³³*Ibid.* p.6

Furthermore, in the process of aesthetic experience, the artist and the viewer are equally weighted.³⁴ In the other words, when the work of art works, the perceivers or the viewers are included as well, as they participate with their own sensibilities. "It is this calibration of the form of expression with the sensibilities of the viewer that gives rise to the perception of beauty; and it is though beauty that a work of art issues its invitation."³⁵

In this mutual action, there is space for creating a common ground, which is one of the main objectives for the success in the process of reconciliation. Thus, art can be a good tool of support, communication and education in the same time.

2.2. Theatre, Music and Rituals

Craig Zelizer, peace-building scholar, has conducted a research in Bosnia and Herzegovina about the role of art in processes of peace building and reconciliation. He emphasized the example of Pavaroti Music Center in divided city of Mostar. For each concert that was held, Muslims and Croats have been interacting though music. ³⁶Moreover, during the war, the Kamerni Theater in Sarajevo had over eight hundred performances of theater and music, as well as prayers for peace. ³⁷ People were reuniting through different art approaches.

Furthermore, after many years of violence in Burundi, use of music, dance and radio programs, have positively influenced on dehumanizing stereotypes and finding a common ground among contrasted parties – Tutsi, Hutu and Twa people.³⁸ They described the rhythm of drums as the "rhythm of universe"³⁹. In those moments they are completely in present and faced towards each other. Like that, they become a part of the group, and in addition part of humanity.

³⁴*Ibid*. p.8

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶Zelizer, C. (2003) *The Role of Artistic Processes in Peace-Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina,* Peace and Conflict Studies: Vol. 10: No. 2, Article 4. Retrieved from: http://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol10/iss2/4, p.66

³⁸Cohen, C. *Creative Approaches to Reconciliation*, Brandeis University, Boston: Massachusetts; p.13 ³⁹ *Ihid*

"Music has the potential to influence emotions and to positively express the sense of belonging to a specific group". ⁴⁰ In the Zimbabwean war of liberation, music was the most powerful tool. It gave people not just hope and sense of togetherness, but it also influenced the built of their social identity.⁴¹

Depending on the culture, there are different rituals. In Cambodia, Pchum Ben ritual of reconciliation with the dead, show how one culture deals with losses. 42 They are letting go of bitterness by performing a ritual, so that they can turn towards future and community members that are still alive.

2.3. Memorials

Many post-conflict countries deal with the process of forgetting, rather than remembering the past. It can be explained by the desire to overcome faster the atrocities, and not to reopen the wounds. However, amnesia is seen more as an enemy than a friend to the process of reconciliation. By denying the past, not acknowledging the caused pain and hiding past event from future generations, the society is standing in one place without possibility to move forward.43

On the other hand, if a country is too much in the past, it can mean that it never has overcome the divisions and conflicts. So, the past is then dominating the present. ⁴⁴In order to use memory as a good tool of reconciliation, memorials are its best form. The usual expression of memorials is precisely through arts.

"A remembering process should be a chance for the victims to confront and defeat their fears, for the perpetrators to acknowledge and understand their actions and for all members of a society to

16

⁴⁰Vava, B. (2014) *Role of Arts& Culture in Political Transformation,* Harare: Zimbabwe; Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation. Retrieved from: http://www.kas.de/simbabwe/en/

⁴² Cohen, C. (2005) Recasting Reconciliation through Culture and the Arts: Strengthening Peace-building Capacity through the Brandeis International Fellowship Program, Boston: Massachusetts; Brandeis University, p.13

⁴³Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook. 1st ed. Stockholm: International IDEA; p.30

⁴⁴Ibid.

embark on a deep process of social awareness that examines the causes and consequences of violence." – Fisher et al. Op.Cit. 45

Therefore, we have Jewish memorials in Berlin, Hiroshima peace memorial and park, Guernica Peace Museum, among many, which represent the respect for the surpassed period while in the same time, they emphasize the importance of 'not forgetting'. In this manner, we learn on other's mistakes, and in addition there is less chance of its repeating.

Another point is that with art we can not only awake the past, but also reshape the future. It can be a great tool of transforming traumatic memory, show the other perspective and suggest a different future. "Art lives to let us have different versions of vision and imagination, different versions of who we are, where we come from, where we are going, and what we might be." ⁴⁶

2.4. Visual arts

Another form of art, visual art, is more aesthetic and based on people's reaction of their sight. *Visual communications* is theory that explains transmission of information and ideas using symbols and imagery. ⁴⁷Before use of language, primitive way of communicating was through paintings in caves. They represent in a way kind of prehistoric documentation. Today, visual arts can be sculptures, paintings, films, photography among many others.

In Mexico, non-violent resistance of corrupt system and bad social, political and economic structures was fighting through public murals. In contrast to taking up the arms and fight physically against the wrong system, artists in Mexico and around the world created another perspective to approach the violence. Even though those murals could be temporary form of art, their message is more powerful. It represents their way of opposing the violence by non-violent means. ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Green, R., Cahan, S. andKocun, Z., *Contemporary Art and Multicultural Education*, New York: Routledge. 1996

⁴⁵ Cohen, C. Creative Approaches to Reconciliation, Brandeis University, Boston: Massachusetts; p.16

⁴⁷ Study.com. (2017).*What Is Visual Communication? - Definition, History, Theory & Examples -* Video & Lesson Transcript | Study.com. [online] Retrieved from: http://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-visual-communication-definition-history-theory-examples.html [Accessed 27 Apr. 2017].

⁴⁸ Shank, M. and Schirch, L. (2008) *Strategic Arts-Based Peacebuilding*, Peace History Society and Peace and Justice Studies Association. p.1

One of the examples of documentaries as a potential tool for reconciliation is "Regret to Inform", film about American-Vietnamese war told by the widows of both sides. By watching it, we gain better understanding of both sides, and in addition we can acknowledge their sufferings and interconnect with them on emotional level. What's more, this documentary became the basis of the further initiatives such as a peace tour of American and Vietnamese widows and a website on which other widows tells their stories.⁴⁹

Other context of art can be that it represents a strong idea, movement or one lifetime era. For example, Picasso's Guernica is a representation of the atrocities happened in the Spanish Civil War. He drew his reflection of the images he saw in the newspaper, to show how cruel and savage a war can be. This painting nowadays represent a remembrance of the cruelty that can emerged as an outcome of violent acts, as well as the strong anti-war symbol.

Through these examples we have seen that art can be a positive influence in peace-building as well as in creating a different environment within a society. However, can photography, as modern form of visual art, be of potential use in the process of reconciliation?

3. PHOTOGRAPHY AS A CONCEPT

Before we analyze the role of photography in the process of reconciliation, it is essential to first get acquainted with the influence of photography throughout history.

English idiom "A picture is worth a thousand words", appeared for the first time in newspaper article which quoted editor Tess Flanders.⁵⁰ Nowadays this expression is widely used to show how one picture could express the complex of ideas and transfer them to the audience more clearly than in a format of text. How powerful are the images and especially, photographic ones? Can photography be a catalyst of change?

From the year of photography's invention, 1839, many things changed. History as we know it today, in its absence, would probably be significantly different. If there weren't for photographs,

⁴⁹Cohen, C. Creative Approaches to Reconciliation, Brandeis University, Boston: Massachusetts; p.35

⁵⁰Speakers Give Sound Advice, Syracuse Post Standard. p.18, Retrieved from Syracuse Post Standard Newspaper from March 28, 1911

we would never know, for example, how Nazi camps looked like. For those who have never been to war, they couldn't share memories nor understand the happenings in the war zone. Furthermore, "wanted" photos of criminals made surely a significant difference, as well as the photos of outer space. ⁵¹

Lifelike images tend to transfer the reality of captured situation more effective than the words. War photographs, for example became a symbol of anti-war movements, as shown in the photograph below.

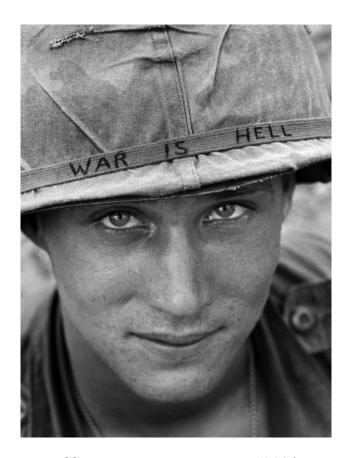


Figure 1-1. American soldier in Vietnamese War, June 1965 (Horst Faas/AP)

One of the examples of how photographs could be used as a tool of social reform is shown through the fight for stopping the child labor in the 20th century in the US. Back in the 1870,

19

⁵¹Goldberg, V. (1993) *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed Our Lives*. New York: Abbeville Publishing Group, p.7

there were around 793,000 children between the age of ten and fifteen engaged in child labor.⁵² They worked in mines, mills and canneries in highly unsafe conditions. In addition, there was a law that required manufacturers to "educate children in their work force"⁵³. Even though many magazines where publishing stories about it, nothing significantly changed.

In 1901, minister Edgar Gardner Murphy has founded the Alabama Child Labor Committee and started to write pamphlets with an objective to educate people about the problem.⁵⁴ The best way to show the atrocities were by photographing them. The documented photographs had raised the awareness and started gathering people in sharing the fight against exploitation of children. After some time, Murphy's job was taken over by Lewis Hine, major influencer in documentary photography. Those photographs represented not just source of information, but also the evidence in the courts of law. The final results of these fighting were that "in 1912 thirty-four states enacted new child- labor laws or amended the old ones, and every southern state at least had some law on the books".⁵⁵

This obvious influence of photography is still present nowadays. By using the Internet and social media, pictures are almost everywhere and their access is easier than ever. Moreover, they are available and comprehensible to all people regardless of age, sex, race, religion or nationality.

