The role of Photography in social change.
The case of Dharavi, Mumbai, India.

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2 Introduction

How do we achieve social change through photography? That was the question echoing through me head. The idea came to me as I was talking to some artists about photography and the research I initially wanted to conduct in Dharavi. We talked about many things but one thing intrigued me, photography as a universal language. It struck me, although I do not speak or write the language we do have one language in common, which is my passion, the language of photos. They critiqued me and said “if you want your photos to have an impact don’t reduce them to mere representations of what you did, showing them to friend and family once you are back. If you want you photos to have an impact they need to play a central role, become a key element of change.”. They where right photos without intent to impact are like change agents without a goal, a waist of time and energy.

I decided to combine my current study with my passion, photography, and create a proposal that draws on all my knowledge and abilities, even my bachelors in Build Environment had to be included. I began to research and discovered a whole field of science that embraced photographic methodologies in their research, visual anthropology. I knew what I wanted to do as it was still echoing through my head; “how do we achieve social change through photography?”.

After extensive research I found the knowledge gap I was eager to fill. I want to find out how we can use photography in a public context to spark debate and question existing pre-dispositions, facilitating change while using photos with a predetermined message. The location to do so? Dharavi.

Dharavi one of India’s largest slums is located in the center of Mumbai. The case of Dharavi is intriguing, for decennia Real Estate developers are gathering over this piece of land like vultures waiting for his prey to die. It has been tried many times to redevelop the slum, and failed more than once. But now it seems plans are pulling through, people have been evicted from their homes and bulldozers have demolished large parts of what people used to call their home. Personally, I do not agree with this course of action, redeveloping no matter the social costs and I think there is room for better arrangements. I hope I can spark a discussion and show people an alternative.

In this proposal I will present to you a methodology geared towards the use of directed photos for social change in a public context. It builds on visual anthropology and expands it with theories of semiology, storytelling and more.

2.1 Problem statement

For decennia photography has played a significant role in the field of applied anthropology and ethnography (Pink, 2007). One of the first anthropologists who advocated the use of photography as an anthropologist practice was John Collier jr. In his book visual anthropology he outlines the possibilities of photographic methodologies, photos and photo
elicitation (Collier, 1967). His work prior to the book involved much research among rural communities, documenting every aspect of their lives on film, to create a deep anthropological understanding. In more recent years we also notice considerable amount of work in the field of visual anthropology and –ethnography concerning development and ‘conflict and disaster relieve’ (Pink, 2007). A good example is the work of M. Brinton Lykes in New Dawn, Chajul, Guatemala in collaboration with the association of Maya Ixil women (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). The community where she worked was disrupted by 36-years of war. Her methodology relied on photography, and aimed to “create a public testimony, a photovoice, that witnesses to the atrocities committed against the Maya Ixil and K’iche’ and contributed to their development of individual and collective responses to health and education needs of women and children in their communities” (Reason & Bradbury, 2001).

Photovoice is one of many visual methodologies applied in visual anthropology. Photovoice is a form of action research that enables people to represent, identify and improve their community through use of photography. Wang and Burris (1997) propose the methodology in their paper “Photovoice: concept, methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessment”. The goal of the methodology is threefold, firstly, “to record and reflect their community’s strengths and concerns”. Secondly, “to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs”. And lastly, “to reach policymakers” (Wang & Burris, 1997).

These visual interventions often combine theoretical approaches with problem solving and social interventions. Their goal is to examine how people see their own worlds, in order to develop knowledge through participation and collaboration. And executed as a form of participatory action research to improve livelihoods and empower the socially underrepresented. Besides these photographic interventions we also see a trend towards applied audio-visual anthropology as the technology becomes more mobile and less costly (Pink, 2007). One of the researchers in this field is Dianne Stadhams, she researched the possibilities for developing countries regarding pro-poor tourism (Jhala, 2007). In a number of interviews she collected different opinions on how tourism impacted different aspects of peoples lives in order to create a documentary that was broadcasted on national television. She noted “visual ethnography offers enormous potential to collect and disseminate information, which can effect beneficial change”(Jhala, 2007).

