THE ROLE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN PERU'S
TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION PROCESS

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by
ROBIN HOECKER

Dr. C. Zoe Smith, Thesis Supervisor

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

THE ROLE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN PERU'S
TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION PROCESS

presented by Robin Hoecker

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Zoe Smith, Ph.D.

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Professor Glenn Leshner, Ph.D.

_____
Professor Byron Scott

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Professor Richard Reuben, J.D.

PREFACE

I have long been interested in the power of photography as a tool of social change. As an undergraduate at Penn State University, where I took my first photojournalism class, I used 40 rolls of black and white film to document a tumultuous year of black student protests. Using the photographs to strengthen their efforts, the students precipitated a change in university policies and the creation of a million-dollar research institute, where my pictures still hang today. Later, when I was working as an intern in Washington, D.C., my photographs from Iraq were used to illustrate the potential human and political consequences of the impending U.S.-led invasion. As a legislative intern, I had been writing position statements and lobbying on the issue for months. But it was through photography—not words—that I had the biggest impact. I have never forgotten this lesson.

Seeing firsthand the power of photography is what led me to the University of Missouri. Although I had been accepted at several international relations schools, I chose the University of Missouri because it offered top-ranked programs in two of my interest areas: photojournalism and conflict resolution. I hoped that by creating my own program of study, I would be able to pursue my interest in international affairs through journalism.

It was in this mindset – I had just accepted the offer at Missouri—that I first learned about the *Yuyanapaq* photography project. On May 5, 2005, I attended a film screening of the documentary film, *State of Fear,* in Washington, D.C. The movie examined two decades of conflict in Peru, and showed how the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission was working to reconcile the Peruvian society and

government after two decades of violent conflict. Mixed among the film segments were powerful photographs that captured different aspects of the conflict and its consequences. I was extremely moved by the images, and was fascinated at how they were being used by the Commission to promote reconciliation.

I was one of the last people to leave that event. I stayed to talk with the filmmakers. I kept their business cards and the event flier and filed them when I got home. Somehow, I knew that this project would be important to me in the future.

I kept the *Yuyanapaq* project in mind throughout my time in Missouri. I focused on this project for both of my research papers in Zoe Smith's Photography in Society class. When it came time to decide a thesis topic, I knew that I wanted to research the role of photography in Peru's truth and reconciliation process. I went through my files and pulled out the old flier and my notes from the film screening almost two years before. I got in touch with the filmmaker and the photography curators. I started working on my thesis as the capstone of my two years of journalism school.

I came to Missouri to become a better photographer, but also to better understand how photography influences society. I wanted to improve my writing and gain academic research experience in the area of cross-cultural communication and conflict resolution.

Looking back on the past two years, I can say that I have accomplished these things. I have drastically improved my photography portfolio, which now includes multimedia and writing clips. I have worked internationally, including an internship at the *Stars and Stripes* in Germany, and a project in Israel/Palestine. Thanks to working with Michael Grinfeld and Richard Reuben at the Center for the Study of Conflict, Law and the Media, I now have an understanding for the basic theories of conflict and conflict

resolution. For my quantitative research class, I worked with a team of students to survey the readers of the bilingual publication *Adelante*. That project taught me how to execute a quantitative research project and included writing a literature review, navigating the Institutional Research Board process, administering a survey to a Spanish-speaking audience and analyzing the data. I also took an intermediate Spanish class to be able to do this research project in Peru.

In short, this thesis is the culmination of everything I have learned in the past two years.

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Robin E. Hoecker

Dr. C. Zoe Smith, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Using the methods of semi-structured personal interviews and a posttest-only experiment, this study examined the creation and effects of *Yuyanapaq*, a photography project initiated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru. The interviews revealed how the *Yuyanapaq* project came to be and how it was put together. When selecting photographs, the curators had two goals in mind: reconstructing the chronology of the conflict as well as communicating the suffering of the victims. The quantitative results indicate that the exhibit is having the desired effects. A posttest-only experiment (n=109) measured the effects of viewing the photographs on four variables of reconciliation: truth, forgiveness, trust in government and resentment. The study found that viewing the photographs increased respondents' confidence that they understood the truth about the conflict, but did not have any effect on their levels of trust in government or resentment. For those people who experienced traumatic events, viewing the photographs helped them to forgive. In contrast, respondents who did not experience traumatic events forgave less after seeing the pictures. Drawing from conflict theory, the study explores the role that photography could play in the reconciliation process on both national and personal level.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

A trickle of cool water dribbles out of the eye-shaped center of a rock sculpture in a popular city park in Lima, Peru. A circular labyrinth made of 32,000 fist-sized stones, the majority of which are stained with a name written in black ink, surrounds the small fountain.[1] Named *El Ojo Que Llora*, or "The Eye That Cries," the sculpture is a memorial to the victims of Peru's armed internal conflict that lasted from1980 to 2000. During that time, about 70,000 people died or went missing due to violence between leftist rebel groups, civilian militias, the national military and police.[2] The era is sometimes referred to as *el tiempo de miedo* or "the time of fear."

Figure 1-1. The controversial sculpture, *El Ojo que Llora*, in Lima, Peru is a memorial to the victims of the country's armed internal conflict. (Photograph by Robin Hoecker, June 2007.)

Even though the violence has ended, the controversy of how to remember the conflict and memorialize the victims has not. In September, 2006, the Inter-American Court on Human Rights ordered denounced the Peruvian government for a 1992 prison massacre, and ordered the State to add to *El Ojo Que Llora* the names of 41 people who were killed during the incident.[3] The prisoners had been members of the terrorist group Shining Path. The addition of the names sparked a wave of criticism for what some saw as "singling out as victims of the violence the very same terrorist fanatics that started it." [4] Some have recommended removing the names or turning the stones over; others have called for the entire memorial to be closed. As the controversy surrounding *El Ojo* shows, the wounds caused by the conflict are deep and still fresh.

The sculpture is just one example of how the scars of the conflict are still visible in Lima. Driving up the small mountain of San Cristobal for a panorama of the city, tour guides casually point out a neighborhood of *invasiones,* or shanty-towns now made permanent by people who migrated in the 1980s from the highlands, where the worst of the violence occurred. In Miraflores, a trendy shopping district, a stone memorial stands where a bomb killed dozens of civilians. The bank standing nearby is now reinforced with a thick, windowless, concrete base. Many stores and apartments downtown are encircled by spiked iron gates, barbed wire, even electronic fencing, which residents say was not the norm until the "years of terrorism" reached Lima in the late 1980s and early 1990s. When asked about their memories, some people can easily recount how their windows blew out when a bomb went off in their building, or how they still have burn scars on their bodies from a nearby car bomb. Altogether, this evidence is impressive,

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especially given that most of the violence did not take place in Lima at all, but in the country's rural provinces.

To investigate the details of the country's two-decade-long conflict, the government of Peru created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), which began working in 2001. Peru is one of about 20 countries, including South Africa, Argentina, and Germany, that have created truth and reconciliation commissions to address parts of their nations' dark pasts (for a more complete list of truth commissions, see Appendix C). The purpose of such commissions is "to investigate a past history of violations of human rights…which can include violations by the military of other government forces or by armed opposition forces."[5] As in Peru, most truth commissions are formed as part of a country's transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. They generally intend to prevent such abuses from occurring in the future.[6]

The effectiveness of truth commissions in promoting reconciliation is still debated. Proponents of truth commissions believe establishing an honest account of what happened serves as "cathartic" for society.[7] But, as Hayner points out, "There is disagreement…as to whether truth commissions help to promote national reconciliation, or whether, as some argue, they create deeper resentment and exacerbate old issues that have been dug up anew."[8] As late as 2007, little research has been done on what happens after truth commissions submit their final reports.[9]

This paper contributes to the larger debate on whether truth commissions are useful, and how they can be most effective in promoting reconciliation. It looks specifically at the case of Peru and the role of photography in the country's reconciliation process. Peru was chosen as a case study for two reasons. Using over 500 staff members,

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Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission collected 17,000 testimonies at televised public hearings across the country, making it one of the largest and most open and comprehensive Commissions in Latin America.[10] It is also the only one to deliberately use photography as a prominent tool.[11]

Photography and Reconciliation in Peru

In August of 2003, the *Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliation* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) of Peru unveiled an exhibit of photographs entitled *Yuyanapaq: Para Recordar*. The name means "to remember" in Peru's two official languages: Quechua and Spanish, respectively. The 250 images, compiled by sorting through nearly 90 photographic archives, document the two decades of violence. Five smaller versions of the larger exhibit travel through the Peruvian countryside, and 1700 images are accessible in an online image bank.[12] The Commission also published a book with the same title that features about 100 photographs.

In some ways, *Yuyanapaq* has been a huge success. During the first year and a half, more than 200,000 people attended the main exhibition.[13] In 2005, the exhibit moved to a new location, the sixth floor of the *Museo de la Nación (*Peruvian National Museum) in Lima. It will be on display with free admission to the public, until the year 2011. At the time of this study, about 70 people were visiting the exhibit each day. The 2,700 copies of the book, which were given out for free upon request, ran out in the first few months.[14] There is talk of printing a second edition.

The true measure of *Yuyanapaq's* success, however, is whether or not the photographs have the desired effect. The intended purpose of the exhibit is to prevent such atrocities from happening again in the future by educating and promoting

reconciliation among Peruvians from all corners of society.[15] But does it work? Many people have attended the exhibit and seen the pictures in the book; however, little quantitative research has been done on what kind of effects the photographs have on the people who view them.

Purpose of Study

In what context was the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit created? Did the personal backgrounds of the curators influence the selection of photographs? Do the *Yuyanapaq* photographs promote reconciliation with the country's violent past? Or do they breed anger and resentment that prevent reconciliation from occurring? This study seeks to answer these questions.

Currently, there is little crossover between conflict theory and visual communication theory. The purpose of this study is to begin to fill this gap and generate new ideas by drawing upon both fields of research. It seeks to examine how photography can potentially be used as a tool to promote conflict resolution and achieve lasting reconciliation of opposed groups.

Implications

The implications of this study are very important. There are conflicts taking place all over the globe. How countries and people recover from those conflicts a significant matter. Understanding the *Yuyanapaq* project and its effects could offer suggestions for other countries going through a similar situation. *Yuyanapaq* could potentially be a model for conflict resolution practitioners around the world.

Organization of Study

The literature reviewed in the following chapter will establish the theoretical framework for why photography might be a useful tool for promoting reconciliation in Peru. It will explore the questions: Why does Peru need national reconciliation? What are the different elements of reconciliation? And how might photography help achieve these elements? The chapter will summarize the conflict and its consequences, explain the basics of conflict theory and spell out the specific research questions and hypotheses of the study.

Chapter three will outline the qualitative and quantitative research methods used, including why each method is appropriate for the aims of the study. It will detail how the methods were implemented and how the data recovered from each method were analyzed.

Chapter four will explore the qualitative results, pulling together overall themes revealed during the interview. Chapter five will examine the quantitative results gathered from the questionnaires. A part of chapter five will describe a post-hoc analysis that was conducted, as well as the results obtained. Chapter six will discuss the results and what they mean. The discussion section will also cover results that were not statistically significant but that show trends that should be researched more thoroughly.

The seventh and final chapter will attempt to make connections and draw conclusions from the different sections of the study. It will address the study's limitations and give possible explanations for the results. The chapter will look at the implications for the creators of *Yuyanapaq*, photographers and conflict resolution practitioners, as well as suggest areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Background: Peru's Time of Fear

Beginnings of the Conflict

In the early morning hours on May 17, 1980, five masked men broke into the local election board offices in Chuschi, a rural village in the Andean department of Ayacucho. After tying up the attendant, they burnt the election ballot boxes, which were to be used in the national election the following day.[16] It was to be the country's first democratic election after twelve years of military rule. The men were arrested that same day and the election of President Belaúnde proceeded smoothly. Peru had successfully made the transition back to a democracy. But the stability was short-lived.

It was soon discovered that the assailants were all graduates of the military school of the Shining Path, a leftist revolutionary group that had recently declared war against the government and institutions of Peru. In the six months that followed the Chuschi attack, Shining Path militants would go on to commit more than 200 terrorist acts.[17] They sabotaged radio towers, burnt down a municipal building in downtown Lima, and bombed banks, police stations, hotels, and electricity pylons across the country. These violent actions continued throughout the next two decades, which became known to Quechua-speaking Peruvians as the *manchaytimpu*, or "time of fear."[18]

What is the Shining Path?

The organization known as *Sendero Luminoso*, or Shining Path, came into existence after a split in the Peruvian Communist Party, which occurred in the mid-

1960s. Part of the party, *Unidad,* followed the Russian model of communism, while the Red Flag, or *Bandera Roja,* idealized the Chinese model. A dedicated Maoist, Abimael Guzmán quickly became a leader in *Bandera Roja*. In 1970, he formed his own splinter group, which became known as *Sendero Luminoso,* or the "Shining Path" to communism. Guzmán claimed to be the fourth sword of communism, after Marx, Lenin and Mao.[19]

Through the 1970s, Guzmán continued to spread his ideology and consolidate power, which was concentrated in the Andean, rural region of Ayacucho. He was able to spread the Maoist ideology through the University of San Cristobál de Huamanga, where he had taught and served as provost. By the late 1970s, the Shining Path, having built a wide base of support, opened a military school to train fighters for the revolution.

What differentiated Shining Path from other communist groups was its call for immediate armed revolution against the current power structure.[20] It's platform focused on class struggle, anti-imperialism and the need for violence to achieve these goals. The anti-government agenda exploited long-standing regionalist sentiments, mainly a resentment towards Lima, where the country's economic resources and political power were concentrated. Much of Shining Path's early support came from university students and peasant communities in the Andean countryside.[21]

Despite Shining Path's support among rural, indigenous communities, scholars emphasize that the terrorist group was *not* an indigenous movement.[22] It was inspired by Western philosophers such as Karl Marx, and followed the path of China's Mao Tse Tung. The doctrine and priorities of Shining Path did not respect the traditional Andean culture or incorporate native practices.

The Shining Path recruited members with a " you're either with us or against us" policy. Peasants and community leaders were forced to pay allegiance to the party and embrace violent revolutionary action. If they did not they were often tortured and killed. Murder was seen as a way to cleanse society, as expressed in the Shining Path party slogan, "Blood will not drown the revolution, but water it."[23]

Figure 2-1. Peruvian military members arrest two peasants in the village of La Mar, Ayacucho in June, 1985. The couple had admitted to being recruited by Shining Path militants. (Photograph by Abilo Arroyo, Revista Caretas. From the book *Yuyanapaq: Para Recordar*)

The Military and Police Response

The fledgling democratic government under President Belaúnde responded to Shining Path violence with force. In May 1981, exactly one year after Shining Path's burning of the ballot boxes, Republican Guard and Civil Guard units were sent to the

department of Ayacucho to restore order. By October, five out of seven provinces in Ayacucho were under a state of emergency, which suspended constitutional rights. By December, Peruvian armed forces took control of the entire department of Ayacucho.

The police and military forces were given a difficult task of " confronting a demented enemy that blended into the civilian population."[24] Over 1000 members of the armed forces lost their lives during the conflict. Although the Shining Path was responsible for the majority of the violence, some members of the police and military forces also contributed to the abuse of human rights[25] Such abuses included "forced disappearance of persons, torture, and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" as well as "sexual violence against women." For example, in August, 1985, military patrols summarily executed a combined 121 peasants in Accomarca, Umaro, and Bellavista.[26] Such human rights abuses continued through the 1980s.