4. LINK BETWEEN PHOTOGRAPHY AND RECONCILIATION

The further section will explain the reasons why photography could be seen as a potential influencer in the process of reconciliation.

4.1. Photography as Universal Language

In most of the post-conflict societies, communication is the biggest problem. It is very hard to establish it between conflicted parties, as there could be many differences. The issue could be

⁵²*Ibid.* p.172

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴*Ibid*. p.173

⁵⁵*Ibid.* p.177

either language barriers, religion and ethnicity or education level, among others. Photographs don't speak either of languages, have nor nationality, nor religion and they can be understood from any socio-economic level, as well as educational one.

Once they appeared, photographs tore down the fences around knowledge and information⁵⁶, as they became major part of popular culture. They became approachable and comprehensible to everyone, illiterate or not, which in addition removed the barriers of class distinction. Without traveling, now everybody, even in a most remote part of the world, recognize the pyramids.

Even though they are interpreted from the subjective point of view, they are however universal in a sense that they can overcome any potential differences, which is a critical point for the process of reconciliation. ⁵⁷

4.2. Photography as Evidence

Other purpose of photographs is that they can be in a form of evidence. They can show objectively and more accurately an event or a person, which could be useful for further revealing of truth, which is important element of reconciliation.

One of the best examples in nearer history is the photographs of Abu Ghraib prison outside of Baghdad. Photographs made by one of the US soldiers while "taking care" of the prisoners, revealed what was really happening inside. Tortures, humiliation and mistreatment in inhuman conditions were revealed in photographs which served as the primary evidence, when the case got to the court of law.

On the other hand, some argue that not everybody is using photography in order to show the truth. There are many ways of its manipulation. Firstly, through the editing process, some photographs are selected to be presented while the others are left out, depending on what the author wants to show.⁵⁸ That filtering process is called in journalism - gatekeeping. Secondly, with the development of digital technologies and moreover, Photoshop, objective reality could be

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⁵⁶*Ibid.* p.11

⁵⁷Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.16

⁵⁸*Ibid.* p.19

easily twisted. Some things could be either added which weren't originally there or removed. Lastly, some argue that photographs depict photographer's subjective presentation. It is seen as something that cannot be taken apart. It is the same as when the writer is writing a novel or an artist is painting – subjectivity shape their work.

4.3. Cognitive Image Processing

The way which our brain process photographs as the type of information could be more effective than words. Why? According to cognitive image processing theory, photograph sends larger amount of information in a shorter period of time, and secondly, it stays longer in our long-term memory.⁵⁹

Moreover, various researches showed that "images elicit different kind of information from people than words do." Photographs can produce the biggest resemblance to the real life events and people. Therefore, they can be of great help in trying to understand what leave the biggest effect on people. Moreover, if reconciliation is shown or promoted by photographs, it has more chance to be understood and remembered. Likewise, showing of peace photos could be of great importance in creating culture of peace, or positive peace environment.

4.4. Photography as Memory

As mentioned above, amnesia is seen as the enemy of reconciliation. Therefore, one way of remembering and acknowledging the past can be through photographs, as they can be form of memorial.

Furthermore, memories in a form of photography can have an effect of therapy, as well.⁶¹ Revisiting a traumatic event ease the process of healing. One of the study that used photography

⁶⁰Ibid

⁵⁹*Ibid.* p.17

⁶¹*Ibid.* p.18

as therapeutic tool on female US military veterans resulted in helping them in faster recovery of post-traumatic stress.⁶²

4.5. Photography as Social Construct of Reality

The book "Picturing Frederick Douglas" represents photographs of Douglas himself, an African-American who decided to show through his portraits evaluation of his race, from slave to eloquent orator and seminal writer. "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man." was one of his main ideas. With these portraits, he influenced people's mental maps by erasing the association of African-Americans as exploited race, and moreover, giving the other perception.

"We carry around unconscious mental maps, built by nature and experience that organize how we scan the world and how we instantly interpret and order what we see." 64

Evidently, with photographs, we can influence the creation of new realities and ideals. So, by showing peace photos, they can offer a new perception of the world and the way of seeing it. In addition, that is exactly what is needed in a process of reconciliation. To visualize, imagine and create new perceptions of reality, where positive peace is inevitable.

4.6. Photography as Evoker of Empathy

Photography, as well as the art in general, is emotionally orientated. One of the most important emotions that have to be revised in process of reconciliation, according to Buddhist conception of reconciliation, is empathy.⁶⁵

⁶³Brooks, D. (2017). *Opinion | How Artists Change the World*. [online] Nytimes.com. Retrieved from: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/opinion/how-artists-change-the-

world.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FDouglass%2C+Frederick&action=click&contentCollection=timestopics & region=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection&_r=2 [Accessed 31 Jul. 2017].

⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵*Ibid.* p.31

The first meaning of the word "empathy" was developed by Wilhelm Wundt, a German psychologist and philosopher Theodor Lipps in 19th century. They explained empathy in correlation with work of art, mostly paintings. When people project their emotions, ideas or memories onto objects they enact a process that in German it's called 'einfühlung'66- in literal translation "feeling into". In another words, when a work of art is effective, it draws the observer out into the world, while the observer draws the work back into his or her body. The bondage between the observer and artist is happening through a work of art.

Lav Tolstoy explained it as "art infectiousness" of the war photography or, oppositely, peace photographs, it causes some kind of emotional effect. They can empathize more with the represented photo as it is the closest to the reality. From the previous part, we have seen that visual communication has stronger effect on people. Moreover, if the empathy as an emotion is aroused from that, then people are ready to put themselves in the place of others and open themselves for deeper mutual understanding.

Another point is that through photos we can individualize victims. In 2013 experiment volunteers were put in an fMRI scanner while watching how they made decisions about donating money to orphans in need.⁶⁸ Studies found that there are more donations when people see a photo of the orphan rather than if they found out her or his name but saw no image. It suggests that "images may have a special power to generate the identifiable-victim effect by triggering positive arousal in the brain".⁶⁹ Identifiable victims therefore produce a greater empathic response.

Evoking of empathy is considered to be the last stage in the process of reconciliation.

24

⁶⁶Plato.stanford.edu. (2017).*Empathy* (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). [online] Retrieved from: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/empathy/

⁶⁷ Brain Pickings. (2017). *Leo Tolstoy on Emotional Infectiousness and What Separates Good Art from the Bad.* [online] Retrieved from: https://www.brainpickings.org/2013/09/09/leo-tolstoy-what-is-art-infectiousness/ [Accessed 13 Sep. 2017].

⁶⁸Zeeberg, A. (2017). *How Images Trigger Empathy*. [online] The Atlantic. Retrieved from: https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2016/01/cultivate-empathy-photograph/422793/ [Accessed 31 Jul. 2017].

⁶⁹Ibid.

Methods

This study is consisted of two main analyses. First was the literature review in which the main theoretical frameworks relevant to the topic were presented. In the following part, concrete analysis of two case studies was outlined. To better understand the process of research for this study, in the following part will be introduced main research question and specific hypotheses, as well as the case study method design.

The research question was used as a basic leading point of the work, while the hypotheses were the guidelines in the case studies that follow. Each of the hypotheses was chosen based on the previously reviewed literature in Chapter 2. They were firstly analyzed in the discussion of two case studies and secondly, in conclusion, found proven or refuted.

Research Question:

Is photography, as field of art, an important and effective tool in process of reconciliation in post-conflict societies?

The Specific Hypotheses

- 1. The acceptance and success of creative approaches in dealing with reconciliation, such as photography, depends from previous type and duration of the conflict.
- 2. The manner in which photo exhibitions were organized and presented has effect on reconciliation.
- 3. The type of photographs that were presented in the exhibitions makes a difference for the reconciliation process.
- 4. The success of photographs' exhibition and its influence in process of reconciliation depends on country's socio-historical context.
- 5. There were more positive than negative consequences in the aftermath of the photo exhibition in Peru.

6. There were more positive than negative consequences in the aftermath of photo exhibition in Serbia.

Case Study Method Design

In order to come to the answer of whether photography could be a useful tool in the process of reconciliation, qualitative research method was used with case study design. Unit of analysis in both cases were photo exhibitions, photographs and reactions of visitors. This included comparison, induction and deduction of collected data.

Firstly, data was collected from literature that analyzed both of the photo exhibitions, newspaper articles and valuable scientific work that was done in this field. Secondly, data that was collected was thoroughly analyzed. First was introduced the case of Peru with its historical overview of the conflict and role of major institutions in the process of reconciliation. Then, photo exhibitions were described which included its organization, type of photographs and positive or negative reactions of visitors. Case of Serbia was presented in the same manner. Thirdly, analysis of both exhibitions was made in regards to the theoretical framework that was presented in the beginning of the study. Moreover, comparison of two photo exhibitions was drawn through few key elements that were found crucial during analysis: organization of exhibition, type of photographs that were presented, type of conflict and socio-cultural context. Study ultimately gave an answer to, not just the research question, but specific hypotheses as well.

Comparative design method was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, by comparing two cases in the same manner, potential effect of unit that is analyzed (in this case photographs) could be better understood. In addition, differences could be easier outlined and indicators that influenced them. Moreover, the comparison itself suggested concepts that are relevant for the conclusions.

Case Studies

CASE STUDY: PERU

Introduction to the conflict in Peru

In 1980 there were supposed to be the first democratic elections in Peru after twelve years. The country started building a new path after years of political violence led by economic inequalities and anti-democratic tradition.⁷⁰ Even though the elections were held and new President Belaunde was chosen, the peaceful period lasted very short. Instead of the building of democratic culture, another conflict started. This time it lasted for twenty years, and that era is now known as *el tiempo de miedo* or in translation "the time of fear".⁷¹

While on the one side of this internal conflict was Peruvian Government, on the other was a leftist revolutionary guerilla group Shining Path. Shining Path, or *SenderoLuminoso*, was founded after a split in the Peruvian Communist Party in 1970s. The group within itself was also divided. One part was followed by Russian model of communism, while the other favored Chinese communist model.⁷² In the name of protest against democratic rule, they have been spreading their ideology in most violent way. They murdered and tortured all that were against them, and were the catalyst for very big number of terrorist attacks in Peru. They saw murder as "a way to cleanse the society".⁷³

The Government's answer to these atrocities was also with violent force. The policy and military forces confronted the enemy, but in the same time they themselves contributed to the abuse of

⁷⁰ CJA.(2017). Peru | CJA. [online] Retrieved from: http://cja.org/where-we-work/peru/ [Accessed 11 Aug. 2017].

⁷¹Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.7

⁷² Poole, D. and Renique, G. (1992) *Peru: Time of Fear,* London, Latin American Bureau, Ltd., p.33

⁷³*Ibid*. p.34

human rights. Some of the violations, besides murdering and torturing, were also sexual violence against women.⁷⁴

In 1984, a new terrorist group appeared on the Peruvian scene, so called the Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru (MRTA). They were both against Government and Shining Path, even though they had the same ideology of the leftist revolutionists.

As major parts of combats were villages and rural communities, the Government started shipping the arms to the people in those areas so that they can defend themselves. In that period, it was estimated around 140 deaths per month.⁷⁵

In 1990, Peru got a new president, Alberto Fujimori. He was an authoritarian leader who dissolved the parliament and reorganized the judiciary system⁷⁶. Moreover, he also declared a state of emergency in eleven provinces of Peru. Two years after his election, Peruvian police captured the main leader of Shining Path, Abimael Guzman. The guerilla group's power started falling, as Guzman represented a personality cult.⁷⁷ In the year 2000, also Fujimori dictatorship fell apart by his resignation, which represented a final end to this cold and fearful period.

Two weeks after Fujimori resignation, Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in order to investigate all the human right abuses during this period of twenty years.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission

One of the ways in dealing with the past twenty years was the creation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is temporary non-judicial body that "promotes reconciliation by providing a safe and impartial forum for direct restorative justice processes." Their main focus is on the investigation of violations of human rights and directing the communication between perpetrators and victims in order to create a path for democratic transition.

⁷⁴Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, "Final Report General Conclusions in English", [online] Retrieved from: http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php [Accessed 11 Aug. 2017].

⁷⁶Poole, D. and Renique, G. (1992) *Peru: Time of Fear,* London, Latin American Bureau, Ltd., p.50

⁷⁷Peru Reports.(2017). *Profile of Shining Path | Peru Reports*. [online] Retrieved from:

http://perureports.com/shining-path/ [Accessed 11 Aug. 2017].

⁷⁸Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*. 1st ed. Stockholm: International IDEA, p.126

Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru (*Comision de Verdad y Reconciliation – CVR*) started working in 2001. It was comprised of twelve Peruvian commissioners, ten men and two women, chaired by Salomón Lerner Febres. They had five regional offices to carry out the Commission's work. With over 500 staff members, they have collected around 17,000 testimonies from public hearings all over the country.⁷⁹

Two years after it started working, CVR finished its 8,000 pages final report which included all atrocities including forced disappearances, terrorist attacks, and other human rights violations. What Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed is high percent of racism that persisted in Peruvian society two centuries after it became a Republic.⁸⁰ Moreover, deaths were not the only causality of the conflicts, but there was also "massive destruction of the productive infrastructure and the loss of social capital and economic opportunities".⁸¹In other words, almost every part of the country was effected and there was a big path to reestablishment in front of not just next Peruvian Government, but Peruvian people as well.

The Commission's final report was published in 2003, and it found that 69,000 people died or went missing in Peruvian civil war. Most of the victims were from rural areas, indigenous civilians. 82 Besides the final report, in the same year, CVR unveiled a photography exhibition under the name *Yuyamapaq: Para Recordar*, which means "to remember" in both Spanish and Quechua, two official Peruvian languages.

Photo Exhibition Yuyanapaq

Description of exhibition

The idea for *Yuyanapaq* exhibition came from series of discussions within Truth and Reconciliation Commission staff. Finally, two women who were photojournalists, Nancy Chappell and Mayu Mohanna, proposed the project which in the end became the exhibition in

29

⁷⁹Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.4

⁸⁰Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, "Final Report General Conclusions in English", [online] Retrieved from: http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php [Accessed 11 Aug. 2017].

⁸² Ibid.

matter. Three main elements of the project were to create a digital image database; organize photography exhibition in Lima and finally publish a book of chosen photographs. 83

Central exhibition took place in Lima, in the year 2003. Initial plan was that it would be held for three months in an old mansion in the Chorrillos neighborhood of the main city. The idea behind choosing this old house in need of renovation was to correlate it with the country that is in need of recovery and reconciliation. However, due to a bigger number of visitors than expected (up to 2,000 per day higher than the same place. In 2005, the exhibit moved to the sixth floor of the Peruvian National Museum (*Museo de la Nacion*), also in Lima. It was displayed until the year 2011, with free admission to the public.

Number of people who visited it was more than 200,000 in the first year and a half. Then from 2005 until 2007, there were around 70 people per day. 86 Moreover, there were held also smaller exhibits of 40 photographs in five provinces. They were all the same except that each of them had a photograph relevant to the specific area where it was presented.

Both of big exhibitions, the one in National Museum and in the house in Chorrillos, had exact same organization and display. In addition to photographs, there was also a wall with excerpts from the final report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and room with guestbook comments.

Description of photographs

Out of 1,700 selected and scanned photographs, only 250 were presented on the central exhibitions. Criteria for choosing photographs was firstly that they explain historical events in the period from 1980 until 2000 and secondly, that they communicate the suffering of the victims.

"When we went out to look for the photographs, we needed to reconstruct what happened. We made a list of the most important events during those 20 years. We had clear goals of finding

⁸³Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.32

⁸⁴*Ibid.* p.39

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.40

⁸⁶*Ibid.* p.4

photographs of those events, and much more subjective, which was to find photographs that spoke to us through the victims and their pain."⁸⁷, argues one of the curators of the exhibition.

Photographs were chosen from many archives that included newspapers, magazines, human rights organizations, police, military files, the Catholic Church archive, independent photographers and the victims' family albums. During that process, another important issue was to respect the dignity of the victims who were presented on the chosen photographs. In addition, before the revealing of every photograph, curators asked for the approval of the victims' families.

Even though the photographs were from the civil war period, there weren't many of them that showed tortures, blood or dead people. "I think out of 250 photos, there were six that deal what happened during those 20 years, in terms of horror." one of the curators said during the interview. The concentration was more on the abstract theme of suffering that approach emotional part of visitors rather than to show the physical violence.

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⁸⁷*Ibid.* p.35

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.33

⁸⁹*Ibid.* p.45



Figure 2-2. At the Ayacucho Regional Hospital in 1983, Celestino Cente, a peasant from Iquicha, Huanta, recovered from wounds inflicted by Shining Path guerillas (Photography taken from Oscar Medrano, Caretas Magazine courtesy Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

Decision to show "human" photos rather than dead bodies and blood, had an objective to influence more human compassion, empathy and natural sadness rather than anger and disgust. With all the photographs being chronologically ordered, it gave visitors better comprehension of the events and stories that followed them. Moreover, curators' choice was led by the opinion that photography is something that can change the perception of the event, depending what is shown and depending on which reaction we want to cause with it. One of the curators remarked: "From the beginning, we knew we had to choose images that were very symbolic, that would become icons and create visual memory that would further reject violence."

⁹⁰*Ibid.* p.38



Figure 3-2.A woman carried her belongings to a secure place after Shining Path's attack on CalleTarata, Lima, in July 1992. (Photography taken from © Carlos Domínguez courtesy Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission)



Figure 4-2.A policeman was buried after being killed in Lima during a Shining Path raid in 1984 (Photograph taken from © Vera Lentz courtesy Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

Positive/Negative consequences of the exhibition: The research of Robin Hoecker

Different reactions to the *Yuyanapaq* photo exhibition were measured by Robin Hoecker, in her research "The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process". Method she used in order to reveal the possible effect was posttest-only experiment with two groups.

Hoecker collected in a two-week period 109 questionnaires⁹¹, out of which 55 were completed by people who were entering exhibition and 54 by people who were exiting.⁹²The experiment assumed that both groups have similar backgrounds, experiences and demographics, so that the emphasized difference in answers will only be between the people who saw exhibition, and the people who still haven't.

Design of the questionnaires had three sections. The first section represented basic information: gender, age, primary language and region of residency. The second measured the personal connection of the participants to conflict. It included four kinds of trauma: "change in daily routine", "destruction of property", "fear that life was in danger", and "the death or disappearance of a friend or family member". Finally, the third section of the questionnaire measured the participants' attitudes towards seven different elements of reconciliation: truth, forgiveness, hope, justice, trust, anger and holding a grudge.

Results⁹⁶ of the study showed some positive correlation between photography and process of reconciliation. Out of seven different elements of reconciliation as dependent variables, only "truth" had a significant effect. Participants who did the questionnaire after exiting the photo exhibition felt like they knew the truth more than the participants who still haven't seen it. This result suggested that photographs were seen as evidences or proof of the events that occurred.

Another important result from this research appeared in post hoc analysis (2x2 ANOVA-analysis of variance) in order to see if photographs had different effect on various sub-groups of people. This analysis showed two significant interactions between variable "forgiveness" and factors

⁹¹See the whole questionnaire in Appendix on page 62.