At the heart of the conflict, fueling both the Shining Path movement as well as the police and military response, were the racial and regional inequalities in the country. Shining Path wanted freedom from what it saw as a capitalist system, led by light-skinned *criollos* on the coast.[27] The government and military response was based on protecting the existing power structure and defending against a threat to that social stability. Fueled by racism and distrust, the forces often targeted dark-skinned *indios*.[28]

Complicating the Chaos: The MRTA

In 1984, a new terrorist group arrived on the already complicated political scene. On January 24, the Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru (MRTA) assassinated the Commissary of Villa El Salvador, in the department of Lima. Although the MRTA and Shining Path were both committed to armed leftist revolutions, the two groups did not

collaborate, but competed for territory.[29] Unlike Shining Path, MRTA's presence was strongest in northeast jungle province of Junín.

A National Crisis

As the military cracked down in Ayacucho, Shining Path expanded into other parts of the country. By 1986, the departments of Junín, Puno, and Huánuco all saw drastic increases in terrorist acts committed.[30] In 1989, the national government began shipping arms to rural communities to defend themselves against Shining Path.[31] During Alan García's first presidency (1985-1990), approximately 140 people were dying from political violence each month.[32]
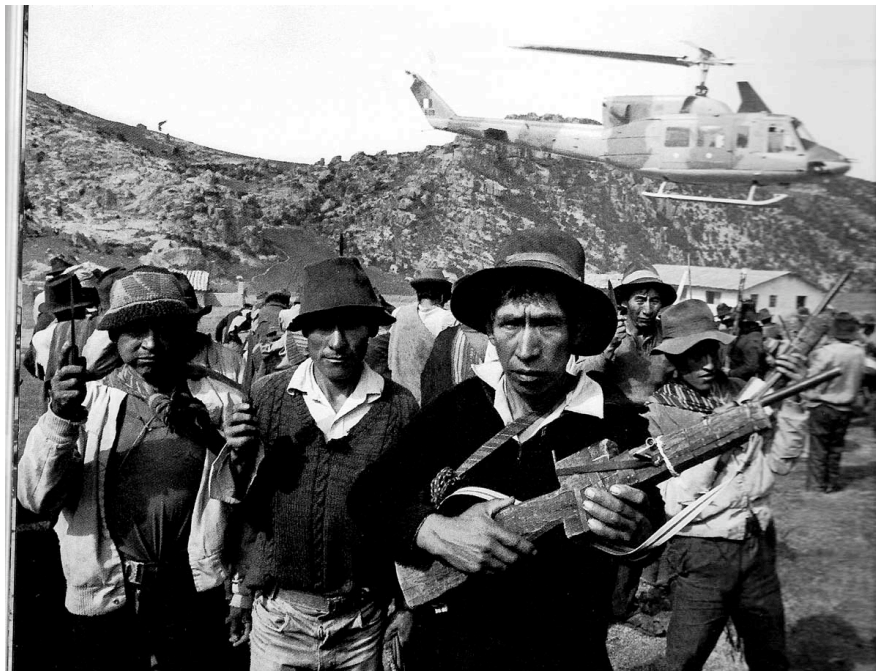
Figure 2-2. After Shining Path militants massacred civilians in Chuppac, Huancavelica in 1990, some communities formed *rondos,* or militias, and were armed by the national military. (Photograph by Jorge Torres, *Revista Gente*. From the book *Yuyanapaq: Para Recordar)*

Decline in Violence and the Fall of Fujimori

Alberto Fujimori began his presidential term in July of 1990. In August, he declared a state of emergency in 11 provinces. His government quickly passed a law that allowed crimes committed by police and military in state of emergency zones to be tried in military courts. On April 5, 1992, Fujimori dissolved the parliament and reorganized the judiciary, giving him authoritarian powers; it was considered an *autogolpe,* or a self-inflicted coup.

The capture of Abimael Guzmán in September of 1992 marked the decline of the Shining Path, but the country was not free of terrorism. On December 17, 1996, a group of MRTA militants attacked the residence of the Japanese Ambassador and took nearly 500 hostages. Most were let go, but 72 remained captive for four months until the government intervened. The military stormed the embassy and freed the hostages; all 14 of the MRTA members died in the operation.

The year 2000 saw the fall of the Fujimori dictatorship. The head of the National Intelligence Service, Vladmiro Montesinos, was caught paying $15,000 to a member of the congressional opposition for him to switch sides and give Fujimori's party a majority in parliament. Fujimori resigned in November. Two weeks later, the provisional government created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR) to investigate human rights abuses that had occurred during the last two decades.

Consequences of the Conflict: A Traumatized People

> *The consequences of the internal armed conflict weigh like a large mortgage on our future…The first step toward overcoming those consequences is that the country recognize, in all its dimensions, the horror experienced between 1980 and 2000.*
> - CVR Final Report conclusions[33]

The result of two decades of conflict was a devastating human and economic loss as well as a lasting psychological trauma. The Commission concluded that the conflict was "the most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of violence in the entire history of the Republic." [34] Nearly 70,000 people died or went missing, more than in all of the foreign and civil wars in Peruvian history combined. Most of the victims lived in rural areas, were uneducated and spoke a native language such as Quechua or Aymara. According to the commission, this discrepancy in victims illustrated the "veiled racism and scornful attitudes that persist in Peruvian society almost two centuries after its birth as a Republic." [35]

The CVR found that the conflict resulted in the "massive destruction of the productive infrastructure and the loss of social capital and economic opportunities." [36] It also "destroyed the democratic order, worsened poverty and deepened inequality, aggravated forms of discrimination and exclusion, weakened social and emotional networks and fostered a culture of fear and distrust." [37]

Even for those not directly affected by the violence, sometimes people experience trauma through the collective memory of a given group .[38] All of these consequences illustrate the need for national reconciliation in Peru.

Conflict Theory

Constructive Versus Destructive Conflict

One major concept in conflict theory is that not all conflicts are bad. Constructive conflicts and healthy competition can lead to creative innovations and positive social change.[39] Destructive conflicts, on the other hand, have

negative effects on society. They are marked by a breakdown in communication

and a zero-sum perspective in which there are clear winners and losers.[40]

Destructive conflicts use up valuable resources and time that could be used for

other, more productive purposes. Looking at the negative economic and social

consequences of Peru's 20-year conflict, it is clear that it was extremely

destructive in nature.

For those involved, destructive conflicts can cause psychological damage

such as depression, alcoholism and post–traumatic stress syndrome.[41] If societal

traumas are not treated, they can be passed on to following generations. Prolonged

destructive conflicts can cause damage to relationships between people and

groups.

Elements of Reconciliation

The process of repairing these broken relationships is called reconciliation.

Although there are many slightly different definitions of reconciliation, Pruitt and Kim

concluded that most researchers agree on two points:

1) Effective, sustainable reconciliation has to deal with the painful past
   and at the same time devise a shared future; and
2) It should contain at minimum, the following set of ingredients as
   named by Lederach (1997): truth, forgiveness, justice, and peace."[42]

These four ingredients of reconciliation will be addressed in further detail below.

Truth

Establishing the truth about facts that occurred in the past is an important first step

in the reconciliation process. Revisiting the past can be extremely difficult for different

parties in a conflict. Victims may not want to relive their pain and suffering, while

victimizers and bystanders may not want to confront their shame and guilt.[43] Establishing

the facts can also avoid historical inaccuracies:

> Victims tend to overplay their suffering, while perpetrators tend to
> downplay their role in creating suffering. This produces tension between
> victims and perpetrators, which is often passed on to future generations.
> Thus, victims recount stories of their suffering – via novels, songs and
> history books—with the hope that their descendents will avenge their
> suffering. And perpetrators pass on embellished or rationalized versions of
> what they have done.[44]

Establishing an agreed-upon version of the truth can prevent the conflict

from resurfacing in future generations.

Forgiveness

Forgiveness involves "letting go of the desire for vengeance." [45] It can be either

intrapersonal or interpersonal. Intrapersonal forgiveness is unconditional and one-sided.

Interpersonal forgiveness involves a transaction between two or more parties, such as a

victim forgiving victimizers *on the condition* that they are remorseful and apologize.

Research has found that interpersonal forgiveness is often more effective.[46]

Justice

Justice can be either retributive or restorative. Retributive justice involves

handing out the appropriate punishment to the perpetrator.[47] Restorative justice takes a

more holistic approach by assuming that the crime harms the victim, but also the offender

and the entire community.[48] Restorative justice then aims to repair the harm done to all of

these groups by involving all of the stakeholders in the crime.

Peace

Pruitt and Kim distinguish between positive and negative peace. "Negative peace

is only the halting of violence. Positive peace means promoting harmony, unity,

cooperation, and security among all parties affected by a conflict." [49] One way of promoting positive peace is by creating "shared identities" and "institutionalized procedures" for resolving conflicts in the future.[50]

Making the Link: How Photography Might Promote Reconciliation

There are several reasons why photographs could potentially play a unique role in achieving the different elements of reconciliation.

Photography: The Universal Language

Photography is an extremely valuable medium of communication because it is universally understood. This is not to say that all people who view the photographs will draw the same conclusions, but using photographs overcomes several socio-economic and linguistic barriers. Overcoming these barriers is critical, especially in a diverse and economically stratified country such as Peru.

Not all Peruvians can read the 5,000 page final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report was written in Spanish, even though about a fifth of the population speaks a native language, such as Quechua, and not Spanish.[51] As mentioned, the majority of the victims spoke a native language other than Spanish. Other challenges include education and socio-economic status. Approximately 15 percent of Peru's adult population is illiterate.[52] That number is even higher for women and indigenous populations, those most affected by the violence. Photographs are able to overcome these barriers because anyone, regardless of language, socio-economic status, or education level, can interpret a photograph. Because the Commission is trying to promote reconciliation among all parts of Peruvian society, including groups that were

previously excluded from decision-making, photography is useful way to communicate that message.

Images and Memory: Cognitive Image Processing

Photographs have a swifter and more succinct impact than words, an impact that is instantaneous, visceral, and intense.

Vicki Goldberg[53]

Photographs are a very efficient medium of communication in that they can a) transmit large amounts of information in a short amount of time, and b) this information is easily retained in long-term memory.[54] In other words, people can learn a lot from a picture and remember it for a long time.

Figure 2-3. Using brain imaging techniques, Solso and his researchers observed subjects brains as they (A)listened to spoken words and (B) followed a moving object with their eyes.[55]

The brain physically processes images differently than words (see Figure 2-3).[56] This is the basis of photo-elicitation, an interview technique that uses photographs. Researchers have found that images elicit different kinds of information from people than words do.[57] "Lifelike images produce responses that closely resemble our reactions to actual people and events." [58] Therefore, it is important to look specifically at photographs and try to understand how they affect people. If photography does, in fact, promote

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reconciliation, then it is even more useful because the lessons are likely to be remembered. This could help achieve the goal of "sustainability" that is needed for lasting reconciliation.

Exposure Therapy

Revisiting a traumatic event can eventually lead to healing. This is the idea behind prolonged exposure therapy, where a patient is asked to "vividly recount a traumatic event repeatedly until the patient's emotional response decreases" and to "gradually confront safe, but fear-evoking trauma reminders." [59] A recent study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* found that such prolonged exposure therapy significantly helped female U.S. military veterans recover from post-traumatic stress syndrome.[60] "Exposure therapy is a bit counterintuitive because it forces the patient to focus on the traumatic event that caused the PTSD in hopes of taking away some of its power."[61]

Because they store so much information and often elicit intense and personal responses from viewers, photographs could serve as a way to revisit traumatic events from the past. For those who had particularly traumatic personal experiences with the conflict, revisiting the memories could help with the healing process.

Photography as Evidence

One purpose of the *Yuyanapaq* project is to provide evidence or proof that the violence occurred. Like images from war or concentration camps, photographs are often seen as accurate depictions of what happened. "Bearing witness is what photographs do best. The fact that what is represented on paper undeniably existed, if only for a moment, is the ultimate source of the medium's extraordinary powers of persuasion."[62]

However, not all viewers interpret photographs as neutral and objective. Shortly after the discovery of photography, people learned to manipulate the images. "The very truthfulness of the new medium encouraged its deliberate use as a means of propaganda."[63] Advances in digital photography have made altering images even easier, which could decrease viewers' trust in the medium. Manipulation aside, some argue that photographs are inherently anything but objective. Photographers choose what to include in the frame, what to leave out and when to press the shutter. These decisions can drastically change the tone and meaning of a photograph. Critics of photography, such as Susan Sontag, argue that photographs are more like paintings and other forms of art in that they reflect the biases and choices of the photographer.[64] It could be argued that photographs represent someone's perspective of an event rather than an objective reality.

Gatekeeping

Another reason why photographs may not depict an objective reality is through the editing process. By its definition, editing means selecting certain images while leaving others out. The process of filtering out what should be passed on to the public and discarding other information is known as gatekeeping.[65]

A previous study of photographic gatekeeping at newspapers found that picture editors' choices were influenced by the editors' characteristics and personal biases as well as the newsroom culture.[66]

Social Construction of Reality

Why is gatekeeping important? Some scholars believe it can shape people's view of reality. Gamson and his colleagues wrote, "We walk around with media-generated images of the world, using them to construct meaning about political and social issues.

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The lens through which we receive these images is not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of the political and economic elites who operate and focus it."[67]

Imagery plays an important role in the social construction of reality. "Images are, on the one hand, reproductions, but they have a second meaning as well: a mental picture of something not real or present."[68]

Research Questions and Hypotheses

To better understand the intended message of *Yuyanapaq,* it is important to look at the context in which project was created, as well as the personal backgrounds of the curators. The first three research questions address the creation of the exhibit and the intended message of the photographs:

> **RQ1: How was the Yuyanapaq photography project put together?**
>
> **RQ2: According to the curators, what was the intended message of the exhibit? What were their criteria when selecting photographs?**
>
> **RQ3: How did the curators' personal backgrounds affect their choices when selecting photographs for the exhibit and the book?**

Understanding the intended message is only half the story. One must also look at how that message is received. Even if a photographer or editor wanted to communicate a specific idea, it does not mean that the viewers will necessarily see the photograph in the same way. Individuals interpret photographs differently based on a variety of factors, such as context, social location and a person's prior experiences.[69] The result is that "information extracted from an image can be quite independent of the intention of its maker." [70] Although the Commission members and *Yuyanapaq* curators may have had a specific message, it is possible that the viewers took away different meanings. For this

reason, it is important to study the effects of the photographs on the people who view them.

The second set of research questions is meant to better understand the effects of the *Yuyanapaq* photographs on viewers with regards to the different elements of reconciliation. A factor analysis (discussed in greater detail in the chapter on methods) found that seven elements of reconciliation could be reduced to four variables: "truth," "forgiveness", "faith in government" and "resentment." The research questions are as follows:

RQ4: **Does viewing the *Yuyanapaq* photographs change the viewers' confidence that they know the truth about what happened during the conflict?**

RQ5: **Does viewing the *Yuyanapaq* photographs change viewers' level of forgiveness towards those who they feel are responsible for the conflict?**

RQ6: **Does viewing the *Yuyanapaq* photographs change viewers' faith in the national government?**

RQ7: **Does viewing the *Yuyanapaq* photographs change viewers' overall feelings of resentment?**

The literature reviewed above suggests that photography would be a useful tool to promote reconciliation. Therefore, this study makes the following hypotheses:

H1:   People who have seen the photographs will feel more confident that they understand the truth about what happened during the conflict.

H2:   People who have seen the photographs will feel more forgiveness towards the perpetrators of the conflict.

H3:   People who have seen the photographs will have more faith in the national government.

H4:   People who have seen the photographs will feel less resentment.

CHAPTER 3

Methods

In order to address the seven research questions, two separate methods were used: semi-structured personal interviews and a posttest-only experiment.

Semi-Structured Personal Interviews

To learn how the *Yuyanapaq* project came about and how the images for the exhibits and the book were chosen, personal interviews were conducted with the curators of the *Yuyanapaq* project, Nancy Chappell and Mayu Mohanna. The interviews were semi-structured in that the researcher had prepared a list of general themes and questions (see Appendix H), but the curators could freely talk about additional points and expand on their ideas.