⁹²Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.23

⁹³*Ibid.* p.25

⁹⁴*Ibid.* p.26

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶*Ibid.* p.49-59

"exposure to the photograph" and "change in routine". Participants who experienced the "change in routine" were likely to forgive more once they saw the photo exhibition, in contrast to the ones who haven't seen it yet. There were some strong statements of resentment and anger before seeing the photographs, while after exiting exhibition within the same people that reaction changed to neutral. Surprisingly, for the respondents who didn't have a change in routine, those who had seen the photographs forgave less than the ones who haven't seen them.

Last significant result was with independent variable "experience with property destruction". For people who experienced property destruction, those who saw the photographs forgave more than the ones who haven't. The opposite happened for people who didn't have experience with property destruction. The ones who saw the photographs forgave less, than the ones who didn't.

Furthermore, according to curators of the exhibition, reactions to the exhibition were overall positive. ⁹⁷ Until the exhibition was held, media was constantly critical towards the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. After the Yuyanapaq, media started a campaign in favor of CVR.

Having in mind that Ayacucho province was the place where most of the violence occurred during the years of the conflict, the reaction to the exhibition were in a sense different that the reactions from the exhibition held in Lima. While people in Chorillos in Lima were serious and quiet, people from the little province were more vivid and talkative. They had reactions such as: "Ah! There's Huan! There's Pedro!", "Look! Do you remember when that happened?" among others. So, people had variety of different reactions in accordance to the places the exhibitions were held, as well.

Negative consequences of the exhibition, such as fights or using of bad words, are not mentioned in Hoecker's work. What could be seen as negative is the lack of Government support in this project. The University of Catolica supported Yuyanapaq financially with the help of the organizers of the exhibition. Moreover, some of the photographs from the exhibit are missing due to disrepair or replacement. Iconic image of woman's hands holding the picture of her missing husband photographed by Vera Lentz, was not only the symbol of the exhibition, but it

⁹⁷*Ibid.* p.44

⁹⁸*Ibid.* p.57

was on the promotional materials and book cover as well. Its missing showed the state of affairs which was presented in those years, and still nowadays.⁹⁹

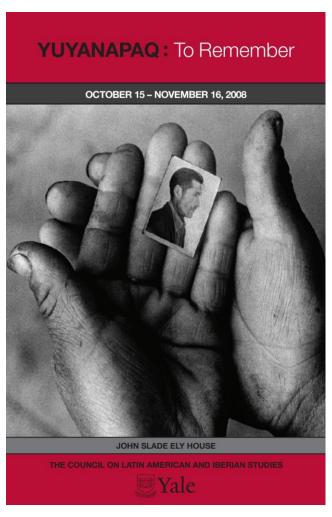


Figure 5-2.A woman hold the identification photograph of her husband (Photograph by Vera Lentz)

⁹⁹*Ibid*. p.46

CASE STUDY: SERBIA

Introduction to the conflict in Yugoslavia during '90s

From 1946, Kingdom of Yugoslavia was abolished and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRY) was established with communist leadership of Josip Broz Tito. In 1963, it changed its name again into Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). The republic was consisted of six nations: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. Additionally, Serbia contained two autonomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. Problems in this country started arising with the death of the autocratic leader Tito in 1981. The countries were in a big economic and political crisis which further developed the birth of nationalism and moreover, ethnic tensions.

According to Dejan Jović, there are several main arguments on the reasons of Yugoslavian dissolution and consequently, wars. It can be economic instability of the country, the cultural diversity concerning religion and language, or the ethnic hatred that was constantly present among six mentioned nations. Moreover, birth of nationalism with new leaders such as Slobodan Milošević in Serbia, Franjo Tuđman in Croatia and Alija Izetbegović in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their political ideologies 101 certainly had influence in the progress of the collapse of Yugoslavia. Some authors, such as Ratko Marković 102 even argue that the critical point was the Constitution of 1974, or so called "grave constitution", as it gave more autonomy to each republic.

The first two republics that proclaimed independency were Slovenia and Croatia in 1991. Furthermore, deployment of Yugoslav National Army (mostly led by Serbian officers) started from these two republics. Naturally, that provoked tensions which lasted ten days in Slovenia, and in Croatia it turned into four-year war. In the same year of 1991, Macedonia took the same path, but was the only former republic which gained sovereignty without resistance from the Belgrade-based Yugoslav authorities. After independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 and its recognition by international community, Bosnian- Serbian war started. With only Serbia

¹⁰⁰Jović, D. (2009). Yugoslavia: a state that withered away. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press., p.124

¹⁰¹Nakarada, R., BastaFleiner, L. and Samardžić, S. (1991). *Raspad Jugoslavije*. Beograd: Institut za evropske studije.

¹⁰²Marković, R. (2009). *Ustavno pravo*. Beograd: Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu., p.38

and Montenegro left in the "Balkan Union", country changed its name into Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).

"Homeland war", as the Croats called it, lasted from 1991 to 1995. As Croatia had within its borders many people of Serbian nationality, especially on the border with Serbia, they had organized themselves against Croats and established self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). Very big number of Serbian people was forced to move out not just from their homes, but the country as well in the operations called "Storm" and "Flash". The war ended in favor of Croats, as they got their sovereignty in the end and were completely separated from Yugoslavia.

The highest culmination of Yugoslav wars was probably shown on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country was split between Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs in self-proclaimed Republika Srpska and self-proclaimed Herzeg-Bosna, led by Serbs and Croats. Among many atrocities that happened during these wars, genocide ¹⁰³ of Muslim Bosniaks committed by Bosnian Serb Army under the command of General Ratko Mladić in Srebrenica was by far the worst. It is estimated that over 8,000 people were killed. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was established in 1993 by the UN to prosecute the crimes in matter.

By signing the Dayton agreement, war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended. However, that wasn't the end of conflicts for Serbia. Next conflict followed by NATO bombardment of Serbia, happened in Kosovo in 1998. Kosovo was autonomous province of Serbia with majority of Albanian population and minority of Serbs. As their rights weren't fully recognized, Kosovar Albanians started an insurgency against Belgrade when the Kosovo Liberation Army was founded in 1996 which was followed by many armed clashes between these two sides. In 1999, after the bombardment of Yugoslavia, Kosovo was placed under the governmental control of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo and the military protection of Kosovo Force (KFOR).

In 2003, Yugoslavia stopped existing with renaming of the country into the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro. However, it didn't last long, as three years later, Montenegro separated from

¹⁰³In 2001 the International Court of Justice ruled that genocide in Srebrenica occurred and further stated that Serbia violated the Genocide Convention by not doing enough to prevent it. However, Serbia has acknowledged that the crimes at Srebrenica occurred but has yet never used the word genocide to describe them.

Serbia. Moreover, Kosovo proclaimed its independence in 2008. Today, Kosovo is recognized by 114 countries as a sovereign state, even though it is still noted in constitution of Serbia as its autonomous province.

According to the International Center for Transitional Justice, the Yugoslav Wars resulted in the death of 140,000 people and 4 million were displaced. ¹⁰⁴People that were reported as missing were around 35,000. ¹⁰⁵Dealing with atrocities that happened during this period was mainly through retributive methods and followed by international observance. The ICTY has indicted 161 persons and has finished proceedings against over 100 defendants. ¹⁰⁶ In 2013 it has officially ended its mandate. Some national courts were established as well, such as special chambers at Serbia's District Court of Belgrade and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nevertheless, NGOs and activities of civil society were also present, as well as restorative methods of dealing with past, which will be analyzed more in the following section.

Role of State and NGOs

Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in 2001 by Vojislav Koštunica, president of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at that time. It was consisted of nineteen members whose main tasks were to:

- Organize research about social, international and political conflicts in Yugoslavia;
- Introduce the domestic as well as international public about the results and its work;
- Cooperate with other similar bodies in neighboring countries for a better progress. ¹⁰⁷

However, none of these tasks were successful and there are several reasons why. First, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established very quickly without consensus of its work and without public discussion. Secondly, it didn't include in its design members from non-governmental sector nor did it tried to establish the cooperation with them. Moreover, the

¹⁰⁴International Center for Transitional Justice. (2017). The former Yugoslavia & Transitional Justice | ICTJ. [online] Retrieved from: https://www.ictj.org/our-work/regions-and-countries/former-yugoslavia [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017]. ¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2006) *Truth and reconciliation in Serbia*, in Handbook of Restorative Justice, edited by Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft, Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, Oxon, p.376

Commission spent three years without taking any substantial activity. ¹⁰⁸Having all that in mind, the conclusion arises itself. This Commission in FRJ was more of a political tool for Koštunica to gain as many supporters, than it was a real effort in trying to make progress in process of reconciliation. Once again, political elites in former Yugoslavia were trying to manipulate people for their own interests, argues Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović. ¹⁰⁹

The state approach included public apologies, condemnation of atrocities and some victim-oriented initiatives on the level of local authorities¹¹⁰. Moreover, building of monuments as well as development of programs for refugees and internally displaced persons was presented. However, it wasn't enough to overcome still present ethnic tensions. Two main challenges towards democratization were strong pressure from the international community to deal with atrocities committed by Serbia during interethnic conflicts in the 1990s and on the other side there was a confrontation between nationalists and their opposition (people who were against Milošević's regime). ¹¹¹International community was forcing retributive methods of dealing with justice, which influenced the creation of so-called "Hague discourse" after 2000s. There was a division between those who were in favor of sending war criminals to Hague and those who opposed. Moreover, they weren't very supportive in restorative methods of dealing with post-conflict society. ¹¹³However, there were some restorative activities addressed from civil society that had further influence on the process of reconciliation.