Semi-structured interviews are one of the most common techniques used in small-scale educational research.[71] One of the greatest benefits of this method is flexibility. The course of the interview, both the responses and the questions, can change as new information is revealed. This allows the researcher to follow up on responses and ask more probing questions. It allows the interview subjects to talk at length and, therefore, reveal more information.[72] A semi-structured interview is an efficient technique for small-scale research, but it is unreasonable to use this method for a large number of interview subjects.[73] Another drawback of interviewing is that the results cannot be generalized.[74] Because the *Yuyanapaq* photography project is unique among truth and reconciliation commissions, this study is not attempting to find generalizeable results,

rather information specific to the creators of the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit. Interviewing is, therefore, an acceptable method for this paper.

The interviews were done together in Mohanna's home on June 18, 2007 and were conducted in a mix of Spanish and English.[75] Most of the questions were asked in English, and the responses were given in Spanish, the curators' native language. This was done to allow the curators to feel more comfortable and therefore give more detailed and lengthy responses. The curators consented to have the interview recorded using a digital recording device.

Posttest-Only Experiment

To answer RQs 4 through 7, a two-group, posttest-only experiment was conducted. A total of 109 questionnaires were collected over a two-week period; 55 questionnaires were completed by people as they entered the exhibit and 54 were given to people who were exiting.

Experiment Design		
R1	X	O1
R2		O2

A two-group posttest-only design is one of the simplest forms of experiments.[76] In this design, two groups are randomly assigned to two conditions, either having seen the photographs , or not. This was done by approaching people as they were entering or exiting the exhibit. One group of people, those exiting the exhibit, was exposed to a treatment (X), in this case, exposure to the *Yuyanapaq* photographs; the other served as a control group. The two groups are then observed (O) and compared.

A posttest-only experiment has many benefits. Despite its simplicity, it is "one of the best research designs for assessing cause-effect relationships."[77] In contrast to a pretest-posttest model, in which the same people would take the questionnaire before and after seeing the photographs, the subjects of a posttest-only experiment are not de-sensitized by having seen the questions beforehand.[78] By only using a posttest, the experiment is also simpler and less expensive than a pretest-posttest model.[79] By using random assignment to the conditions of being exposed to the photographs or not, outside explanations are eliminated. A posttest-only experiment assumes that both groups have a similar mix of backgrounds, experiences and demographics; the only difference is that one group has seen the exhibit, and one has not. A drawback of the use of a questionnaire as an instrument is that detailed responses cannot be collected.

Procedure

The experiment involved minimal risk to the participants. Every third person was approached. The first ten questionnaires were given to people as they came in, and the next ten were given to people as they left the exhibit. This was repeated over a two-week period. A script was read in Spanish to inform participants about the purpose of the study and to assure them that their participation would be voluntary, anonymous and solely for academic purposes (see Appendices D and E). If visitors were younger than 18 or did not speak Spanish, they were not given a questionnaire. In order not to exclude illiterates, participants were given the option to fill out the questionnaire themselves or have it read to them.

Figure 3-1. Visitors to the *Yuyanapaq* photography exhibit at the *Museo de la Nación* in Lima, Peru fill out questionnaires for this research project as a security guard walks past the exhibit's opening photograph. (Photograph by Robin Hoecker)

Questionnaire Design

The 17-question questionnaire was divided into three parts (see Appendices F and G). The first section, questions 1-6, collected demographic information including age, gender, primary language and region of residency. Because the conflict displaced large groups of people,[80] one question also asked where subjects lived during the peak of violence in the provinces (1980-1990). The independent variable, exposure to the *Yuyanapaq* photographs, was recorded on the questionnaires as they were handed in. This was operationalized as either "exposed" or "not exposed," based on whether visitors were entering or exiting the exhibit.

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The second section, questions 7-10, measured how participants were personally affected by the conflict. These questions were loosely based on an instrument called the "Harvard Trauma Questionnaire," which was developed to measure "a variety of trauma events, as well as the emotional symptoms considered to be uniquely associated with trauma."[81] There are currently six official versions of the questionnaire that have been used in six different countries. Other researchers have since adapted it for use in other areas, such as Lebanon and Rwanda.[82] This questionnaire asked participants about their experience with 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."

For each trauma situation, respondents could choose between five responses: "It happened to me;" "I witnessed it;" "I heard about it;" "It didn't happen to me, nor did I hear anything about it;" "I didn't live in Peru at the time;" and "I prefer not to respond." Respondents could circle more than one answer. The question was operationalized into two categories: either having direct experience or not having direct experience. Those people who marked "It happened to me" or "I witnessed it" were labeled as having direct experience. All other responses were labeled as not having direct experience. For those respondents who marked more than one answer, the answer with the highest level of experience was taken. For example, if someone marked "I witnessed it" and "I heard about it," this person was labeled as having direct experience. A person who marked only "I heard about it" was categorized as not having direct experience.

The final section of the questionnaire, questions 11-17, sought to measure the respondents' attitudes regarding seven different elements of reconciliation: truth,

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forgiveness, hope, justice, trust, anger and holding a grudge. The seven questions were developed based on the conflict literature, as well as on the questionnaire used by Staub and his colleagues to measure the effectiveness of conflict resolution workshops in post-conflict Rwanda.[83] The possible answers were operationalized on a Likert-type scale with five responses that ranged from negative to positive: 1="disagree strongly," 2="disagree,"; 3="neutral,"; 4="agree"; 5="agree strongly."

Plans for the study, including the interview questions, the questionnaire script and questionnaire, were reviewed and approved by the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board in May of 2007.

Data Analysis

The researcher, who understands Spanish, translated and transcribed the approximately two-hour-long interview with the *Yuyanapaq* curators. María Ines Miró-Quesada, a Peruvian graduate student at the University of Missouri and a native Spanish speaker, listened to the entire interview and checked the translation to make sure it was correct.

The data gathered from the questionnaires were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Data Reduction

A factor analysis was performed on the seven statements about different elements of reconciliation. They did not all load onto a single factor, but three factors (see Table 3-1). "Truth" stood out as its own variable. "Hope," "justice" and "trust" loaded on another factor (Chronbach's Alpha = .675). The new variable, calculated by taking the mean of hope, justice and trust, was renamed "faith in government." "Anger," "grudge" and the

reverse of "forgiveness" also loaded on a single factor. However, the reliability was much

higher if the "forgiveness" factor was removed (Chronbach's Alpha =.756). Therefore,

"forgiveness" was left as a separate variable. A Pearson's correlation between "anger"

and "grudge" was highly significant (r=.612, p<.01). The new variable, calculated by

taking the mean score of "anger" and "grudge," was named "resentment." After the factor

analysis, the four remaining variables that measure elements of reconciliation were:

"truth," "forgiveness," "faith in government" and "resentment."

Table 3-1. Factors Yielded

Elements of Reconciliation	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Anger	.66		
Grudge	.88		
Reverse of Forgiveness	.83		
Eigenvalue	2.14 (30.59)		
Hope		.85	
Justice		.71	
Trust		.75	
Eigenvalue		1.69 (24.19)	
Truth			.94
Eigenvalue			1.03 (14.66)

Note: Percent of variance explained in parentheses

Independent Samples T-Test

An independent samples t-test was used to measure for effects of viewing the photographs on viewers' readiness to reconcile. The respondents were categorized into two groups, those who had just seen the photographs and those who had not entered the exhibit yet. The mean scores for these two groups were then compared for each dependent variable. The independent variable was "exposure to the *Yuyanapaq* photographs," and the dependent variables were the four elements of reconciliation: "truth," "forgiveness," "faith in government" and "resentment."

CHAPTER 4

Interview Results

Nancy Chappell and Mayu Mohanna have clearly spent plenty of time thinking about the relationship between photography and reconciliation. As the two official curators of the *Yuyanapaq* photography project, they have spoken at many different venues throughout Peru as well as in the United States and Europe. Because of this, the two women had already prepared a PowerPoint presentation that illustrated how *Yuyanapaq* came to exist. The course of the interview, therefore, flipped back and forth between their presentation and the researcher's prepared questions. The conversation that took place provided much insight into the different stages of creating the exhibit and the criteria that the editors used to select photographs.

Curators' Backgrounds

Mayu Mohanna, 39, currently works as an independent photographer and curator. She grew up in Chimbote, Peru, about six hours north of Lima, and moved to the capital city to attend the University of Lima. She graduated in 1990 with a

Figure 4-1. Mayu Mohnna sketches plans for the original Yuyanapaq exhibit in Chorrillos, Lima. (Photograph by Nancy Chappell)

degree in Communications. After college, Mohanna worked as a photojournalist and graphic editor for about 10 years, including at the newspaper *El Comercio*.

Figure 4-2. Nancy Chappell
(Photograph by Nancy Chappell)

Nancy Chappell, 42, is currently an editor and photographer at the newspaper *El Comercio* in Lima, Peru. A native of Lima (Callao), she graduated from the University of Lima with a degree in Communications in 1988. She has worked as an editor and photographer at a variety of different newspapers, magazines, and photo agencies in Peru.

Nuts and Bolts: The Making of *Yuyanapaq*

The original idea for the *Yuyanapaq* project came about through a series of discussions with the press office of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR). "There was a woman there who had a lot of appreciation for photography," said Chappell. "At some point, she talked with Mayu and me, saying, 'what should be done with the photography from that time?" Eventually, the task was given to Mayu Mohanna.

"Look, all of us photojournalists know each other," said Mohanna, who, at the time had just finished curating two major photography exhibits. She also had 10 years of photojournalism and editing experience at different newspapers and magazines in Peru, including *El Comercio*. "What she did was ask me, what did I think the role of photography was, and how did I envision this role?"

Mohanna proposed the project that would eventually become *Yuyanapaq*:

- create a digital image bank that would be accessible to researchers and the public;

- build a photography exhibit in Lima, as well as traveling exhibits in the provinces;
- publish a book of images.

"But then the Commission had to consider and approve it, which took months," said Chappell. "It was so hard to come up with a budget and create a team. Mayu called me, and we had to bring in two other editors as well."

Chappell and Mohanna began working on the project in April 2002. With the help of two additional editors and two production assistants, they spent the next 14 months poring through thousands of images in what often turned out to be poorly organized archives across the country. The team selected and scanned 1700 photographs and organized a digital image bank. They assembled a central exhibit in Lima that included 250 images, as well as smaller exhibits of 40 photographs in five provinces. The five smaller exhibits are identical except each one has one photograph that is particularly relevant to the region. They also edited and published a 150-page, large format book that featured about 100 photographs. "We practically didn't sleep, said Mohanna. "We could have spent five years doing this, and it still wouldn't be finished. If you don't have concrete deadlines, everything would just grow and grow and grow."

The creation of *Yuyanapaq* occurred in two phases: investigation and production. The investigation phase involved finding archives, searching for and selecting photographs and doing historical research. The production phase dealt with the physical construction of the exhibits, the publication and printing of the book, and the creation of the image bank. While other people helped with the editing and production, Mohanna and Chappell were the only two people who worked on both phases.

Phase I: Investigation

Mohanna was in charge during the investigation phase. She brought on three people to help her with this task: Nancy Chappell, Cecilia Durand and Paolo Aguilar, all of who had photojournalism and visual editing experience. "We needed people who were capable of making decisions, for example, faced with 100 photographs and having to pick out the three best ones," said Mohanna. She added:

> Truthfully, the four of us made our decisions very quickly. The
> opportunities to rake through and investigate an archive are not unlimited.
> You have to get permission. And then they give you everything they have.
> You have to look at 20 years, thousands of photos and decide, these are
> the ones that we need. And so the four people on this team had to have the
> criteria of an editor.

The investigators began by making a list of possible archives that included newspapers, magazines, human rights organizations, the Catholic Church, police and military files, independent photographers and the victims' family albums. The list of possible sources kept growing, said Chappell. "We would go to a place, and they would say, have you gone through the archives of so-and-so?" By the end, the list included about 90 archives.

The investigating team had no problems gaining access to the files. "The majority are friends of ours, people we have worked with over the years," Mohanna said. Just in case, though, the investigators also carried letters of support from the Commission. "It was good for credibility," said Chappell.

 In many of the archives, the negatives were poorly organized. "The agreement was that we would return the 20 years of photographs to them, edited," said Mohanna. "In every case, they agreed." The *Yuyanapaq* editors had a system of coding the

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negatives. For example a photograph labeled "PRE-Come-57," came from the press, from the newspaper *El Comercio*, and was number 57. The editors then scanned the photographs in low resolution, so they could have a digital library of the images when making selections for the exhibit and the book. Once they made their final choices, the editors went back to the archives to make high-resolution scans.

Different Archives, Different Slants

Both curators commented on the biases that became evident when they were looking through the various archives. ""One event could be covered in five newspapers, but they were all different," said Chappell. Mohanna added, "You realize what kind of news story each newspaper wants to tell." Mohanna said this was more the result of the editing process, not the photographers' work.

> A photojournalist isn't thinking about what the newspaper wants to say. Intuitively, you are going to cover everything that you see. But later, the photo editors at newspaper and media outlets, they respond to the political line of the newspaper or magazine. And what gets published the next day, in reality, reflects the vision of that newspaper.

Looking back with the knowledge of the conflict's history, the curators were more able to notice the different media biases than when the events were happening. "Looking at everything that happened, looking at everything together, you start to see differences," Mohanna said.

Criteria When Selecting Photographs

Faced with so many images, the investigation team had to develop clear objectives when making selections for the exhibit and the book. According to Mohanna, the editors had two parallel goals: explaining the chronology of events and communicating the suffering of the victims:

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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 photographs of those events, and another goal, that was much more subjective, which was to find photographs that spoke to us through the victims and their pain.

To illustrate this point, Mohanna showed a photograph [see Figure 4-3 by Juan Manuel Vilca, *La Republica*] of a woman searching for the body of a relative in Ayacucho. It is the opening photograph in the book, *Yuyanapaq*.

We were able to find photographs of Lucanamarca [where Shining Path fighters killed 69 peasants on April 3,1983]. But this one was taken on a different day…. It could be any day in the morgue. This photograph is not documenting any specific, historical event that took place, one that people remember, but it was a photo that described this woman and her pain.

Figure 4-3. A peasant woman stands by the corpse of a relative in Ayacucho, 1983. (Photograph by Juan Manuel Vilca, *Diario La Republica)*.

In other words, this photograph does not document the massacre itself, rather the pain and suffering that it caused.

Respecting the Dignity of the Victims

Respecting the dignity of the victims was very important when choosing photographs. "We're not talking about pictures from the 1600s," said Chappell. "…These victims had children, mothers and fathers, and you have to be careful with that." The editors knew that many of the victims' families would see the book and visit the exhibits. When possible, the editors invited the victims' families to come see the photographs before the exhibit was unveiled. They wanted to understand how the families would react. In one case, the father of one of the eight journalists killed in Uchurracay said he wanted to see more blood, not less. "There were pictures of his son in horrible conditions," said Chappell. "The man was crying and said, people need to see this." Mohanna added, "For him, the worst part wasn't seeing the pictures, the worst part was that people hadn't listened to him [before the exhibit and the CVR]." In the end, the editors decided not to use the most graphic images of the man's son.

Handling Graphic Violence

The editors generally chose to show the more abstract theme of suffering rather than the physical evidence of the violence. "If you look at the exhibit, there are very few photos of blood, of dead people," said Mohanna. "I think out of 250 photos, there are six that deal with what happened during those 20 years, in terms of the horror."

The editors had had to strike a delicate balance between a) accurately representing the events of a 20-year violent conflict in which 70,000 people died or disappeared, and b) using photographs that would not disgust people to the extent that they would reject the exhibit and its message. "You can't tell the history of a war with easy-to-look-at

pictures," said Chappell. "It would be contradictory. War and pain go together. It was really difficult. You have to tell the story, but up to what point do you show everything?"