According to the report FacingThe Past: The Report for Serbia and Montenegro¹¹⁴ led by Blagojević and Milenković there were sixty-two non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Serbia in 2004 that were dealing with past atrocities and ways to overcome them. In the same time, study showed that a very small number of them very actually implementing the activities

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.* p.376-377

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*. p.378

¹¹⁰Nikolić-Ristanović, V. &Copic, S. (2013). *Dealing with interethnic conflicts in Serbia and the place of restorative justice and victims* (Deliverable 6.1. of FP7 project ALTERNATIVE - Developing alternative understandings of security and justice through restorative justice approaches in intercultural settings within democratic societies). Leuven: KU Leuven Institute of Criminology. p.32

¹¹¹*Ibid.* p.23

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³ Ihid

¹¹⁴Blagojević, M. and Milenković, N. (2004) *Suočavanje s prošlošću: Izveštaj za Srbiju i Crnu Goru (Facing the Past: The Report for Serbia and Montenegro),* Beograd: Quaker Peace and Social Witness.

and making a significant change in the process of reconciliation. Main activities of NGOs were conferences, panels, round tables, collection of documentation and researches.

"Truth, Reconciliation and Responsibility" international conference which was held in Belgrade in 2001 was, in a sense, a milestone for opening public discussions in Serbia. Then, Truth and Reconciliation Commission was also promoted publicly. In the aftermath of the conference, there were more often held panels and debates about war crimes in former Yugoslavia than before. In addition, there was a raise of non-governmental projects as well. However, the biggest problem was shifting a process of reconciliation from retributive methods to restorative ones.

Most of the NGOs were dealing with retributive methods such as lustration, prosecution and opening of secret files¹¹⁶, while smaller NGOs were dealing with restorative methods, but on a very small scale, mostly because they were not accepted by a larger society. One of the explanations for it was that anti-nationalistic discourse that NGOs promoted wasn't welcomed in that time. Usual notion of truth and reconciliation process was understood narrowly as the only accusations of the Serbs as perpetrators. Moreover, defining of "one truth" became almost impossible as there were six different nations.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, even though in smaller percent, civil society organizations were still effective in activities such awareness raising; monitoring and advocacy; support and assistance; mediation; interethnic group activities; activities that include interethnic and intra-ethnic dialogue; culture and art; and religious events (prayers for peace)¹¹⁸. For example, MOST, back then leading civil society organization, developed a program whose main objective was education in peace activism and conflict resolution.¹¹⁹ Also, Centre for Non-Violent Action organized forums with war veterans on the topic "FOUR VIEWS

¹¹⁵Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2006) *Truth and reconciliation in Serbia*, in Handbook of Restorative Justice, edited by Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft, Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, Oxon, p.377

¹¹⁶*Ibid.* p.378

¹¹⁷Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2003) *Possibilities for restorative justice in Serbia*, in L. Woldgrave (ed.) Positioning Restorative Justice, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishers. p.236

¹¹⁸Nikolić-Ristanović, V. & Copic, S. (2013). *Dealing with interethnic conflicts in Serbia and the place of restorative justice and victims* (Deliverable 6.1. of FP7 project ALTERNATIVE - Developing alternative understandings of security and justice through restorative justice approaches in intercultural settings within democratic societies). Leuven: KU Leuven Institute of Criminology. p.51

¹¹⁹*Ibid.* p.58

– from the past: WHAT WAS I DOING IN WAR? Towards future: HOW TO ACHIEVE PERMANENT PEACE?". 120

Moreover, on the long term the most important project of truth and reconciliation program in Serbia was led by Victimology Society of Serbia (VCS). It started under the name "From Remembering the Past Toward a Positive Future" and later was implemented through several projects. It was launched at the international conference held in Belgrade in 2001, "Which Model of Truth and Reconciliation is the Most Appropriate for the Former Yugoslavia?". This conference was held in order to get to the most suitable example of TRC by comparing them in other cases such as in South Africa and North Ireland. The project "From Remembering the Past Toward a Positive Future", represented series of small group discussions in twelve towns of Serbia during the period of 2003 and 2004. ¹²¹ All of the discussions were recorded and analyzed. In addition, all the citizens were asked to suggest their own proposals of how reconciliation process could be led in Serbia. This was later documented into a book "From Remembering the Past Toward a Positive Future: views and opinions of citizens of Serbia". 122 Nevertheless, as the VCS project is long lasting there are still present initiatives today. One of them worth mentioning is known as Joint Action for Truth and Reconciliation (ZAIP) which has started in 2007 and it is still ongoing. This "third way" initiative accepts restorative discourse and within it try to find a suitable model for mitigate existing and prevent future conflicts. 123

Nevertheless, one of the attempts to approach process of reconciliation in restorative manner by using art was the exhibition of photographs of American photographer Ron Haviv, under the name "Blood and Honey".

¹²⁰*Ibid*. p.60

¹²¹Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2006) *Truth and reconciliation in Serbia*, in Handbook of Restorative Justice, edited by Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft, Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, Oxon, p.380 ¹²²Ibid. p.381

¹²³ Nikolić-Ristanović, V., Ćopić, S. (2016) Dealing with the past in Serbia: achievements in the past 20 years, U: M. Fischer, O. Simić (eds) *Transitional Justice and Reconciliation – Lessons from the Balkans*, Oxon, New York: Routledge: 141-168

Photo Exhibition Blood and Honey

Two faces of the exhibition

Ron Haviv is an American photojournalist who has been documenting conflicts in former Yugoslavia in a period from 1991 to 2001. The exhibition of his photographs took place in six towns in Serbia – Vršac, Užice, Belgrade, Čačak, Kragujevac and Novi Sad during the year 2002.

First exhibition was opened in Belgrade (22 March to 5 April) and then it was moved to Vršac. In Užice, Čačak and Kragujevac its opening was prevented, while the one in Novi Sad had a changed scenario which will be further analyzed as a separate case study in a part that follows. In order to understand the exhibition in Novi Sad better, it is necessary first to analyze why the exhibition was prevented in three mentioned cities and what exactly happened.

In Užice, the exhibition was closed up three days earlier than it was planned upon the request of 40 citizens of that town. They requested the removal of the photographs as they "insult them with anti-Serbian content". In Čačak, the exhibition lasted only for a day, upon a decision taken by the management of the Community Center in this town. This decision was preceded by the incident that occurred on the opening of the exhibition, when three young men physically attacked one of the co-organizers. Community Center than decided that it is better if the photographs were removed, so they don't provoke further violence. Finally, in Kragujevac, a big group of people dressed in black T-shirts with the image of Radovan Karadžić¹²⁶ with written on them messages such as: "Serbian Hero" and "In God and Fatherland We Trust". It is small number of people who came to see the exhibition was called by the protest group "traitors".

¹²⁴Gajicki, M. (2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative. p. 18

¹²⁶ Radovan Karadžić was first president of Republika Srpska. International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the United Nations Detention Unit of Scheveningen charged him with 11 counts of war crimes during Bosnian war.

¹²⁷Gajicki, M. (2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.19

As there is an evident pattern of rejecting the exhibition in all of the three cities, it was obvious that level of intolerance was still high. For reference's sake, it is important to mention that police didn't react to neither of the exhibitions' incidents.

After the unsuccessful exhibitions, the Documentary Center together with the REX Cultural Center (both in Belgrade), organized a public discussion concerning the incidents in three mentioned cities. Some of the conclusions were that photographs itself are not the biggest issue, but the comments of the author bellow them cause strong and negative reactions. Having in mind that comments were the core of the problem, the organizers of the exhibition in Novi Sad developed another concept of the exhibition, which had more success.

Description of Exhibition in Novi Sad

The exhibition in Novi Sad took place from 10th to 20th September in 2002. The organizers were Vojvodjanka – Regional Women's Initiative, Center for Political Education and MEDIAPACT, in cooperation with Vladan Beara, a psychotherapist, who worked with "Society for Protection of Mental Health and Victims of 1991-1999 Wars". ¹²⁹The new concept of the exhibition had few objectives ¹³⁰:

- To initiate public discussion on war crimes in the '90s on the territory of former Yugoslavia;
- To offer the truth from that period;
- To emphasize the importance of knowing the facts about war events;
- To enable that everyone could express their own opinions and in the same time to tolerate the other ones.

The opening was followed by a group of fifty young people who protested against the exhibition with written messages on the leaflets such as: "The Exhibition in service of dirty anti-Serbian propaganda", and "The greatest honor is to defend one's own people". 131 Clearly nationalistic

¹²⁸*Ibid*. p.20

¹²⁹*Ibid*. p.21

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹Ibid.

orientated group was controlled by the presence of the police. After the incidents at the opening, the organizers sent an open letter to the FRY and Serbian authorities with a request to react on nationalistic outbursts. Even though high authorities didn't pay too much of an attention, there was created a clear division among political parties in Novi Sad. One side believed that talking about war crimes in former Yugoslavia is essential, while the other side rejected those initiatives completely. As with political parties in Novi Sad, this division was present on every social level in Serbia.

However, what represented the biggest difference from the previously mentioned exhibitions was that there were no longer the comments of the author, Ron Haviv, bellow the photographs. Instead, there was a blank paper besides each photograph so that visitors could write their own comments. Moreover, there was also a Book of Impressions, in a 10-meter separated area so that visitors could feel free to express their opinions in it as well. Apart from the writing of the comments, there was also a possibility for the visitors to put on the wall their own photographs of war crimes in former Yugoslavia. During the exhibition, it was organized two projections of four documentary films and two debating platforms under the names "The Vietnam Syndrome in Serbia" and "Is War a Free Choice?". 132

Number of people who visited the exhibition was over 5000 visitors. According to documents from the exhibitions¹³³, visitors were of different age, social and national religious group from Novi Sad. Majority who were just looking at the photographs were younger people, while the senior citizens and elderly took part at the organized platforms as well.

Description of Photographs

On each exhibition the same photographs were presented. There were 64 of them and they were all showing fragmentary insights of tragedies that war caused on the territory of Croatia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. Among these war photographs there were many that showed "bloody" images such as dead bodies, blood on the snow, graves and violence caused by the military.

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¹³²*Ibid.* p.22

¹³³*Ibid*. p.27



Figure 6-3.Lion's Cemetery: Sarajevo 1993 (Photograph taken from Ron Haviv's online album)



Figure 7-3.Croatian victims of shelling await burial. Croatia 1991(Photograph taken from Ron Haviv online album)

Other photographs were however, more "human" as they expressed faces of people, burned books, ruined buildings and towns, group photos of military and even on one photograph there is a couple kissing.



Figure 8-3. A Serbian father and son. Croatia 1991(Photograph taken from Ron Haviv online album)



Figure 9-3. Serbs kiss to celebrate their victory in Vukovar. Croatia 1991(Photograph taken from Ron Haviv online album)

Positive/Negative effects

Positive and negative consequences of Ron Haviv's exhibition "Blood and Honey" was majorly analyzed in the project under the name "Vivisect", led by NGO Vojvodjanka – Regional Women's Initiative in Novi Sad. The main idea of the project was to collect the documents from the exhibition which included comments on the blank papers besides photographs as well as reactions of the visitors. This collection was in the end transformed into a book and short documentary film. ¹³⁴

One of the authors of the book, Svenka Savić, has made a deeper analysis of the written messages that were either left besides the photographs (1200 messages), in the Book of Impressions (87) and on a big poster (100). ¹³⁵

The results showed that the most of the messages (30%) indicated explicit hatred towards the figures represented on the photographs who are mostly Croats, Muslims and Albanians. The examples of the messages of hatred are following: "The more of them they kill the less work for us" and "Attack the scums!!!" Love or hate was expressed to the leaders were on the photographs with the faces of three main leaders: Arkan¹³⁷, Tito and Čanak¹³⁸.

Messages with implicit hatred were 25%, which includes glorification of Serbian people followed by constant mentioning of the Serbian victims which are not on the photographs. So, for more than a half of the visitors (55%), the photographs evoked hate. Messages that used common jokes from the films such as "Nice village nicely burn", comics, slogans, country songs and advertisements were 15%. Moreover, there were only 8% of the messages that indicated the willingness for collective responsibility, while only 2% of personal responsibility.

¹³⁴ Documentary film is also under the name "Vivisect" and it could be found in several libraries in Serbia along with a book.

¹³⁵Gajicki, M. (2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.39

¹³⁶*Ibid*. p.45

¹³⁷ Arkan was a Serbian commander of a paramilitary force *Serb Volunteer Guard* during the wars in former Yugoslavia.He was on Interpol's most wanted list in the 1970s and 1980s for robberies and murders committed in a number of countries across Europe, and was later indicted by the UN for crimes against humanity for his role during the wars.

¹³⁸Čanak is the co-founder and leader of the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina in 1990. In the start of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, he requested to be mobilized but was turned down. The exhibition was in the main city of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, which is the reason why he was highlighted as a leader. He is still active on Serbian political scene today.

There was in total 10% of the messages that were expressed in a form of a dialogue between the

visitors that left messages. According to the analysis of Svenka Savić, those messages indicated

"the mirror of bad emotions" as they represent denial and disagreement. One of the examples

is:

"Nation that doesn't have its own country and all that goes with it cannot be called a nation. If

there is a mother to a people, the country is that mother.

And what happened to the Jews?

And what about Vojvodina?

Death to the Jews "140

Messages from the big poster were not much different from the ones besides the photographs.

Furthermore, the only significant difference is with the ones left in the book of impressions.

First, they were mostly signed messages, in contrast to comments besides photographs and

secondly, the hatred expressions are higher when the messages are anonymous.¹⁴¹

Another form of analysis was done by journalists of daily news "Dnevnik" in Novi Sad. They

had conducted a poll asking visitors about the impressions they have after seeing the exhibition

and their opinions about it. Some of the answers were:

"A photograph is a photograph. Someone shot with his camera things as they happened. I have

read somewhere that the Exhibition provoked much negative reaction all over Serbia. I think that

what has happened should be shown. People should start talking about these events. Enough time

has passed ever since, and the crimes should not be hidden anymore. Those who have committed

them should be sanctioned for their crimes. We are still one people and should live together."

Boro Ćorković (student)¹⁴²

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¹³⁹Gajicki, M. (2004). Vivisect. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.55

140*lbid.* p.57

¹⁴¹*Ibid.* p.63

¹⁴²*Ibid.* p.28

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"The photographs are horrible. I need some time to collect my thoughts. What shocked me the most are the messages written down besides the photographs. Judging by the messages, time for any dialogue has still not come. Only few people are ready to change their opinion. The truth about what happened should be revealed to people, but in what way I really don't know."

Slobodanka Satara (professor of literature)¹⁴³

A very small percent of people left messages that could be seen as possible signs for further steps in the process of reconciliation. However, out of 5000 visitors, 1300 of them had their voices be heard by leaving a comment. Even though the reactions were mostly negative, there was still that small group of people that were opened to understand the other side of the story as well.

"The exhibition is both stirring and edifying at the same time. It should be seen by ALL people on the Planet Earth. To learn something, in order for things which happened on the territory of former Yugoslavia not to happen again. But, they are repeating themselves, all the time, in different parts of the world. It seems that people are a hopeless case, and they DO NOT WANT TO LEARN THE LESSONS! They either don't want to or cannot do it? THE TRAGEDY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES (Is it the smartest on our planet at all?) ¹⁴⁴ – one of the comments from the Book of Impressions.

Moreover, other activities and projects started arising. One of them was "From Remembering the past Toward Positive Future" led by Victimology Society of Serbia, which was already mentioned above. They used the documentary film about the exhibition and the photographs as an introduction to the further discussions and debates which were held in 2003 and 2004 in twelve towns across Serbia. Also, the book "Vivisect" is used as an educational tool for further discussions of students at the University of Novi Sad and University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.* p.35

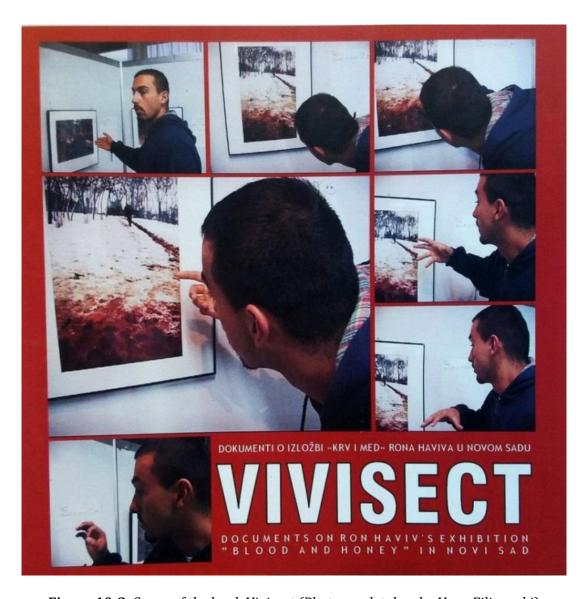


Figure 10-3. Cover of the book Vivisect (Photograph taken by Vana Filipovski)

Discussion

The following section will give an answer to two main questions: Is there a link between represented photographs in cases of Peru and Serbia and the process of reconciliation? Were the photographs in analyzed exhibitions shown to be effective as universal language, evidence, memory, construct of reality or evoker of empathy¹⁴⁵? In addition, all of the hypotheses of the study will be examined.

Yuyanapaq

In Peru's case photographs were predominantly seen as evidence, with which visitors could reveal the truth of previous conflict, and hence develop their own construct of reality. Moreover, it could be seen as a link to the photography as an evoker of empathy the fact that "forgiveness" as a factor was shown to be more present to the people who have seen the photographs, than with those who haven't. *Forgiveness* is an emotion which includes the presence of "other" who we forgive. Therefore, we have to develop a feeling towards the other person in order to forgive, which could indicate the presence of empathy.

In addition, as the visitors of the exhibitions were people from both sides of the conflicts, different genders and age groups, and the results of the Hoecker's questionnaire made no difference according to that, we could conclude that photography was used as universal language. They were comprehensible to everybody. Lastly, photographs on the exhibition were chosen deliberately to represent symbolically the conflict. In addition, iconic images became important in "shaping public identity and collective memory" which could further have role in motivating public action towards democratization, which include in itself essential process of reconciliation.

¹⁴⁵ See the section Link between photography and reconciliation on p.20.

¹⁴⁶Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri-Columbia, p.60

Blood and **Honey**

In Serbia's case, represented photographs were seen as universal language as they were comprehensible to every visitor regardless of religion, educational level and gender, among other things. However, nationality was an obstacle which was uneasy to overcome by viewing the photographs. Photographs presented the evidence of killings, human rights violations and other atrocities, but they were not seen as truthful by the majority of visitors in Novi Sad. On the contrast, they evoked not empathy, but anger and feeling of injustice. Visitors felt that with these photographs truth was manipulated, as only one side of the conflict was shown. This could be implication for further analysis of the degree of subjectivity in presentation of the photographer, in this case Ron Haviv.