When looking at images of graphic violence, Mohanna emphasized the difference between photographs taken to provide evidence, and photographs taken to tell a story to a broader audience. For example, the police, military and the Catholic Church often took photographs for forensic reasons. "The police try to provide evidence, that someone's head was cut off….But a photojournalist isn't working with the same mentality," Chappell said. "A photojournalist tells a story, they communicate what happened, but not in a way that you aren't going to be able to look at the picture." This is what Mohanna referred to as the "marvel of photography:"

> We consciously tried to create an exhibit that had the power of evidence, but we are photojournalists. We chose to communicate the message in a way that people wanted to look at that message, and wouldn't reject it….Photography is beautiful. It is contradictory that it is beautiful….It can turn an image of horror into something sublime.

A good illustration of *Yuyanapaq* team's editing philosophy is the picture of Celestino Ccente, who suffered wounds after being attacked with a machete in Ayacucho by Shining Path militants. The photograph was taken by Oscar Medrano for the magazine *Caretas,* but it was never published. Instead, another image ran of the man in which his bandage is raised, showing a gruesome and disfigured eye. Mohanna said the Yuyanapaq editors chose to use the version *with* the bandage:

> For us, this photo (with the bandage) dignifies the victim. And this one (without the bandage) documents the evidence of what happened, of the pain. But you can still see the pain in this [uncovered] eye. And for us, this one is much stronger than the other one. We made decisions like this all the time.

Figure 4-4. Portrait of Celistino Ccente
(Photograph by Oscar Medrano, *Caretas)*.

Iconic Images and Collective Memory

The Medrano photograph of Celestino Ccente has become an icon for the work of

the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru. This was an intentional effort by the

editors. Having studied communications, Mohanna was very aware of how to best

communicate the message of the exhibit so that it would be remembered:

> From the beginning, we knew we had to choose images that were very
> symbolic, that would become icons and create a visual memory that would
> reject violence. And now, we think we have achieved these icons. If you
> showed the average Peruvian the photograph of the hands [by Vera Lenz],
> or if you show the photo of the man with the covered eye [by Oscar
> Medrano], these images are in their visual memory…. It is incredible,
> when people look at that photo, they think terrorism, violence, the CVR.

Although the editors tried to apply logic when choosing images, sometimes their decisions were made simply based on intuition. According to Mohanna, "There are some things that you feel with your head, and some things that you feel with your heart."

Phase II: Production

Once the photographs were edited, the work shifted to the production phase, which consisted of creating the image database, building the exhibits and publishing the book. During this phase, Mohanna and Chappell became co-curators and replaced the other two editors with two people to help with the production: Javier Prado Gálvez and Denise Okuyama. Mohanna said curating is very different from editing. "Working as a curator, you're in charge of everything, the text, the photos, the graphics, the gallery…. A visual editor works with the photos. A curator works with the space, in three dimensions."

The space that the curators had to work with was the Casa Riva Aguero, an old mansion in the Chorrillos neighborhood of Lima. The house was lent to the curators by the Universidad Católica, whose rector at the time, Salmon Lerner Febres, also happened to be the chairman of the CVR. The house in Chorrillos was in a state of disrepair, which Mohanna and the production team decided to use creatively. "The idea was: a house destroyed, a country destroyed; a house in the process of renovation and restoration, and the country in the same process of recovery, of reconciliation," said Mohanna. "And so, in a room, we fixed three of the walls, but left the fourth wall destroyed. For us, it was just like the country that was in the process of healing." Furthering the theme of healing, the exhibit also featured white cloths, which were hung throughout the space. The cloths have multiple meanings. "The idea behind the white cloths is that they can symbolize

death [pointing to the shrouds wrapped around the cadaver in the book's opening image]," said Chappell, "But they can also symbolize cleansing [like the gauze covering Celestino Ccente's disfigured eye]."

The white cloths were a way to maintain a kind of coherence within the exhibit once it changed locations. The *Yuyanapaq* exhibit was originally planned to be on display in Chorrillos for only three months. But, due to the high volume of people going through the house (up to 2,000 per day), and after repeated requests by the curators, the University allowed the exhibit to occupy the house for 19 months.

Once the museum closed at Chorrillos, Chappell and Mohanna began creating a virtual version of the exhibit. "The CD was a way to keep the project alive," said Mohanna. "We started working on the virtual museum the day the house closed. And we finished it on the day that the new exhibit was inaugurated."

Eventually, a new location was found for the exhibit: the sixth floor of the *Museo de le Nación* in Lima. Originally constructed to house a Ministry of Fishing, the *Museo de la Nación* is a seven-story concrete block that sits next to the pollution-clogged freeway Javier Prado. The building provides a very different atmosphere than the house in Chorrillos.

"It is cold," said Chappell of the Museo. "We had to admit that we were in a museum. We would like to have a permanent space that we could build as a kind of memorial, but we had to use the space that we were able to get."

Organization of the Exhibit

Although the ambiance is different, both exhibits were essentially organized the same way. The main differences are that the exhibit at the museum does not have a room

dedicated to widows or to armed civilians in Lima, but it does include a wall with excerpts from the CVR's conclusions, as well as a room with guestbook comments from the previous exhibition.

Much thought was put into the organization of the photographs, both in the exhibit and the book. The photographs are primarily organized chronologically. The 27 rooms at Chorrillos were divided into time periods, which the Commission had just established for its report. Within those time periods, different rooms were designated to cover specific incidents, such as the killing of the journalists at Uchuraccay, or themes, such as orphans. To decide which time period a themed room like orphans would fall under, Chappell and Mohanna consulted with the historians working at the Commission to find out which years saw the highest increases in orphaned children. In this way, the exhibit was as historically accurate as possible.

Commission Oversight

Although they had hired Mohanna and her teams to put the photography project together, the Commissioners themselves had very little oversight over the photographic project. According to Mohanna:

> They gave us a lot of independence. Our work was done in parallel to theirs. We continued to make progress, and we informed them about what we were doing. But, sincerely, we never had any criticisms. They never controlled us, but trusted us, probably, because we were very committed to, and we firmly believed in, what the CVR was doing. We were working with the same mentality.

Although not obligated to do so, Chappell said that the investigation and production teams did, at times, consult with members of the Commission. For example, the *Yuyanapaq* editors collaborated with the CVR historians to make sure what they were

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showing was historically accurate. During production, the curators had a political specialist on the Commission check over the text and captions for the exhibit and the book. "We were a team," said Chappell. "No one was competing."

Influence of Personal Experience

Both Mohanna and Chappel said their personal experience with the terrorism had little influence on their editorial decisions.

Mohanna grew up in Chimbote, a province about six hours north of Lima that experienced very little violence during the conflict. She studied Communications at the University of Lima in the early 1990s and started working as a journalist when the terrorism was winding down following the capture of Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán. Mohanna said none of her family or close friends were harmed by the conflict. When asked if her lack of direct experience helped her make her decisions for *Yuyanapaq*, Mohanna replied:

> I think that it is very important that we are both photographers, that we were both photojournalists. I feel like compassion is more important, to consider what a victim might go through when visiting an exhibit like this. It's important to have the feeling that your country is mistaken, and that the entire nation needs to heal together. I think there are more important things linked to the exhibit than whether or not you had personal experience with the terrorism. I don't know, really, if I had someone close to me who was a victim, maybe I would have lost some of my objectivity. Maybe, I don't know. Maybe if someone in my family died, maybe I would have been out in the streets, using my voice in a different way than through photography. I don't know.

In contrast with Mohanna, Chappell had some closer calls with terrorism in Lima, where she has lived all her life. Two of her journalism colleagues died in separate terrorist attacks, both times soon after talking with Chappell. Another time, while walking with her sister near Jockey Plaza in Lima, she saw a radio tower fall right in

front of them. She also passed an armed attack as it was taking place at a shopping area, and another at a car dealership in Lima. "They had blown up Mitsubishi and people died….I saw people running and machine guns."

Most of Chappell's experience with terrorism was through her job as a journalist. When community leader Elena Maria Moyano was assassinated by the Shining Path, Chappell was one of the first people to arrive on the scene. "I remember I saw her leg, and pieces of her body, you couldn't believe it was the same woman that everyone loved, that I had photographed two months before at a conference."

But what seemed to affect Chappell the most was the day she was sent out to cover a *paro armado,* or an armed strike:

> Anyone who went to work would be killed….No one went to work. And they sent me out to photograph that. I was on the main highway, and they [terrorists] were throwing rocks at me and waving flags. That was the first time that I really felt aware of it. Panic entered me, panic that practically paralyzed me. I just wanted to turn around and go home….On the way back, I was with the driver and the writer in the car, and we heard on the radio, a call out to all journalists asking, who is near Canada Avenue, on block 20? something like that. And we said, oh, we're at block 19. They had just burned a taxi driver alive. And for me, it was a man like my father at the time, in his 50s. When we got there, there was still smoke coming from the person that they had just burned. And he had a face, you can imagine, death, burned, a face full of pain, screaming, holding onto the steering wheel… I got back to my house and vomited and vomited and vomited and vomited. And I cried and I cried and I cried. And I thought, I can't photograph this anymore. I'm done.

Chappell had lost her faith in photography. She and other journalists felt that the photographs were serving the interests of the terrorists, who thrived on the publicity.

> I didn't photograph anything else about terrorism because I thought, this isn't accomplishing anything…. It wasn't until *Yuyanapaq* that I realized the importance of having taken those photographs…. It serves a purpose, to teach people, so people can't say, 'It wasn't as bad as they say.' I'm

saying, that if you go to *Yuyanapaq*, no one can tell you, 'the Commission was exaggerating, it wasn't that bad.' There's no way. And that is thanks to the photography.

Like Mohanna, Chappell did not think that her experience with the violence affected her when making decisions. "I think there are two parameters, ethics and morals, that every person has," she said. When someone criticized the exhibit for not showing enough pictures of the blood and violence, she thought, "That's exactly the kind of editor that I *don't* want to be, that's the kind of photographer, the kind of journalism, that I have fought against." Chappell rejected the idea of "if it bleeds, it leads," and that was the same attitude that she used when selecting images for *Yuyanapaq*.

Reactions to the Exhibit

According to Mohanna and Chappell, the reaction to *Yuyanapaq* was overwhelmingly positive and helped create a general openness towards the work of the Commission. "Up until that point," said Mohanna, "the media were constantly publishing articles that were critical of the CVR….But with the inauguration of *Yuyanapaq*, all of the media began a campaign *in favor of* the CVR. So it definitely prepared the way for the final report." Chappell kept a record of the press coverage, which fills a large portfolio binder in her apartment. Included in the collection are two fawning articles from the *New York Times* and one from the *Los Angeles Times*. The other sign of success was how many people came to see the exhibit, sometimes as many as 2,000 per day, according to Chappell. "On weekends, people were lined up around the house, waiting to see the exhibit." Even at it's new location at the *Museo de la Nación,* four years after the exhibit's unveiling, about 70 people visit the exhibit every day.

Despite the popularity, some people chose not to visit the exhibit, which was addressed in some of the local press coverage. "To see these photos, the only thing it does is remind me of a past that I wish to forget," said Julio Favre, a businessman from Lima who was interviewed in an article in the magazine, *Somos*. The article on the whole, however, was in favor of the exhibit.

The reaction at the exhibit inauguration in Ayacucho, the province where most of the violence occurred, was somewhat different than in Lima, remembered Mohanna:

> I didn't expect it. Groups of people came with musical instruments. And on the day of the inauguration, the people wanted to have a kind of party. But in Chorrillos, it was a very serious gathering. People were very quiet. But in Ayacucho, people recognized the people in the pictures. They'd say, "Ah! There's Juan! There's Pedro! There's Mario! That was on that day.' Here in Lima, people were saying, 'I had no idea that this happened.' But in Ayacucho, they were saying, 'Look! Do you remember when that happened?' The reaction was different.

Mohanna also remembered talking with a woman who visited the exhibit many times who had lost her son in the violence. "She said, 'What a beautiful exhibit!' And I couldn't understand how she could describe it that way. And now I think that the house was much more-- it hugs you, it sustains you, much more than what the pictures show really happened." Such a reaction supports Mohanna's comment about the "marvel of photography." Photographs have the power to make difficult subjects more approachable.

Lack of Government Support

Both Chappell and Mohanna lamented what they saw as an overall lack of governmental support for the project. "The government is really the owner of this project," said Chappell. "The government only started doing something when they inaugurated the exhibit at the Museo de la Nación." At the original location at the house

in Chorrillos, the University of Católica took responsibility for all the costs, including $130,000 to renovate the house and $5,000 per month to maintain it.[84] "It was really a shame that the university had to pay all the costs and the government thought that that was the way it was supposed to be," Chappell said.

Although the government assumed responsibility at the new location, there are signs of neglect. The videos in the exhibit did not work for an entire year, according to the curators. At the time of this study, individuals who work at the museum were paying out of their own pockets to replace burned out light bulbs. Perhaps the most telling is that some of the photographs from the exhibit are missing from the exhibit because they are in disrepair and have yet to be replaced. One of the most marked absences is Vera Lentz' photograph of a woman's hands, crossed and delicately holding a photo of the woman's missing husband. It is one of the most iconic images of the project, printed on the cover of the book as well as the CD and the promotional materials handed out by the exhibit. It is supposed to be one of the largest photographs in the exhibit, visible from the other floors of the museum. The fact that the symbol of the exhibit is, itself, missing from it reveals much about the current state of affairs.

Figure 4-5. A woman holds the identification photograph of her missing husband.
(Photograph by Vera Lentz).

There have also been efforts to get the government to support a second edition of

the *Yuyanapaq* book. Nancy Chappell recounted, "Salmon Lerner Febres [Chairman of

the CVR] had a meeting with the Minister of Education to ask him to please support

another edition of the book that could be distributed. In reality, it is the government's

responsibility to deliver this message. I don't remember too well, but his response was

something like, 'Good. You do something about it.'"

These are all signs that the government has not supported the project 100 percent.

This may be due to the financial struggles faced by a developing country such as Peru.

Another reason could be the lack of political will. The current president of Peru, Alan

Garcia, had also served as president from 1985-1990. His administration and policies are

implicated in some of the crimes that occurred during that time. It is possible that this

particular administration does not want to support a project that is critical of the past

actions of the current president.

CHAPTER 5

Experiment Results

The results gathered from the questionnaires reveal useful information about what kinds of people are visiting the exhibit, their experience with the conflict and their attitudes regarding the different elements of reconciliation.

Demographics (Gender, Age, Language, Residence)

The same number of men and women filled out questionnaires (55 men and 54 women); their ages ranged from 18 to 69 years old. The median age was 25, which mirrors the age distribution in the country; just over half of all Peruvians are 24 years of age or younger.[85]

The majority of respondents, 92 percent, spoke Spanish as their first language. Only four people spoke Quechua or Aymara, the prevalent indigenous languages in Peru. Five respondents who were fluent enough in Spanish to take the questionnaire spoke other primary languages: Hebrew, Swedish and French. No one marked English as a first language.

Thirteen respondents did not live in Peru at the time of the experiment. Seven people lived in the United States, two lived in Israel, and one each in Chile, France, Mexico and Sweden. Of those who lived in Peru, the majority, 86 percent, lived in or near Lima (including Callao, a port town adjacent to Lima). The remaining respondents lived in Peru's other provinces, all of which were represented in the questionnaire results.

It is important to remember that these descriptive statistics do not accurately represent all of the visitors to *Yuyanapaq*. Many visitors were not offered the

questionnaire because they were too young or did not speak Spanish. In reality, the

median age of visitors is probably much younger, and there are more international

visitors than are represented in this experiment.