Lastly, the photographs remained as a memory, but in this case not as a tool of therapy, but more as an indicator of unpreparedness of the Serbian people to overcome denial and fully enter into process of reconciliation. In only this sense, photographs represented in "Blood and Honey" exhibition had positive effect. "There are various degrees from expressive hatred and the denial of the values of the other, up to the traces of cooperation", argues Svenka Savić. ¹⁴⁷ Messages that were written besides photographs as reactions could be used as borderlines in opening of the dialogue, and in addition steps towards reconciliation. However, this exhibition was in contrast to other attempts of exhibitions, a step forward, as they succeeded in establishing communication without violent acts.

What is common in both cases is that effect of the photography is present. However, in case of Peru it had positive effect for further process of reconciliation, while in the case of Serbia they caused negative reactions and in addition they weren't as valuable in the reconciliation process.

What were the main differences? In the next section two cases were compared and contrasted in accordance to few key elements: organization of exhibition, type of photographs that were presented, type of conflict and socio-cultural context.

¹⁴⁷Gajicki, M.(2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative. p.37

Organization of Exhibitions

Three stages of reconciliation "replacing fear by non-violent coexistence", "building of confidence and trust" and establishing "empathy" are shown to be the most effective through Truth and Reconciliation Commission as its major actor. In case of Peru, the exhibition was organized by TRC. Therefore, people who worked within TRC were the same people who organized the exhibition. One year before Yuyanapaq, the Report of TRC was published that revealed all the victims and atrocities that happened during those years. So, their knowledge of how to approach people and what were the crucial things to deal with in the process of reconciliation was on a high level. Moreover, the exhibition was intended to be a part of the reconciliation process.

On the other hand, Blood and Honey was organized by the NGO Vojvodjanka, without any consultation or help of TRC. Moreover, TRC in Serbia didn't have any significant effect, in contrast to Peru's case. Therefore, the exhibition was opened without any pre-analysis of the possible effects it could provoke within the visitors. Truth, as an element of reconciliation, in this case was attempted to be shown in more aggressive manner without proper preparation and respect of the Serbian citizens.¹⁴⁹

Therefore, it could be seen as one of the reasons why Yuyanapaq exhibition had more positive reactions than Serbia's case.

Photographs

There is a major difference in type of photographs that were presented in both cases, and also the way in which they were exposed.

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¹⁴⁸Bloomfield, D., Barnes, T. and Huyse, L. (2003). *Reconciliation after violent conflict: A handbook*. 1st ed. Stockholm: International IDEA, p.19

¹⁴⁹Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2006) *Truth and reconciliation in Serbia*, in Handbook of Restorative Justice, edited by Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft, Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, Oxon, p.378

Intended message in the Peru's exhibition was to reconstruct the chronology of the conflict and to communicate the sufferings of the victims. ¹⁵⁰Yuyanapaq's photographs were predominantly non-violent and more "human". The reason was to influence more human compassion, empathy and natural sadness rather than anger and disgust. Moreover, the organizers were deliberately choosing the images that could be seen as symbolic in order to create visual memory of further rejection of the violence. In addition, one of the main criteria was also the respect of victims' dignity. Therefore the positive reactions were in accordance to the presented photographs.

According to Hoecker's research, participants who have seen the photographs were more open to revealed truth, and in addition they were more ready to forgive, in contrast to people who haven't seen the exhibition.¹⁵¹ This could imply that positive empathy was created among the visitors who have seen the exhibition, which further implies that photographs could be an important tool in the process of reconciliation.

In contrast, Ron Haviv's exhibition showed war photographs and caused negative reactions. They were predominantly photographs of dead bodies, military, guns and violence. The idea behind it was to reveal the truth, as one of the steps to reconciliation. However, the choice of photographs caused negative reactions. It was shown to Serbian people the atrocities they have made during the wars in the 1990s, without showing the atrocities that were done to them in the same period. In addition, neutrality in exposed photographs was not established, which was in this case necessary. What is also an important difference is that Blood and Honey was the exhibition of a foreign photographer, which could be potential cause of negative reactions, concerning the past with NATO bombardment and role of international community in Yugoslav case. Serbian people taught of visitors of the exhibition as "traitors". 152

On the other hand, one of the bright sides of the Haviv's exhibition was the use of blank papers besides the photographs. With their utility, it was possible to document the reactions of people and to further analyze the role of photographs in dealing with the past and furthermore, their involvement in the process of reconciliation. In addition, even though the majority of visitors with their comments expressed high percentage of denial and weren't ready to face the truth,

¹⁵⁰Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia, p.60

¹⁵¹ See the part Case study Peru on p. 27.

¹⁵²Gajicki, M. (2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.40

they also have showed that small percent of visitors were ready to open a dialogue and confront the truth. This further influenced the rise of other restorative approaches such as public discussions, other photography exhibitions and various projects, which is also valuable for reconciliation process.

Type of Conflicts

Another possible reason why the case of Peru had positive reactions, while the Serbia case hadn't, could lie in the type of conflict countries have been through.

Basis of conflict in Peru was actually the racial and regional inequalities in the country. Peru has three major ethnic groups: Native Americans or Amerindians (45%), Mestizos which are mixed group of Amerindians and European descents (37%) and White Europeans (15%). Besides Spanish language which 84.1% of population is speaking, Quechua (13%) is also official language of Peru, spoken mostly in rural areas. Victims of Shining Path atrocities were mostly dark-skinned Amerindians. It was intrastate conflict, with presence of extreme political ideology and acts of terrorism. It lasted twenty years and there wasn't any interference of international community. Moreover, the time between the end of violent conflict and the exhibition was three years.

The conflicts that occurred on the territory of the former Yugoslavia were very complex. They were ethnically based, but there are many diverse reasons why they started and how they finished. Some argue that these conflicts have just ended their violent phase, and in addition they are not still completely finished, so called protracted conflicts. Yugoslavian conflict was more complicated than conflict in Peru as it included six different ethnic groups, economic deprivation, loss of the charismatic leader, hence loss of national identity and what is more, the big interference of international community. Today in Serbia and other countries of former Yugoslavia there are no open conflicts. However, the relation between Serbia and especially

¹⁵³Countryreports.org. (2017). *Peru population. Demographic data, ethnic groups population and demographics from Peru - CountryReports*. [online] Retrieved from:

http://www.countryreports.org/country/Peru/population.htm [Accessed 25 Aug. 2017].

¹⁵⁴Tepšić, G. *National Identity Construction and the Role of Political Elites: Protracted Conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina?*, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, p.1

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo is not at its best. Besides the political and economic situation of the country, in Serbia denial is still present, hatred towards other ethnic groups, intolerance and unpreparedness to overcome the past. Moreover, lack of international recognition of the crimes committed against the Serbs additionally influenced the disbelief in justice within Serbian people.

One of the main differences between these two conflicts is that Peru was conflict on the territory of one country, while Yugoslav conflict started as such, but reshaped into regional conflict. Hence, process of reconciliation in Serbia is connected to reconciliation in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and other republics. Necessity of establishing one truth, justice, and furthermore positive peace is needed to develop in each of these countries, which make the process harder and more complicated in contrast to Peru.

On the other hand, what was the same for both cases is the time that passed between the end of violent conflict and the exhibitions. In Serbia it was three years (1999-2002) and also in Peru (2000-2003). However, people in Serbia still weren't ready for it, while people in Peru showed different results. This could imply that the length of time that passed between the end of violence and start of the process of reconciliation isn't very relevant.

Socio-historical Context

According to the analysis of Nikolić-Ristanović, three factors influenced the negative process of reconciliation in Serbia's case: interrelation between past and present, complexity of victimization and present political situation (national, regional and international). ¹⁵⁵ Comparison was made with Peru case by using the same factors.

On the regional level, there is a history of wars for national liberation ¹⁵⁶, where the ethnic groups were involved in conflict against each other. Moreover, as mentioned above, the objective of creating one truth is hard to achieve, because multiple truths were presented before and were passed from one generation to another, which led us to the same situation in present. However, what is the most dangerous part of multiple truths, argues Nikolić-Ristanović, is that they can be

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

57

¹⁵⁵Gajicki, M.(2004). *Vivisect*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.71

used for "manipulation of national feelings and the provoking of war". ¹⁵⁷Photographs, as the potential tool for establishing one truth, in Serbian case didn't have much effect, as they were shown only on the national level, and not regional. On the other hand, in Peru photographs had significant influence in establishing one truth, and moreover they further influenced in forgiveness as well¹⁵⁸, even though the country was previously under undemocratic regimes.

Second point is the complexity of victimization which makes it the biggest difference by comparing case in Peru and Serbia. Serbia needs to be faced both with "violence within its own national group and the violence with other ethnic groups". ¹⁵⁹ In contrast, Peru had to be faced with only victimization of its own national group.

Lastly, some of the political factors were showed to influence the success of restorative approaches in Serbia. Conflict in Kosovo is a dominant factor in creating a path toward new future. Once the decision is being made on whether to recognize Kosovo as a sovereign state or not by Serbia, it could lead to other processes such as reconciliation. Not any government in Republic of Serbia was capable of reaching a consensus regarding the policy towards past. Moreover, the pressure of international community towards Serbia to send war criminals to the Hague Tribunal was imposed more than to the other countries in the region. This led to the strengthening of the "guilt complex" – feelings that sufferings of Serbs wasn't recognized enough. In addition, international community insists on traditional retributive model of reconciliation, which leaves a little space for developing restorative approaches. ¹⁶²

Peru, on the other hand, had also a history of autocratic regimes with additional absence of rule of law, corruption, disrespect of human rights and undemocratic values. Moreover, terroristic groups were the biggest problems, and still are even today. However, the Yyunapaq exhibition succeeded in reaching Peruvian people and making a progress in the reconciliation process.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid*. p.72

¹⁵⁸ See the part *Positive/Negative effect of the exhibition* on p.34.