Experience With Traumatic Events

The responses to the second section of questions showed that many of the

respondents were affected personally by the conflict. Almost half of the respondents, 47

percent, had direct experience with having to change their daily routine due to the

violence. As discussed in the Methods chapter, people labeled as having direct experience

marked either "it happened to me" or "I witnessed it" on the questionnaires. Fewer

people, 33 percent, had direct experience with the destruction of property. Nearly half of

respondents, 45 percent, reported direct experience with feeling afraid like their lives

were in danger and 29 percent experienced the death or disappearance of a close friend or

family member (see Table 5-1).

Table 5-1. Respondents' Experiences with Traumatic Events

	Experienced Directly (n)	Did not Experience (n)
Change in daily routine due to the conflict (such as blackouts, curfews, etc.)	52	57
Destruction of property	36	73
Felt afraid that life was in danger	50	59
Death or disappearance of a friend or family member	32	77

Effects of Viewing the *Yuyanapaq* Photographs

In order to see if viewing the photographs had any effects on visitors' attitudes regarding the different elements of reconciliation, four independent samples t-tests were conducted. The results showed that viewing the photographs had a significant effect on only one dependent variable: "truth" (p=.036). Respondents who had just seen the *Yuyanapaq* photographs were more likely to feel like they knew the truth about what happened during the conflict than people who had not seen the photographs yet. With regards to the other dependent variables ("faith in government," "forgiveness," and "resentment"), there was no significant difference between groups (see Table 5-2).

Table 5-2. Independent Samples T-Test Comparisons of Mean Scores for Reconciliation Elements by Exposure to *Yuyanapaq* Photographs

	Not exposed N= 55	Exposed N= 54	t	p
Truth	3.259 (1.169)	3.704 (1.002)	-2.121	.036
Forgiveness	2.259 (1.067)	2.444 (1.254)	-.826	.410
Faith in Government	2.973 (.801)	2.963 (.863)	.061	.951
Resentment	3.355 (.906)	3.250 (1.06)	.553	.581

Note: Cell entries are means, standard deviation is listed in parentheses.

Post Hoc Analysis

To test whether viewing the photographs had different effects on different sub-groups of people, a post hoc analysis was conducted. For example, to see if men and women reacted differently to the photographs with regards to their level of forgiveness, a 2x2 ANOVA, or analysis of variance, was calculated for the factors gender and exposure to the photographs. The test showed that, for the dependent variable "forgiveness," there was no interaction between these two factors (p=.762). This same test was done with all four types of trauma experiences and gender and for each of the dependent variables: "truth", "forgiveness," "resentment" and "faith in government" (see Tables 5-3, 5-4, 5-5, 5-6, 5-7, 5-8, 5-9, 5-10, 5-11 and 5-12).

Table 5-3. 2x2 ANOVAs for Exposure to Photographs and Trauma Experiences on Truth

	df	F	Sig.
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	2.598	.354
Routine Change	1,104	2.203	.377
Exposure x Routine Change	1,104	1.379	.243
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	.820	.532
Property Destruction	1,104	4.363	.284
Exposure x Property Destruction	1,104	1.944	.166
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	5.112	.265
Fear	1,104	1.344	.453
Exposure x Fear	1,104	.820	.367
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	52.198	.088
Death in Family	1,104	10.141	.194
Exposure x Death in Family	1,104	.063	.803

Note: Dependent variable is Truth

Table 5-4. 2x2 ANOVAs for Exposure to Photographs and Trauma Experiences on Forgiveness

	df	F	Sig.
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	.361	.655
Routine Change	1,104	.143	.770
Exposure x Routine Change	1,104	2.743	.101
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	.391	.644
Property Destruction	1,104	.012	.931
Exposure x Property Destruction	1,104	.671	.011
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	.561	.591
Fear	1,104	.107	.799
Exposure x Fear	1,104	1.487	.225
Exposure to Photographs	1,104	.514	.604
Death in Family	1,104	1.094	.486
Exposure x Death in Family	1,104	2.152	.145

Note: Dependent variable is Forgiveness

Table 5-5. 2x2 ANOVAs for Exposure to Photographs and Trauma Experiences on Faith in Government

	Df	F	Sig.
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.000	.987
Routine Change	1,105	.854	.525
Exposure x Routine Change	1,105	.202	.654
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.119	.788
Property Destruction	1,105	15.679	.157
Exposure x Property Destruction	1,105	.064	.800
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.041	.873
Fear	1,105	3.982	.296
Exposure x Fear	1,105	.346	.558
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.658	,566
Death in Family	1,105	2.572	.355
Exposure x Death in Family	1,105	.301	.585

Note: Dependent variable is Faith in Government

Table 5-6. 2x2 ANOVAs for Exposure to Photographs and Trauma Experiences on Resentment

	Df	F	Sig.
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	52.376	.087
Routine Change	1,105	7.389	.224
Exposure x Routine Change	1,105	.006	.938
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.704	.556
Property Destruction	1,105	.001	.978
Exposure x Property Destruction	1,105	1.030	.313
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.372	.651
Fear	1,105	.025	.901
Exposure x Fear	1,105	1.089	.299
Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.956	.507
Death in Family	1,105	.069	.836
Exposure x Death in Family	1,105	.610	.437

Note: Dependent variable is Resentment

Table 5-7. 2x2 ANOVAs for Exposure to Photographs and Gender on Reconciliation Elements

Dependent Variable		df	F	Sig.
Truth	Exposure to Photographs	1,104	2.725	.347
	Gender	1,104	.231	.715
	Exposure x Gender	1,104	1.376	.243
Forgiveness	Exposure to Photographs	1,104	1.723	.414
	Gender	1,104	37.516	.103
	Exposure x Gender	1,104	.092	.762
Faith in Government	Exposure to Photographs	1,105	1.181	.473
	Gender	1,105	20.841	.137
	Exposure x Gender	1,105	.297	.587
Resentment	Exposure to Photographs	1,105	.094	.811
	Gender	1,105	.234	.713
	Exposure x Gender	1,105	1.664	.200

Table 5-8. Impact of Trauma Experiences and Exposure to Photographs on Truth

	Not Exposed to Photographs	Exposed to Photographs
Routine Change		
experienced	3.608 (1.234)	3.769 (.951)
did not experience	3.000 (1.065)	3.640 (1.075)
Property Destruction		
experienced	3.933 (1.222)	3.905 (.944)
did not experience	3.000 (1.051)	3.576 (1.032)
Fear of Life in Danger		
experienced	3.480 (1.295)	3.720 (.979)
did not experience	3.069 (1.033)	3.690 (1.039)
Death in Family		
experienced	3.364 (1.501)	3.857 (1.014)
did not experience	3.233 (1.087)	3.606 (.996)

Note: Cell entries are means on a scale of 1-5 with standard deviations in parentheses.
Dependent variable is Truth.

Table 5-9. Impact of Trauma Experiences and Exposure to Photographs on Forgiveness

	Not Exposed to Photographs	Exposed to Photographs
Routine Change		
experienced	1.955 (.950)	2.552 (1.325)
did not experience	2.469 (1.107)	2.320 (1.180)
Property Destruction		
experienced	1.867 (1.060)	2.857 (1.315)
did not experience	2.410 (1.044)	2.182 (1.158)
Fear of Life in Danger		
experienced	2.160 (1.179)	2.640 (1.254)
did not experience	2.345 (.974)	2.276 (1.251)
Death in Family		
experienced	2.273 (1.104)	2.905 (1.300)
did not experience	2.256 (1.071)	(2.152 (1.149)

Note: Cell entries are means on a scale of 1-5 with standard deviations in parentheses.
The dependent variable is Forgiveness

Table 5-10. Impact of Trauma Experiences and Exposure to Photographs on Faith in Government

	Not Exposed to Photographs	Exposed to Photographs
Routine Change		
experienced	2.891 (.971)	2.966 (.823)
did not experience	3.031 (.663)	2.960 (.925)
Property Destruction		
experienced	3.067 (.884)	3.095 (.851)
did not experience	2.938 (.777)	2.879 (.873)
Fear of Life in Danger		
experienced	3.126 (.914)	3.013 (.785)
did not experience	2.844 (.682)	2.920 (.937)
Death in Family		
experienced	3.182 (.923)	3.000 (.760)
did not experience	2.920 (.770)	2.939 (.933)

Note: Cell entries are means on a scale of 1-5 with standard deviations in parentheses.
The dependent variable is Faith in Government.

Table 5-11. Impact of Trauma Experiences and Exposure to Photographs on Resentment

	Not Exposed to Photographs	Exposed to Photographs
Routine Change		
experienced	3.370 (1.014)	3.276 (1.146)
did not experience	3.344 (.837)	3.220 (.980)
Property Destruction		
experienced	3.500 (1.134)	3.119 (1.106)
did not experience	3.300 (.815)	3.333 (1.043)
Fear of Life in Danger		
experienced	3.480 (1.075)	3.160 (1.097)
did not experience	3.250 (.740)	3.328 (1.046)
Death in Family		
experienced	3.455 (1.036)	3.119 (1.048)
did not experience	3.330 (.882)	3.333 (1.080)

Note: Cell entries are means on a scale of 1-5 with standard deviations in parentheses.
The dependent variable is Resentment.

Table 5-12. Impact of Gender and Exposure to Photographs on
Elements of Reconciliation

Element of Reconciliation	Gender	Not Exposed to Photographs	Exposed to Photographs
Truth	male	3.182 (1.14)	3.849 (.906)
	female	3.313 (1.203)	3.476 (1.123)
Forgiveness	male	2.476 (1.209)	2.636 (1.388)
	female	2.121 (.960)	2.143 (.964)
Faith in Government	male	3.159 (.938)	3.151 (.854)
	female	2.849 (.683)	2.667 (.810)
Resentment	male	3.432 (.877)	3.106 (1.066)
	female	3.303 (.935)	3.476 (1.043)

Note: Cell entries are means on a scale of 1-5 with standard deviations in parentheses.

The post-hoc analysis showed two interactions that had significant effects, both on the dependent variable "forgiveness." The first significant interaction occurred between the factors "exposure to the photographs" and "change in routine" (p=.101). Looking at people who experienced a change in routine, those who had seen the photographs forgave more than those who had not seen the photographs. Before entering, people with experience generally disagreed with the statement: "I forgive those who are responsible for the conflict." After seeing the pictures, people were more neutral towards the statement. The reaction was opposite among respondents who did not experience a change in routine. For that group, those who had seen the photographs actually forgave less than those who had not been exposed to the photographs (see Figure 5-1).

**Figure 5-1. Estimated Marginal Means of Forgiveness for
"Experience with Change in Routine x Exposure to Photographs"**
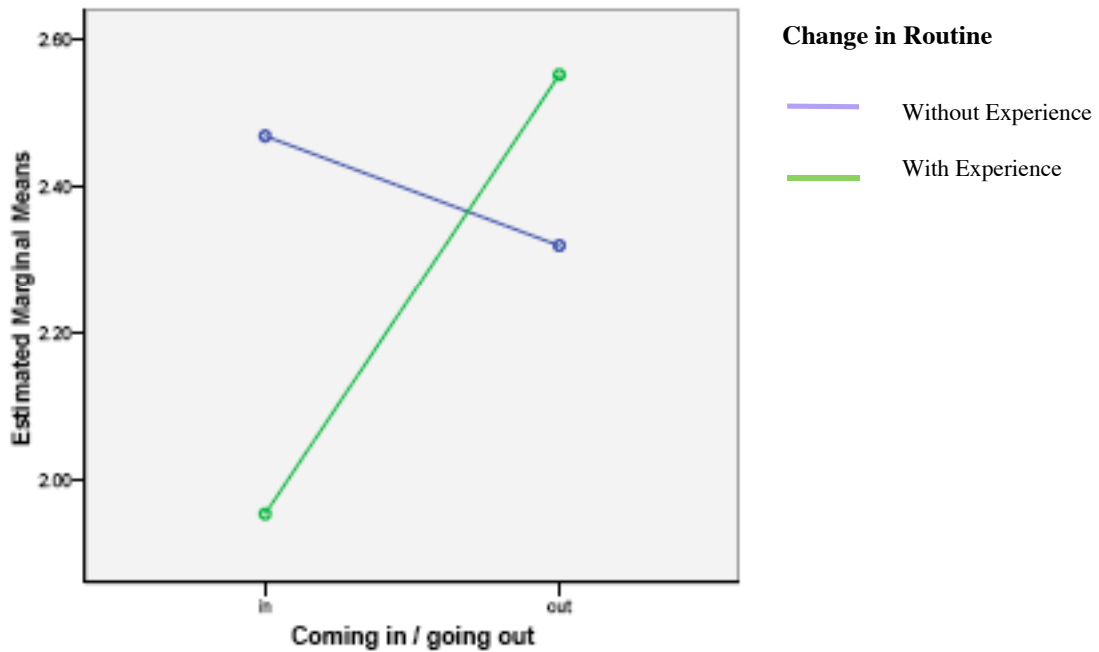
p=.101
Note: Forgiveness measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

The test showed similar results for the independent variable "experience with property destruction." For people who experienced property destruction, those who were exposed to the exhibit forgave more than those who were not exposed. For those who did not have that experience, the people who were exposed to the photographs forgave less than those who were not exposed (see Figure 5-2). This interaction was highly significant (p=.011).

**Figure 5-2. Estimated Marginal Means of Forgiveness for "Experience
with Destruction of Property x Exposure to Photographs"**
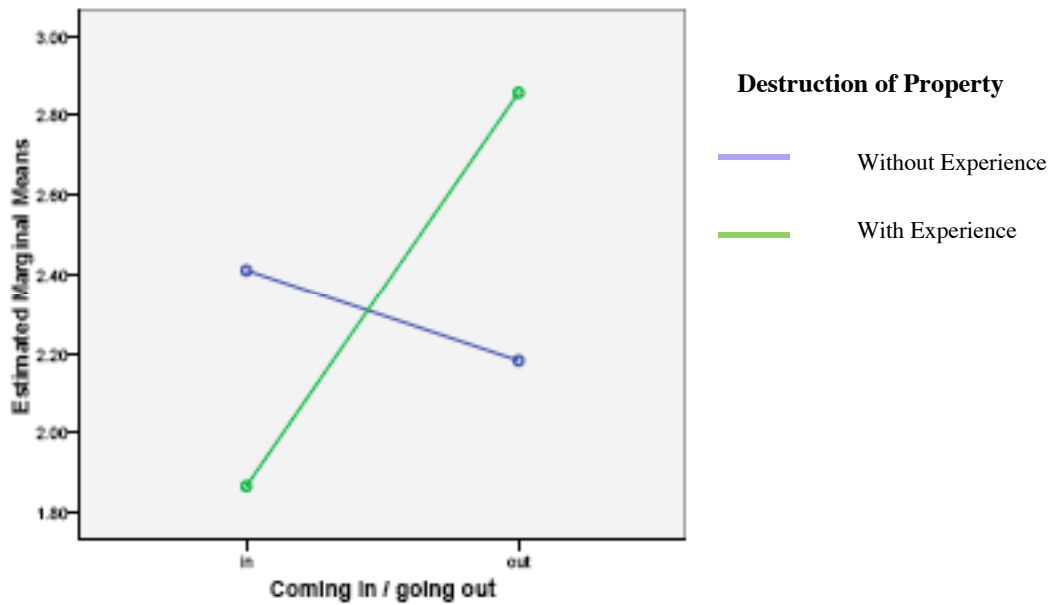
p=.011
Note: Forgiveness measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

The pattern is similar for those people who experienced life-threatening fear and

the loss of loved one, although the results are not statistically significant.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion

The interviews revealed much information that helps answer the first three research questions for this study. To answer how the *Yuyanapaq* project was created (RQ1), it is clear that Mayu Mohanna played a large role. She came up with the original vision for the project with four parts: an online image bank, a large exhibit in Lima, smaller exhibits in the provinces, and a book. The realization of these plans occurred in two phases, investigation, which included researching and editing photographs, and production, or the exposition of the selected photographs. Although the curators did occasionally consult with the members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they had a large degree of independence when putting the project together.

When selecting photographs for the exhibit and the book, the curators kept in mind their overarching goals of the exhibit (RQ2). Their intended message had two parts: to reconstruct the chronology of the conflict, including the major themes and turning points, and to communicate the suffering of the victims. Their criteria when sorting photographs included respecting the dignity of the victims and a general aversion to showing graphic violence. They deliberately intended to create iconic images, such as Oscar Medrano's portrait of Celistino Ccente, which would become recognizable symbols of the country's healing process.

Iconic images are important because they play an important role in shaping public identity and collective memory.[86] As they are circulated widely and repeatedly, iconic images "are believed to provide definitive representations of political crises and to

motivate public action on behalf of democratic values…they are used in conjunction with the grand narratives of official history."[87] In the same way that Nick Ut's photograph of a young girl running naked after a napalm attack in Vietnam became a symbol for the civilian casualties of that war, Celistino Ccente's bandaged face could be seen as representative of the many victims of Peru's internal conflict.

The curators also addressed how their personal experiences affected their decisions when selecting photographs (RQ3). In both cases, they cited their professional experience as photojournalists and editors as the strongest influence. For example, Chappell remarked that she was never very comfortable photographing graphically violent scenes. After having to do so for her job, she eventually refused to cover the terrorism. Her aversion to violence continued as she worked on the *Yuyanapaq* project. Although some of her fellow photographers implied that the photographs "weren't bloody enough," she replied, "That is the kind of journalism I have fought against." In regards to how the conflict affected them personally, neither woman lost any close friends or family due to the violence, so it is impossible to know how such an experience might have influenced their decisions.

Establishing Truth

The quantitative results indicated that only one of the original hypotheses, H1, was supported. Viewing the photographs increased people's confidence that they understood the truth about what happened, but it had little effect on the other variables of reconciliation: "forgiveness," "faith in government," or "resentment" (H2, H3, H4).

The fact that viewing the photographs increased people's understanding of the truth is important. It supports the idea that photographs, at least the ones included in the

Yuyanapaq exhibit, are seen as evidence or proof that events happened. While people might not have believed the media's account of the conflict, the politician's statements, or the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Final Report, they seem to believe the photographs. This is, in part, due to the curators' efforts to be historically accurate when putting the exhibit together. As emphasized by the International Center for Transitional Justice, an organization that advised the Peruvian Commission, establishing a version of the truth, especially after a secretive and manipulative dictatorship, is a critical step in a country's reconciliation process.[88] Because the exhibit seems to increase people's understanding of the truth, it appears that photography can play a part in that process.

A Closer Look: Revisiting the Post Hoc Analysis

The results of the post hoc analysis are extremely revealing because they suggest the results provided by the t-tests do not tell the full story. The photographs seem to have different effects on different groups of people. For example, although the t-test showed that there was no overall effect on the variable "forgiveness," the interactions between variable showed that people's level of forgiveness after seeing the photographs is correlated with their experience with traumatic events. People who experienced traumatic events forgave more after viewing the photographs, while those who did not experience those traumas forgave less afterwards. This interaction was significant when looking at people who experienced a change in daily routine and property destruction. The pattern is similar for those people who experienced life-threatening fear and the loss of loved one, although the results are not statistically significant (see Figures 6-1 and 6-2).

That some of the interactions in the post hoc analysis are not statistically significant is likely due to the fact that this study was underpowered for a 2x2 ANOVA

analysis. Nonetheless, even with a low n, the results show interesting trends that deserve

attention.
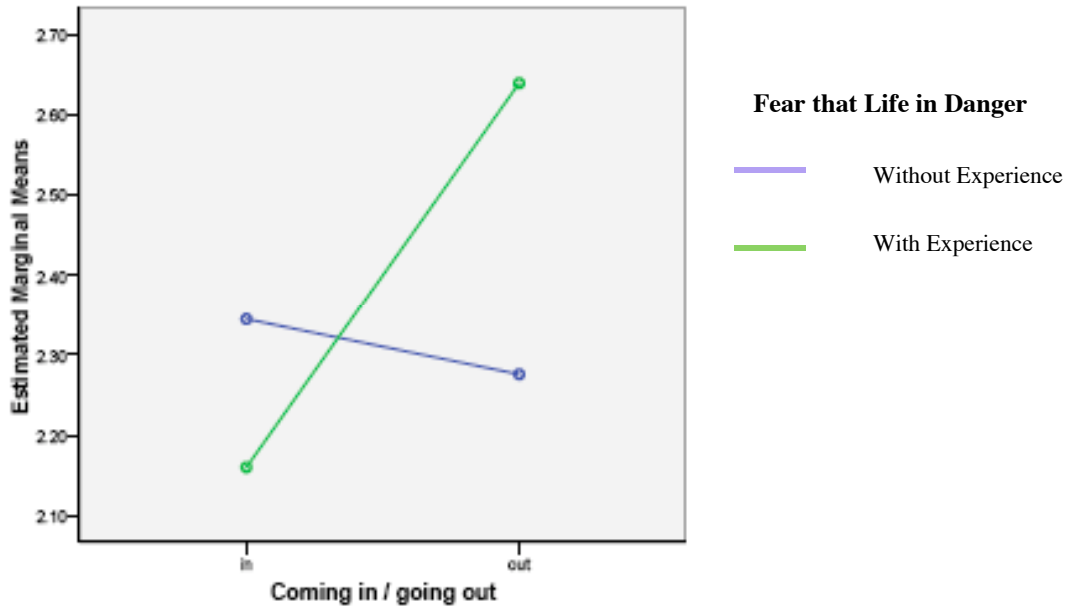
p=.225
Note: Forgiveness measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

Figure 6-2. Estimated Marginal Means of Forgiveness for "Death in Family x Exposure to Photographs"
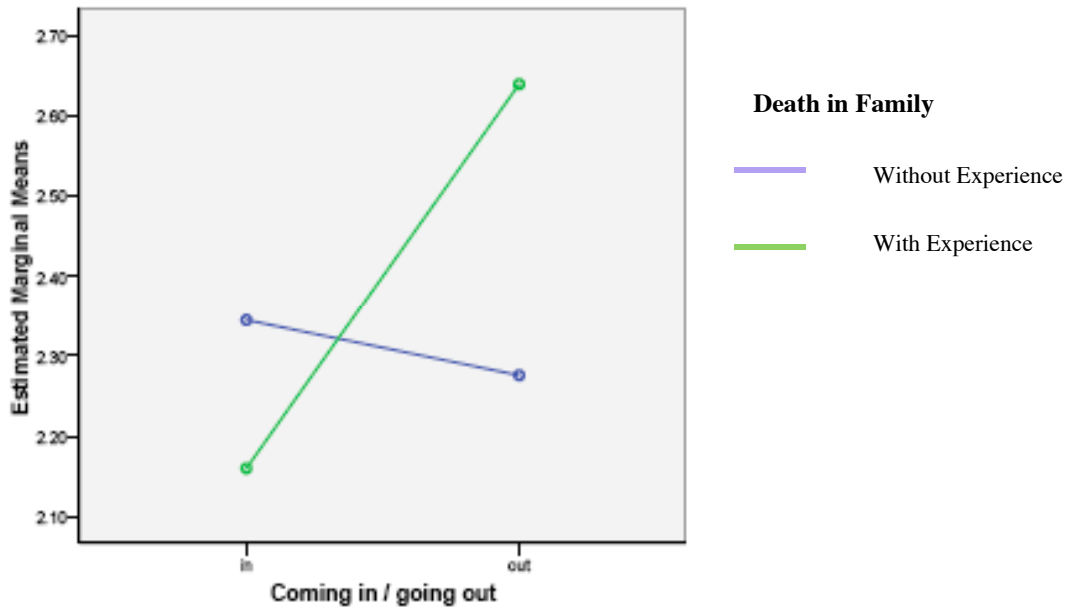
p=.145
Note: Forgiveness measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

A closer look at the interactions for the variable "truth" also reveals that experience with traumatic events plays a role in how people react to the photographs. The biggest increase in understanding of the truth generally occurred among people who did not experience routine changes or property destruction during the conflict (see Figures 6-3 and 6-4). For those who did have these experiences, their understanding of the truth did not change as much.

Figure 6-3. Estimated Marginal Means of Truth for "Experience with Property Destruction x Exposure to Photographs"
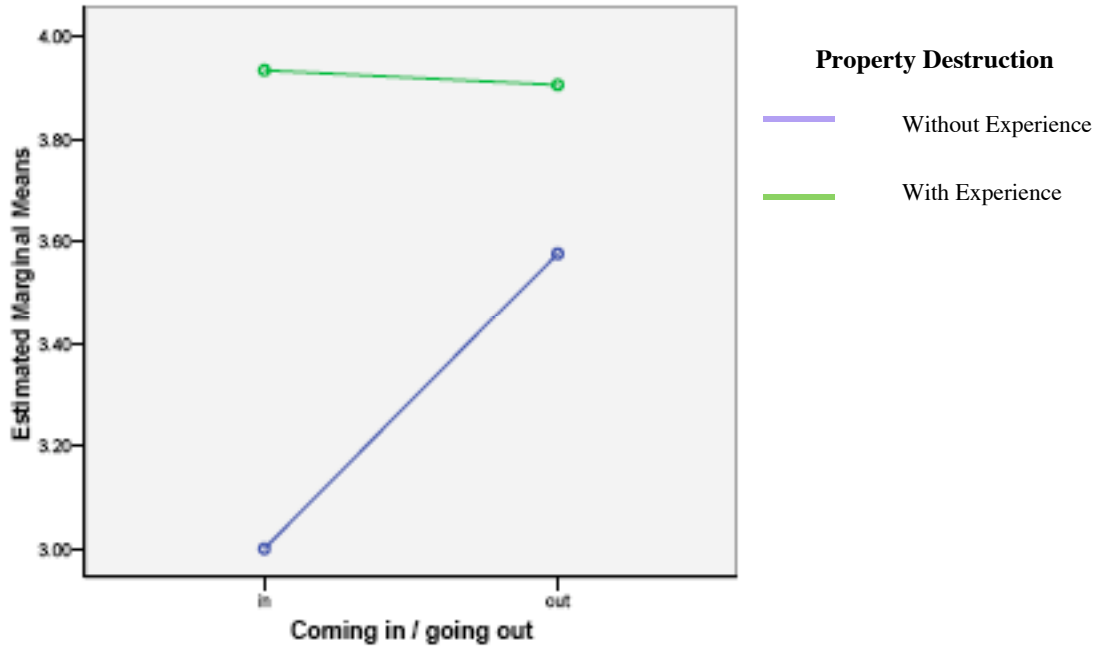
p= .166
Note: Truth measured on scale of 1 to 5.

Figure 6-4. Estimated Marginal Means of Truth for "Experience with Routine Change x Exposure to Photographs"
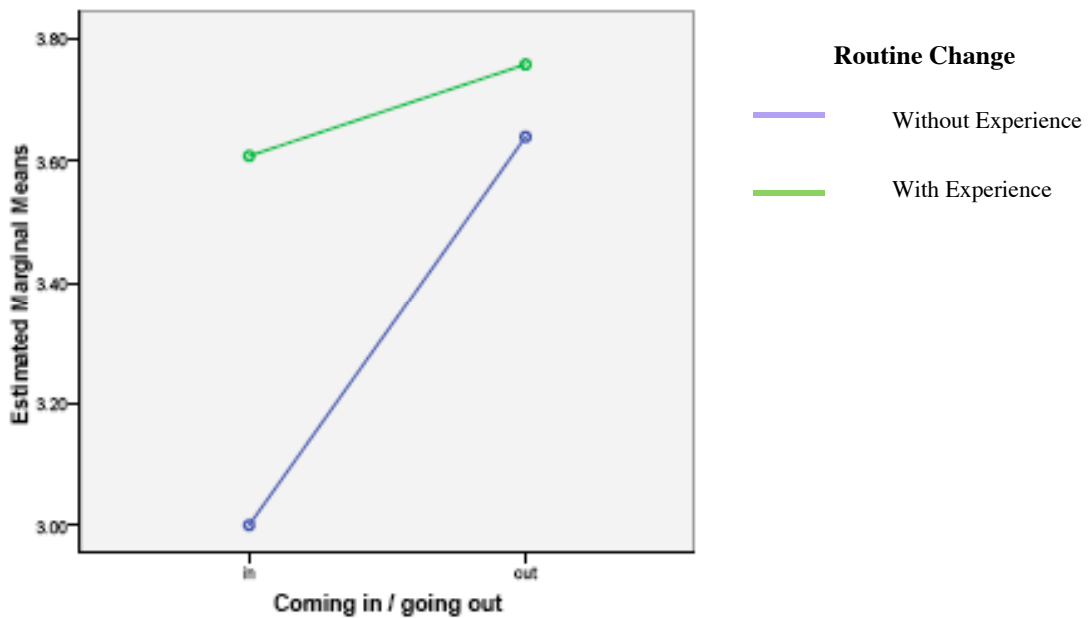

p= .243
Note: Truth measured on scale of 1 to 5.

Experience with Trauma as a Factor

That viewers' personal experiences with the conflict affect how they react to photographs makes sense. People who experienced trauma first hand already have memories and established schema that shape their understanding of the "truth." Even before entering the exhibit, people who experienced trauma felt they had a good understanding of what happened (see Figures 6-3 and 6-4); seeing the photographs increased that understanding only slightly. In contrast, people who did not have personal experience have less, or at least a different kind of information about the conflict. For this group, viewing the photographs provided more new information and, therefore, had a greater impact on their understanding of the truth.

The interactions for the variable "forgiveness" are more perplexing. After seeing the photographs, people who had experienced traumatic events forgave more, while people who did not have those experiences generally forgave less. There may be different reasons for this. It could be because those who personally experienced traumatic events have more to forgive. For them, seeing the photographs serves as a validation or recognition of their suffering, which helps them to forgive. Allowing victims of a conflict to show how they were hurt serves as a catharsis for them, according to Moser and Clark. "Memory plays a crucial role as part of a national reconciliation process. This refers to the importance of recollection of people's experiences, sufferings, and actions-- allowing for their visibility, their public processing, and their acknowledgement as part of 'official history.'[89]

In contrast, people who did not experience traumatic events generally forgave less after seeing the photographs. Some researchers believe that only those who were injured

can forgive.[90] Perhaps by disagreeing with the statement "I forgive those responsible for the conflict," those people who did not experience trauma are absolving of their right to forgive at all. Another possible explanation could be that people may be in different stages of grief for what happened. Dr. Elizabeth Kubler-Ross found that there are five stages of grief: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.[91] It is possible that people who experienced the trauma directly have already had time to move through these stages of grief. They may have already accepted what happened and are more able to forgive. In contrast, people who were not directly exposed to the trauma, who are learning about it for the first time, may still be in denial, or angry about the conflict and are, therefore, less able to forgive.

Gender as a Factor

Another interesting interaction emerges when considering gender. It appears that, when measuring resentment and truth, men and women reacted differently to the photographs. Men who were exiting the exhibit felt less resentment than men who were entering, while women exiting felt *more* resentment than women entering (p=.200)(see Figure 6-5). Also, for the variable truth, seeing the photographs increased men's understanding of the truth more than for women (p=.243)(see Figure 6-6). Again, these results are not statistically significant, likely due to a shortage of questionnaires collected for this type of analysis. If this experiment were to be repeated with a higher n and a similar trend were to emerge, it would suggest that the photographs promote reconciliation among men by informing them and lowering their resentment, but the effect is opposite among women.