¹⁵⁹Gajicki, M. (2004). Vivisect. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanka-Regional Women's Initiative, p.76

¹⁶⁰Nikolić-Ristanović, V. (2006) *Truth and reconciliation in Serbia*, in Handbook of Restorative Justice, edited by Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft, Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, Oxon, p.375

¹⁶¹*Ibid.* p.378

¹⁶²*Ibid*. p.372

Conclusion

The leading objective of the study was to try to answer the question of whether photography can have a potential role in the process of reconciliation in post-conflict societies.

Firstly, the study showed through theoretical frameworks the importance of restorative approaches in processes of reconciliation mostly through creative methods. Many kinds of arts, such as music, dance, films were shown through several examples to be helpful in recreating relations in broken societies. As part of visual arts, photographs, however, were the focal point of analysis. Through theory of aesthetics, methods of visual communication and cognitive image processing, study explained the existing link between photographs and its use as evoker of empathy, universal language tool, memory, evidence and social construct of reality. Furthermore, those functions showed connection with elements of reconciliation such as truth, justice, forgiveness and peace.

On the other hand, by thorough analysis of two case studies, photo exhibition in Peru and in Serbia, study came to several conclusions.

Firstly, there could be two possible outcomes: positive effect and negative effect of photographs' exhibition for the further engagement in the process of reconciliation. Case of Peru showed positive correlations between *Yayanapaq* exhibition and reactions of its visitors. Moreover, "forgiveness" as an important element of reconciliation was shown to be present after seeing the photographs of majority of participants which indicate that photographs can have effect in this sense. In contrast, negative reactions on the exhibition *Blood and Honey* in Serbia showed the other side of the photographs' effect. They were the initiators of hate speeches and creators of negative attitudes. However, these reactions of the majority of visitors were also the indicators of the level of unpreparedness of Serbian population to deal with past. This result further opened the question of when is the right time to start the process of reconciliation in one society.

These two different outcomes showed to be dependent on factors such as type of conflict that previously occurred, socio-historical context of countries, organization of the exhibition and type of photographs that were presented. In case of Peru conflict was intrastate and based on racial

and regional inequalities, while the conflicts that occurred in former Yugoslavia were ethnically based and far more complex. They first started as intrastate, but finished as a regional conflict. Hence, this implies that the dealing with process of reconciliation in Serbia is highly connected to reconciliation in other former countries of Yugoslavia. Moreover, this could be the reason why photographs, as the potential tool for establishing one truth, in Serbian case didn't have much effect, as they were shown only on the national level and not on the regional. Also, another implication that study made was that Peruvians had to be faced with victimization of its own national group, whereas Serbians had to face the violence within its own national group and other ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the study concluded that time between the end of violence and organizing of photo exhibition is irrelevant. In both of the cases, three years passed while different results emerged. However, the organization of the exhibition and type of photographs that were presented could be seen as causes of different reactions among visitors. The study implies that the choice of photographs is relevant. War photography that was shown in *Blood and Honey* caused negative reactions, while "human" photographs in *Yayanapaq* evoked positive reactions. In addition, organization of exhibition itself showed to be of great importance. In the Peru case, it was prepared with the previous analysis and reports of Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In contrast, it is shown to be ineffective if the exhibition is opened without any pre-analysis, as in the Serbian case.

All of this led to conclusion that photography as such could be a tool of reconciliation, however it depends on many aspects that varies from conflict to conflict. As noted by Godlberg, "Photographs are highly dependent creatures and their influence is entirely contingent on words, circumstances, distributions and belief systems. A photograph has the power only if the right people see it in the right context and the right time." ¹⁶³ This study shows potential for photography to play role in the process of reconciliation according to presented cases and theoretical frameworks. However, in order to generalize its use, photography seeks further examination in this field.

¹⁶³Goldberg, V. (1993) *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed Our Lives*. New York: Abbeville Publishing Group, p.16

Implications for Future Research

In a lack of theories in this field of creative approaches in reconciliation, there is a necessity to analyze their utility more. Art-based processes of peace-building are not researched enough. Hence, this thesis wanted to shed the light on the possible importance of including the creative approaches in the process of peace-building, and within included reconciliation. However, with the results of the comparison of two presented cases of Peru and Serbia, the thesis opened many other questions.

When is the right time to start a process of reconciliation? In the case of Serbia, the exhibition "Blood and Honey" reveled that it was too soon for Serbian population to get into process of reconciliation. People weren't ready to acknowledge the truth, because "their truth" wasn't acknowledged first. Moreover, Truth and Reconciliation Commission wasn't effective and therefore the ground for restorative approaches wasn't prepared. This leads us to another question of whether is Truth and Reconciliation Commission essential institution for the process of reconciliation. The case of Peru showed positive results with engagement of TRC, especially in organizing the exhibition of photographs, whereas its absence showed negative results in the case of Serbia. This could imply that work of TRC is overall positive, however it seeks more thorough research in that area of interest.

Furthermore, one of the conclusions was that process of reconciliation in Serbia has to be connected with other former countries in Yugoslavia. How would this regional reconciliation look like and what would be its main tools? We have seen in practice that retributive methods weren't very successful, which implies and accords with the thesis as well, that use of restorative approaches is highly needed. In addition, this could be further implication for civil society organizations to start developing projects in this manner.

Finally, this study could be a good basis for future research of importance of peace photography. As presented, photographs on Yuyanapaq exhibition were more human, which could be one of the potential reasons for the positive reactions, in contrast to case of Serbia. Could peace photography provoke more positive reactions, in terms of compassion, empathy and creating of positive peace? Moreover, to define peace photography itself would be interesting topic for future engagement, as the researches about it are still very limited.

Appendix

Questionnaire of Robin Hoecker's Work 164

1) How old are you?(list age)
2) In what region of Peru do you live? (please circle one)
a. Amazonas
b. Ancash
c. Apurímac
d. Arequipa
e. Ayacucho
f. Cajamarca
g. Callao
h. Cusco
i. Huancavelica
j. Huánuco
k. Ica
l. Junín
m. La Libertad
n. Lambayeque
o. Lima
p. Lima Metropolitana
q. Loreto
r. Madre de Dios
164

¹⁶⁴Retrieved from Hoecker, R. (2007) *The Role of Photography in Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Process,* Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri: Columbia

s. Moquegua
t. Pasco
u. Piura
v. Puno
w. San Martín
x. Tacna
y. Tumbes
z. Ucayali
aa. I do not live in Peru. I live in(write country)
3) In what region of Peru did you live during the majority of the conflict1980-1990? (please circle one)
a. Amazonas
b. Ancash
c. Apurímac
d. Arequipa
e. Ayacucho
f. Cajamarca
g. Callao
h. Cusco
i. Huancavelica
j. Huánuco
k. Ica
1. Junín
m. La Libertad
n. Lambayeque
o. Lima
p. Lima Metropolitana

q. Loreto	
r. Madre de Dios	
s. Moquegua	
t. Pasco	
u. Piura	
v. Puno	
w. San Martín	
x. Tacna	
y. Tumbes	
z. Ucayali	
aa. I do not live in Peru. I live in	_(write country)
4) Gender	
a. Male	
b. Female	
5) Primary Language	
a. Spanish	
b. Quechua	
c. Aymara	
d. English	
e. Portuguese	
f. Other(write country)	
6) Have you seen the Yuyanapaq photos before?	
a. Yes	
b. No	

For questions 7-10, please indicate how the conflict affected you in the following situations:

7) A change in daily routine because of the conflict (i.e. due to curfews, travel restrictions, etc.) (circle all that apply)
a. Experienced
b. Witnessed
c. Heard about
d. No
e. I did not live in Peru during the conflict
f. Prefer not to answer
8) Loss of property or destruction of property due to the armed conflict in Peru (circle all that apply)
a. Experienced
b. Witnessed
c. Heard about
d. No
e. I did not live in Peru during the conflict
f. Prefer not to answer
9) Experienced a frightening situation in which you felt your life was in danger (circle all that apply)
a. Experienced
b. Witnessed
c. Heard about
d. No
e. I did not live in Peru during the conflict

f. Prefer not to answer
10) Death or disappearance of a family member or a friend due to the conflict (circle all that apply)
a. Experienced
b. Witnessed
c. Heard about
d. No
e. I did not live in Peru during the conflict
f. Prefer not to answer
For questions 11-17, please respond to the following statements about your opinions regarding the conflict:
11) I feel like I know the truth about what happened during the conflict.
a. Strongly agree
b. Agree
c. Neutral
d. Disagree
e. Strongly disagree
12) I forgive those people and groups who were responsible for the conflict.
a. Strongly agree
b. Agree
c. Neutral
d. Disagree
e. Strongly disagree

13) I feel hopeful about the future of Peru and believe that we will have lasting peace.

a. Strongly agree
b. Agree
c. Neutral
d. Disagree
e. Strongly disagree
14) Now that the conflict is over, I feel that justice has been achieved.
a. Strongly agree
b. Agree
c. Neutral
d. Disagree
e. Strongly disagree
15) I trust the Peruvian government and its commitment to democracy.
a. Strongly agree
b. Agree
c. Neutral
d. Disagree
d. Disagree
e. Strongly disagree
e. Strongly disagree
e. Strongly disagree16) I am still angry about what happened during the conflict.
e. Strongly disagree16) I am still angry about what happened during the conflict.a. Strongly agree
e. Strongly disagree16) I am still angry about what happened during the conflict.a. Strongly agreeb. Agree
e. Strongly disagree 16) I am still angry about what happened during the conflict. a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Neutral

- 17) I still hold a grudge for what happened during the conflict.
- a. Strongly agree
- b. Agree
- c. Neutral
- d. Disagree
- e. Strongly disagree

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