**Figure 6-5. Estimated Marginal Means for Resentment
for "Gender x Exposure to Photographs"**
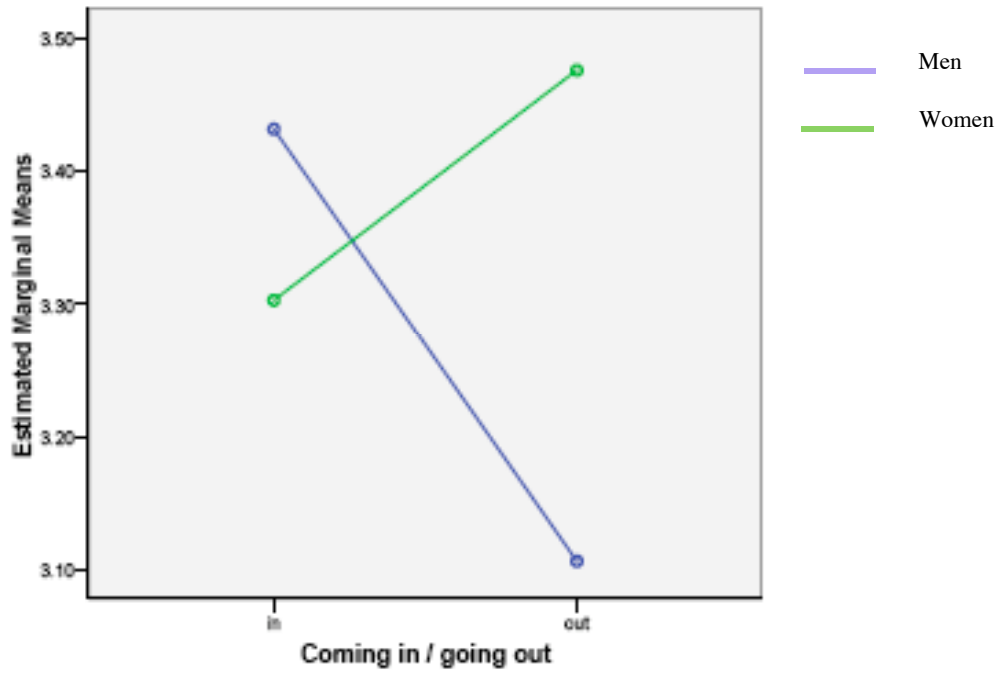
p= .200
Note: Resentment measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

**Figure 6-6. Estimated Marginal Means for Truth for
"Gender x Exposure to Photographs"**
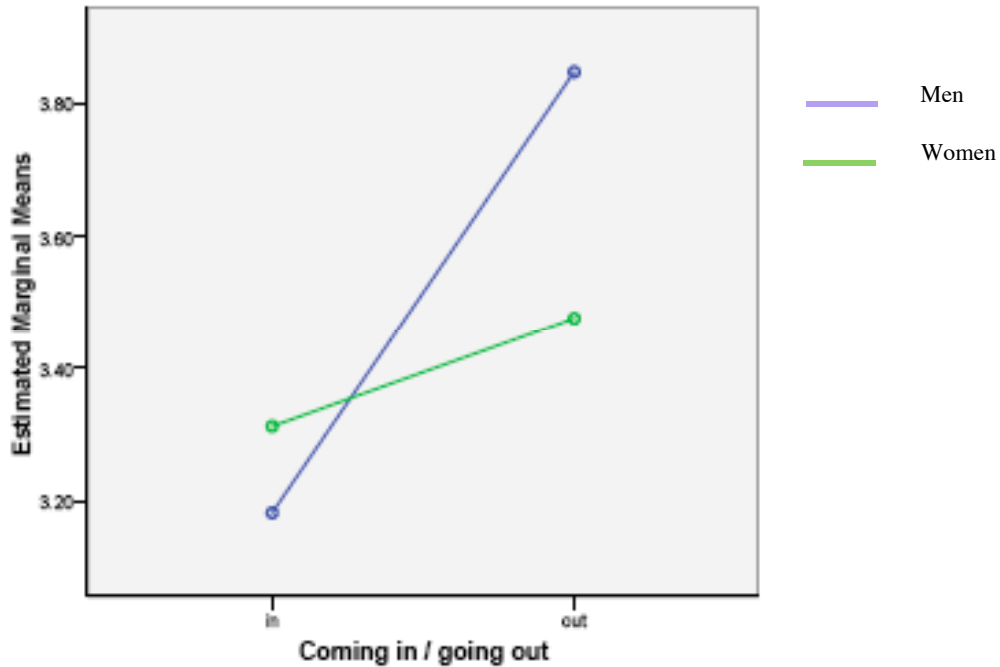
p= .243
Note: Truth measured on a scale of 1 to 5.

The Importance of Context

The context and presentation of the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit is an important factor in

considering viewers' reactions. Photographs have different meanings depending on when

and in what context they are displayed.[92] Photographs that appear in a museum years later

may have different effects than ones that appear on the cover of a magazine published at

the time of an event. Although many of the images in *Yuyanapaq* came from media

archives, most of them had never been published before. The images in *Yuyanapaq* were

displayed in context of the conflict as a whole, with knowledge of history that gives the

photographs different meanings than when they were originally taken. The fact that the

photographs were placed in historical context, alongside the findings of the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission in a major national museum, most likely helped the viewers

accept them as being truthful or journalistic in nature. However, the type of photographs that the curators chose, more abstract than evidential, as well as the visual design of the exhibit itself, are more artistic, which allows visitors to reflect on the photographs and their greater message.

It is impossible, however, to predict how visitors in the future will interpret the *Yuyanapaq* photographs. For example, what would happen if Shining Path were to make a resurgence and another wave or terrorism hits Peru? People would most likely react differently to the photographs. Thomas came to a similar conclusion in her study of a modern exhibit of 1940s photography in Japan. She commented that "curators working with photographs to create histories practice a contingent craft…It is not just the curator's own views and the photographers' aesthetic and historical materials, but also the outlook of a transient public audience that must be brought together to create that fragile compound: the meaningful exhibition." As Peru changes, so will visitors' reactions to the photographs.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

Looking back on the project, it is clear that the *Yuyanapaq* curators were given a difficult task: creating a visual summary of a violent history where the wounds are still fresh and the details are still controversial. Through the pictures they chose, the curators had to address the pain and suffering without showing too many graphic photographs of dead bodies. Without any model to follow, the *Yuyanapaq* curators accomplished much in very little time.

Overall, the experiment results suggest that the message intended by the curators is being received. The exhibit achieves the two goals set by the curators, to recreate the chronology of the conflict (explain the truth, especially for those who did not experience the conflict) and generate compassion for those that suffered (which helps those who survived the trauma to forgive). By accomplishing these two goals, *Yuyanapaq* is effectively helping to promote reconciliation among its visitors.

Implications for Yuyanapaq's Creators

This initial study is, in effect, a positive review of *Yuyanapaq*. It shows that the exhibit is having a positive effect and is contributing to the process of national reconciliation. The curators, commissioners and others who worked on the project should feel good about what they have accomplished.

Despite its successes, the future of *Yuyanapaq* remains uncertain. The contract for the photographs' exhibition at the *Museo de la Nación* in Lima will run out in four years. Some of the photographs are missing, or need to be replaced. The book is completely

unavailable. At the time of this study, not even sellers on the black market could track down a copy. The curators and Commissioners have called for a permanent location for the exhibit, perhaps in the same park where the sculpture *El Ojo Que Llora* stands. They have also advocated reprinting a version of the *Yuyanapaq* book on lower quality paper, which could then be distributed at an affordable price, or, even better, for free. According the curators, the biggest obstacle for these projects is cost.

The positive impact that *Yuyanapaq* has on its viewers is a reason for the Peruvian government as well as the international community to continue supporting this project. This study could be cited as evidence that the project contributes to reconciliation in the country. It could potentially be used to help raise funds to ensure that *Yuyanapaq* and the lessons it teaches do not fade away.

Implications for Photographers

This study attests to the power of photography, which should serve as inspiration to photographers, editors and curators everywhere. Using light, color, composition, and other visual elements, photojournalists can make repulsive situations seem interesting. This is what curator Mohanna referred to as the "marvel of photography." By making difficult topics visually appealing, photography, and art, in general, are able to help societies address topics that would otherwise be taboo.

The *Yuyanapaq* project can be a lesson for photojournalists who may feel frustrated by working on long-term projects. For curator Chappell, working on the *Yuyanapaq* project helped her regain her faith in the medium of photography. After covering the bombings and terrorist attacks, she had felt that her photographs were not accomplishing anything other than serving the interests of the terrorist groups. It was not

until she worked on the *Yuyanapaq* project that she learned the value of having the photographic record of the conflict. This is an important lesson for all photographers. Just because photographs are not being published right away does not mean that they are useless. In some cases, such as in *Yuyanapaq* or the photographs from the American Civil Rights movement, photographs can become more meaningful years after they were taken. Sometimes photographers have to be patient so that the importance and historical significance of their work can be revealed.

Another lesson that *Yuyanapaq* teaches is the importance of maintaining well-organized archives. Keith Greenwood discussed the societal importance of photographic archives in his doctoral dissertation. Citing Bossen, Davenport and Randle, Greenwood wrote, "Historical visual images have been called one of the 'most important and straightforward ways in which people understand the past.' The photographs can be an object of study or used to illustrate the results of research."[93] Therefore, it is in the interest of society that media, as well as the police, military, non-governmental organizations, photographic agencies and private photographers to keep organized, searchable archives. It is also critical to have detailed and accurate caption information to be able to interpret those images.

Theory Implications

The results of this study support previous research on exposure therapy that showed that although it may seem "counterintuitive," revisiting traumatic events helps people recover from post-traumatic stress syndrome.[94] This is important because it discredits those who criticize *Yuyanapaq* and truth commissions in general by saying that

remembering the past is too painful. This study indicates that the opposite is true: revisiting the trauma helps people who experienced it to forgive.

Based on the social construction of reality theory, the *Yuyanapaq* photographs could be seen as constructing the reality of the conflict for people who did not experience it themselves. The fact that the photographs increase viewers' understanding of the truth, especially for people who did not experience the conflict directly, will likely become more important over time. Half of Peru's population is 24 years old or younger.[95] As younger Peruvians come of age, fewer and fewer of them will have direct experience with the conflict. Their understanding of what happened will not come from personal experience, rather from history books, museums, and exhibits such as *Yuyanapaq*. As John Berger wrote, "every photograph is in fact a means of testing, confirming and constructing a total view of reality."[96] Even for those people who did experience the conflict first-hand, no one could have been present at all of the instances when the photographs were taken. Placing those images in the exhibit creates a version of history that all viewers then share.

Conflict theory stipulates that in order to change a conflict from destructive to constructive, an important step is to take a more cooperative or "we" stance, rather than a competitive "us versus them" stance.[97] By creating an accepted version of history, the *Yuyanapaq* exhibit could be helping to adopt a more cooperative tone. This would be an important step in preventing the violence from erupting again, which is the overall goal of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

That viewing the photographs increased people's understanding of the truth, but did not have any effect on their faith in government or their levels of resentment indicates

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that reconciliation occurs in steps. Just because people increase their understanding of the conflict, it does not necessarily make them less angry, or trust their government more. While the photography project is helpful by increasing people's understanding of what happened, other efforts must be undertaken to address the other areas needed for reconciliation to occur.

Implications for Conflict Resolution Practitioners

This study also has important implications for conflict resolution practitioners. The results presented in this paper suggest that photography can function as a useful tool to promote understanding among parties in a conflict. It can also help those who suffered to forgive. Both are important elements of reconciliation. Photography could potentially be used in mediation of societal conflicts (such as what happened in Peru) as well as personal ones (such as divorce proceedings).

However, it is important to recognize that these results may not necessarily be applicable to other countries or situations. This is a downfall of a case study—the results often cannot be generalized to other situations. This study only looked at *Yuyanapaq* and the reactions of people who visited the exhibit in Lima. A similar project in another country might produce different results, depending on the nature of the conflict, what kinds of pictures are used, in what context the photographs are displayed and the culture in which the conflict occurred. Although it shows great promise, more research needs to be done before photography can be considered a definitive tool of conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Future Research

This study was a first attempt to understand the relationship between photography and reconciliation. It raises many interesting questions that would be fertile ground for future research.

The results of this study show that people who saw the photographs had a higher understanding of the truth about what happened than people who had not seen the photographs yet. But what is this "truth" that people take away from the exhibit? People might interpret the photographs differently and their notions of the truth might vary greatly. A qualitative study using photo elicitation might help address this, asking people about what they define that "truth" to be.

Another interesting question is, does this notion of truth change over time? In their study on the effectiveness of conflict resolution workshops in Rwanda, Staub and his colleagues found that people's readiness to reconcile actually went down right after the workshop, but increased over a period of months.[98] This study showed the people had a high understanding of truth as they left the exhibit, but what happens when they go home, back to their routine and daily life? Does the information that they learned at the exhibit wear off over time? Even though this study showed no effects on viewers' level of resentment, or their faith in government, perhaps the effects do not show up until months later. A longitudinal study would help answer these questions.

The role of the news media in the conflict resolution process is an upcoming area of research. Did the Y*uyanapaq* exhibit really change the media coverage of the CVR from negative to positive, as Mohanna claimed? A content analysis of coverage before and after the inauguration of the exhibit would provide empirical information.

One factor that was not addressed in this study at all was religion. More than four fifths of Peru's population is Roman Catholic. It would be interesting to study what role religion plays in the reconciliation process, and in how people interpret the photographs.

The photographs that make up *Yuyanapaq* should be studied individually. This study treated the *Yuyanapaq* photographs as a whole rather than look at specific pictures. The curators did receive some criticism from victims' families and photographers that witnessed the violence, who said that the exhibit "wasn't bloody enough." Are photographs that show graphic violence more effective in promoting reconciliation than for photographs with a subtler tone? It would be useful to perform a separate experiment or conduct photo elicitation interviews to find out which type of pictures have the greatest impact.

The results regarding gender raise even more questions. Do men and women react differently to photographs of this nature? Is the process of reconciliation different for men as for women? It would be useful to do a similar study with a higher n to see if there really is a significant interaction with gender as a factor. If so, this is an area that should be researched more thoroughly.

In conclusion, this study shows enormous potential for photography to play a role in the process of reconciliation on a societal and a personal level. However, more research needs to be done to understand exactly what that role should be.

APPENDIX A

Political Map of Peru

APPENDIX B

Chronology of a Conflict: Peru (1980-2000)
(Excerpts from a timeline in the book *Yuyanapaq: Para Recordar)*

Beginning of the Armed Conflict (May 17, 1980 – Dec. 17, 1982)

May 17, 1980	Shining Path members burn ballot boxes on the eve of the first democratic election in twelve years.
May 1981	Republican Guard and Civil Guard arrive in Ayacucho to fight the Shining Path.
Oct. 12, 1981	State of emergency declared in five out of seven provinces in the department of Ayacucho; constitutional rights suspended for 60 days.
Jul. – Aug. 1982	Shining Path attacks the American Embassy in Lima, continues attacks in Ayacucho; seven members of the Civil guard are killed.
Aug. 1982	Country-wide state of emergency is declared.
Dec. 29, 1982	Armed forces take control of the department of Ayacucho in the face of increasing attacks, including attempts to kill public officials.

Militarization of the Conflict (Dec. 29, 1982 – June 19, 1986)

Jan. 26, 1983	Eight journalists killed in the rural community of Uchuraccay in the department of Ayacucho; much media coverage of the event.
Apr. 3, 1983	Shining Path members kill 69 peasants in the village of Lucanamarca, in the department of Ayacucho.
May 15, 1983	Military patrol summarily executes peasants in Chuschi, Ayacucho.
Jan. 22, 1984	MRTA (Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru) launches its first armed attack by shooting a Commissary of Villa El Salvador, in the department of Lima.
Aug. 23, 1984	Hidden graves containing the corpses of 49 detainees discovered in Ayacucho.

June 1985	MRTA intercepts a television signal and broadcasts a message with demands for new economic measures and a general amnesty.
July 25, 1985	MRTA explodes a car bomb outside the Ministry of the Interior in the capital, Lima.
July 28, 1985	Alan García assumes the presidency and announces new anti-subversion measures.
Aug. 14, 1985	"Accomarca Massacre" – Military patrols summarily execute 62 peasants in Accomarca, in the department of Ayacucho.
Aug. 27, 1985	Military patrols execute groups of peasants in Umaro and Bellavista, Ayachucho; a total of 59 people are killed.
June 18-19, 1985	Prisoners rebel in three different prisons—Lurigancho, El Frontón and Santa Bárbara. Armed forces enter to restore order; hundreds of prisoners found dead the following day.

Nationwide Diffusion of Violence (June 19, 1986 – Mar. 27, 1989)

May 4, 1987	Electrical towers are destroyed, plunging much of the country into darkness. During the blackout in Lima, at least 15 attacks on banks are carried out.
Nov. 1987	With rising attacks by the MRTA, the government of the department of San Martín hands over power to the armed forces.
May 14, 1988	Massacre in Cayara, Ayacucho. Shining Path guerrillas attack military troops, who, in retaliation, execute 39 peasants. Later, an additional 20 witnesses were killed.
Nov. 24, 1988	Journalist Hugo Bustíos is assassinated.
Dec. 7, 1989	President Alan García approves a law that sharply increased the punishments for participating in terrorist acts.
Mar. 27, 1989	Shining Path attacks the police in Uchiza, San Martín.

Extreme Crisis: Subversive Offensive and State Counter-Offensive (Mar. 27, 1989 – Sept. 12, 1992)

April 28, 1989	A group of MRTA members are ambushed by the military in Molinos, in the department of Junín.

June, 1989	Military raids the Universidad Nacional del Centro in Huancayo and detains 300 students, 30 professors and several employees.
Dec. 8, 1989	President Alan García delivers the first shipment of arms to local, community-organized Committees of Self-Defense.
Mar. 1990	The Special Group on Intelligence (GEIN) is formed under the National Office Against Terrorism (DINCOTE) and is given the objective of capturing Shining Path leadership.
July 28, 1990	Alberto Fujimori assumes the presidency.
Aug. 1990	State of emergency declared in 11 provinces
Dec. 23, 1990	Government passes law that places actions taken by the armed forces and police in regions declared in "states of exception" under military jurisdiction.
Apr. 5, 1992	President Fujimori dissolves the parliament and reorganizes the government. It is considered a coup.
June 9, 1992	MRTA leader Polay Campos is captured in Lima and sentenced to life imprisonment.
July 16, 1992	A car bomb explodes in the Miraflores neighborhood in Lima, killing 23 people and wounding more than 100.

Decline in Subversive Action: A Time of Authoritarianism and Corruption (Sept. 12, 1992 – Nov. 30, 2000)

Sept. 12, 1992	Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, the founder and leader of Shining Path, is captured in Surquillo, Lima.
Dec. 17, 1996	14 members of the MRTA break into the Japanese Embassy residence and take more than 500 hostages. Some were let go, but 72 people remained captive.
Apr. 22, 1997	The military storms the Japanese embassy to free the hostages. Two military officers, a member of the Supreme Court, Carlos Giusti, and all 14 MRTA members died in the operation.
July 27-29, 2000	Alejandro Toledo, ex presidential candidate, leads a three-day long protest against the fraudulent re-election of Alberto Fujimori, who was re-elected for a third term on July 28.

Aug. 2000	Alberto Fujimori, accompanied by Vladimiro Montesinos, head of the National Intelligence Service (SIN), announces that SIN has successfully busted a group of international arms traffickers, who were illegally supplying arms to the FARC revolutionary group in Columbia.
Sept. 14, 2000	An undercover video is released, showing opposition congressman Louis Alberto Kouri accepting $15,000 in cash from Montesinos. The payment was in exchange for Kouri's political switch to support Fujimori's Peru 2000 party, which would give the group a majority in Parliament.
Sept. 16, 2000	Fujimori announces the dissolve of SIN and calls for new elections, in which he will not participate.
Oct. 2000	Montesinos flees to Panama, then leaves due to the country's delay in granting him asylum.
Nov. 19, 2000	Fujimori travels to Asia, where he announces his resignation.
Nov. 22, 2000	Valentín Paniagua assumes the presidency
Nov. 30, 2000	The Comisión de la Verdad (Truth Commission) is created and charged with investigating the armed internal conflict from 1980-2000.

APPENDIX C

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions Around the Globe

Hayner defines truth commissions as:

" bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country – which can include violations by the military or other government forces or by opposition forces…. Most truth commissions are created at a point of political transition within a country, used either to demonstrate or underscore a break with a past record of human rights abuses, to promote national reconciliation, and/or to obtain or sustain political legitimacy." [99]

According to Hayner, there are four main elements to a truth commission.

Generally, truth commissions:

- focus on the past;
- address systematic abuse of human rights over a period of time, rather than specific, isolated events;
- exist temporarily, usually within a pre-determined time period, which often ends with the submission of a final report;
- are vested with authority, usually sponsored by the executive branch of government, that allows them access to information and increases the impact of the final report.

The United States Institute of Peace lists the following examples of countries that have used Truth and Reconciliation Commissions:

Country	Commission Name	Established	Subject /Time Period Investigated	Final Report
Argentina	National Commission on the Disappeared	1983	9,000 disappearances during the 1976-1983 military rule	*Nunca Mas: Informe de la Comision Nacional sobre Desaparicion de Personas (1984)*
Bolivia	National Commission of Inquiry into Disappearances	1982	155 disappearances that occurred between 1967 and 1982	(No final report filed after three years)

Chad	Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes and Misappropriations Commiteed by Ex-President Habre, His Accomplices and/or Accessories	1990	3,800 victims of torture or arbitrary detention from 1982-1990	Final report submitted in 1992
Chile	National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation	1990	Human rights abuses, deaths and disappearances that occurred during military rule, 1973-1990	*Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation* (also known as the Rettig Report)(1991)
East Timor	Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation	2001	Human rights violation, death of 200,000 East Timorese between 1974-1999	Final report submitted in 2005
El Salvador	Commission on the Truth for El Salvador	1992	Acts of violence that occurred during a civil war between 1980 and 1992	*From Madness to Hope: the 12-Year War in El Salvador: Report of the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador* (1993)
Germany	Study Commission for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany	1992	Human rights violations that took place during communist rule in East Germany from 1949-1989	Final report submitted in 1994
Ghana	National Reconciliation Commission	2001	Human rights violations, killings, and seizure of properties between 1957 and 1993	Final report submitted in 2004
Guatemala	Historical Clarification Commission	1994	Acts of violence between 1950s and the mid-1990s	*Guatemala: Memory of Silence* (1999)
Haiti	National Truth and Justice Commission	1994	Human rights abuses from 1991 – 1994	Final report submitted in 1996
Nepal	Commission of Inquiry to Find the Disappeared Persons	1991	Human rights abuses under the Panchayat system that banned political parties, 1962-1990	Report released to public in 1994
Nigeria	Human Rights Violation Investigation Commission (also known as the Oputa	1999	Human rights abuses that occurred betwee1983 and 1999	Final report submitted in 2005 (www.dawodu.com/oputa1.htm)

	Panel)			
Panama[100]	Truth Commission	2001	Instances of torture, assassination and disappearances that occurred under military rule, 1968-1988	Final report submitted in 2002
Peru	Truth and Reconciliation Commission	2001	Human rights abuses that took place from 1980 to 2000	Final report submitted in 2003
Philippines	Presidential Committee on Human Rights	1986	Human rights violations that occurred between 1972 and 1986, during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos	No final report submitted
Serbia and Montenegro (Former Yugoslavia)	Truth and Reconciliation Commission	2002	War crimes committed in 1990s	Commission dissolved within two years, without producing results[101]
Sierra Leone	Truth and Reconciliation Commission	2000	Human rights violations from 1991-1999	Final report submitted in 2004
South Africa	Commission of Truth and Reconciliation	1995	Human rights violations that occurred under apartheid, 1960-1994	Final report submitted in 1998
South Korea	Presidential Truth Commission on Suspicious Deaths	2000	1961 through the early 1990s	*A Hard Journey to Justice : first term report / by the Presidential Truth Commission on Suspicious Death of the Republic of Korea (2004)*
Sri Lanka	Commissions of Inquiry into the Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons	1994	16,700 cases of disappearances from 1988 to 1994	Final report submitted in 1997
Uganda	Commission of Inquiry into Violations of Human Rights	1986	Human rights violations that occurred between 1962 and 1986.	Final report submitted in 1994
Uruguay	Peace Commission	2000	Disappearances that occurred during military rule, between 1973 and 1985	Final report submitted in 2002[102]

Script (Spanish)

Hola, me llamo Robin Hoecker y estudio periodismo en la Universidad de Missouri en Estados Unidos. Estoy investigando el conflicto armado en el Perú y estoy haciendo una encuesta sobre las opiniones y experiencias de los peruanos durante ese conflicto. Esta investigación es puramente académica y no tiene ninguna relación con ninguna organización del estado.

¿Estaría dispuesto a responder unas cuantas preguntas acerca de usted y su punto de vista sobre el conflicto? La encuesta toma aproximadamente cinco minutos y es completamente anónima. Su participación es voluntaria y puede decidir no responder en cualquier momento. ¿Quisiera participar de esta encuesta?

(Si responde sí) Gracias. (Si NO, Adios.)

¿Tiene 18 años o más?

(Si NO) Gracias, pero solo puedo entrevistar a mayores de edad.

(Si Sí) ¿Quisiera completar la encuesta usted mismo o prefiere que le lea las preguntas?

APPENDIX E

Script (English)

Hello, my name is Robin Hoecker and I am a graduate student at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. For a research project, I am conducting a survey of people to learn more about their experiences during Peru's armed internal conflict and their opinions about the conflict. The purpose of the study is for academic research only. It is not affiliated with any government organizations.

Would you be willing to answer a few questions about yourself and your views on the conflict? The survey takes about five minutes and is completely anonymous. Your participation is voluntary, and you can end your participation at any time. Do you give your consent to participate in the survey?

(IF YES) Thank you. (IF NO, end conversation)

Are you at least 18 years old?

(IF NO) Thank you, but only people over 18 can participate in the survey.

(If YES) Would you prefer to fill out the questionnaire yourself, or shall I read the questions to you?

APPENDIX F

Questionnaire (Spanish)

1) Edad: _____

2) ¿En qué parte del Perú vive? (por favor marque con un círculo)

   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
   s. Moquegua
   t. Pasco
   u. Piura
   v. Puno
   w. San Martín
   x. Tacna
   y. Tumbes
   z. Ucayali
   aa. No vivo en el Perú.
       Vivo en
       _____(indique el país)

3) ¿En qué parte del Perú vivía durante el conflicto (1980-1990)? (por favor marque con un círculo)

   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
   s. Moquegua
   t. Pasco
   u. Piura
   v. Puno
   w. San Martín
   x. Tacna
   y. Tumbes
   z. Ucayali
   aa. No vivo en el Perú.
   Vivo en _____(indique el pais)

4) Sexo
   a. Masculino
   b. Femenino

5) Lengua materna
   a. Español
   b. Quechua
   c. Aymara
   d. Inglés
   e. Otra_____ (indique el país)

6) Ha visto antes las fotos de Yuyanapaq?
   a. Sí
   b. No

Preguntas 7 a 10: Quisiéramos saber cómo el conflicto le afectó en las siguientes situaciones:

7) Cambios en su rutina diaria debido al conflicto (toques de queda, apagones, etc.)(marque todas las que sean verdaderas)
   a. Me ocurrió a mi
   b. Fui testigo de que ocurría
   c. Escuché que ocurría
   d. No me ocurrió ni escuché acerca de esto
   e. No viví en el Perú durante el conflicto
   f. Prefiero no responder.

8) Pérdida o destrucción de la propiedad debido al conflicto armado en Perú. (marque todas las que sean verdaderas)
   a. Me ocurrió a mi
   b. Fui testigo de que ocurría
   c. Escuché que ocurría
   d. No me ocurrió ni escuché acerca de esto
   e. No viví en el Perú durante el conflicto
   f. Prefiero no responder.

9) Se encontró en una situación en la que tuvo mucho miedo e incluso llegó a pensar que su vida estaba en peligro. (marque todas las que sean verdaderas)
   a. Me ocurrió a mi
   b. Fui testigo de que ocurría
   c. Escuché que ocurría
   d. No me ocurrió ni escuché acerca de esto
   e. No viví en el Perú durante el conflicto
   f. Prefiero no responder.

10) Muerte o desaparición de un miembro de su familia o amigo durante el conflicto. (marque todas las que sean verdaderas)

    a. Me ocurrió a mi
    b. Fui testigo de que ocurría
    c. Escuché que ocurría
    d. No me ocurrió ni escuché acerca de esto
    e. No viví en Perú durante el conflicto
    f. Prefiero no responder.

Preguntas 11 a 16: Las siguientes preguntas son acerca de su opinión del conflicto.

11) Creo que sé la verdad sobre lo que ocurrió durante el conflicto.
    a. Totalmente de acuerdo
    b. De acuerdo
    c. Neutral
    d. En desacuerdo
    e. Totalmente en desacuerdo
12) Perdono a aquellas personas y grupos que fueron responsables por el conflicto.
    a. Totalmente de acuerdo
    b. De acuerdo
    c. Neutral
    d. En desacuerdo
    e. Totalmente en desacuerdo
13) Tengo esperanza en el futuro del Perú y creo que tendremos una paz duradera.
    a. Totalmente de acuerdo
    b. De acuerdo
    c. Neutral
    d. En desacuerdo
    e. Totalmente en desacuerdo
14) Ahora que el conflicto ha terminado, creo que se ha logrado justicia.
    a. Totalmente de acuerdo
    b. De acuerdo
    c. Neutral
    d. En desacuerdo
    e. Totalmente en desacuerdo
15) Confío en el gobierno peruano y en su compromiso con la democracia.
    a. Totalmente de acuerdo
    b. De acuerdo
    c. Neutral
    d. En desacuerdo
    e. Totalmente en desacuerdo

16) Todavía tengo rabia por lo que pasó durante el conflicto.
   a. Totalmente de acuerdo
   b. De acuerdo
   c. Neutral
   d. En desacuerdo
   e. Totalmente en desacuerdo
17) Todavía guardo rencor por lo que pasó durante el conflicto.
   a. Totalmente de acuerdo
   b. De acuerdo
   c. Neutral
   d. En desacuerdo
   e. Totalmente en desacuerdo

APPENDIX G

Questionnaire (English)

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
   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
   l. 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

    e. Strongly disagree

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

APPENDIX H

Interview Questions

The following questions were asked to Mayu Mohanna and Nancy Chappell, the curators of the *Yuyanapaq* photography exhibit and book:

1) Where are you from?
2) Have you received formal training or education? If so, where? for what?
3) Where do you work now and what is your title?
4) How long have you been at your current job?
5) How were you selected to be a curator for the *Yuyanapaq* project?
6) How long did it take to put the project together?
7) Where and how did you start looking for the photographs?
8) How did you organize the photographs as you went along?
9) Did you keep the negatives, or have they been returned to the various people and organizations?
10) What were your criteria when selecting photographs for the project?
11) What were the categories or themes that you tried to show?
12) How did you determine these themes and categories? Did you consult with outside people or organizations?
13) What was your personal experience during the conflict? How did it affect you and those close to you?
14) How did your personal experience influence you as you selected images for *Yuyanapaq?*
15) What was your approach to photographs that depicted violence? How did you decide what to include and what not to include?
16) Did anyone oversee your work? How did they influence your work?
17) What were the greatest challenges with the project?
18) What do you hope that Y*uyanapaq* accomplishes? Why is this project important?
19) What has been the reaction to the exhibit and the book? Have you received much feedback?

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