Examining the documented studies we see a distinctive difference in methodologies chosen depending in the target group. If the target group is predetermined and small, photography is used (Chalfen, 2007; Collier, 1967; Reason & Bradbury, 2001). But in instances where a the target group grows to communities (Flores, 2007) or a nations (Jhala, 2007; Levine, 2007; Stadhams, 2007) photography is being exchanged for video.

Another difference I found is the goal for which video and photography is used. Photography is often used to lay bare what is out there, to capture the raw reality people live in, a means to communicate participant’s way of viewing the world. Video on the other hand is often directed and framed in a professional matter. The message or topic is determined by forehand and the audio-visual material is created within that frame.
Looking at the above we see a knowledge gap regarding two subjects. Firstly, we see the absence of photographic methodologies in regard to a large public context. Secondly, there are no examples where the researcher would choose for photography as a means to communicate a predetermined story, framing the scene in such a way that it would communicate a particular message.

### 2.2 Goal of the research

Knowledge, it’s the force driving every scientific exercise. It colors the research in every aspect, it guides and steers for a particular outcome. But the envisioned outcome determines which knowledge will be produced. Is it scientific knowledge which does not care about being applicable or does it want to produce a collective knowledge generated in interaction contributing to a better and freer world?

It’s fundamental to position yourself as a scientist along this continuum; it makes you aware of your predispositions, and the paradigm that will steer your actions. Personally I prefer to do science that contributes to a better and freer world, also referred to as action research. Reason and Breadbury describe the implications of such stance beautifully in their book “Handbook of Action Research” as they write “the primary purpose of action research is not to produce academic theories based on action; nor is it to produce theoretical or empirical knowledge that can be applied in action; it is to liberate the human body, mind, and spirit in the search for a better, freer world” (Reason & Bradbury, 2001).

The primary purpose of action research is to achieve a better and freer world. In my opinion a “better and freer world” is a world with less inequality and a place where people will be put before profit. I believe in the power of people, the power of their numbers. Giddens outlines in his structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) it’s like the chicken and the egg, a society is produced by the actors it consists of and the actors are formed by the society they live in. So by achieving social change at personal or community level, influence can be exerted into larger structures, Jurgen Habermas even states “Perhaps the only way that systemic change does occur is through the committed action of small groups of people” (Reason & Bradbury, 2001).

Does this rid the research of any scientific relevance? I argue the contrary it just aims to create a different kind of knowledge. It shifts priorities, where scientific knowledge highest aim is to produce and test theories with methodologies serving this goal. Action research turns it around, its primary purpose is to produce knowledge in a social context, methodologies serve this goal and theories feed the methods used. Although different at the core they cannot exist without the other. Without fundamental research action- or applied research would not be possible and without the applied- or action research fundamental research would be irrelevant to humanity.

The knowledge gap located in the problem statement prevents us from doing action research. The methodologies needed are not there, information is missing. Extra research is needed in order to fill this gap and find the missing piece. It has to provide input for action research that uses photography as a means to communicate a predetermined message in a
public context to facilitate beneficial change. The research will comprehend the construction and validation of a new methodology.

The methodology has to address the knowledge gap laid bare in the problem statement. Firstly it has to address the problem regarding the scale of the intervention, traditionally photography is only used in methodologies regarding the individual, but how do we deploy photos in interventions targeting a community. Secondly, how can we use photography as communication tool.

The methodological goal is therefore to combine methods from applied visual anthropology while incorporating solutions to the problem statement. Firstly, I want to built upon the characteristics of applied visual anthropology creating a methodology which is embedded and addressing the needs of the local community. Involve personal stories that engage with the people by reflecting on their own lives. Secondly, it needs to address the problem regarding a intervention placed in a public context, it therefore has to take little time and yet be engaging, personal, questioning existing predispositions. It has to be able to provide a lasting attitude change towards a predetermined topic by using the local context. Lastly, it had to provide building blocks for the researcher to construct and predetermine the message the photos convey in the public space.

The theoretical relevance is less as theories will not be produced, they will serve as the basis for my methodology for social change. Theories are non-the less crucial; their knowledge feeds into my understanding of photography, communication and social change processes.

2.3 Research question

To guide the research in search for knowledge it’s important to know what you are searching for. We’ve already laid bare the problem or knowledge gap that prevents us from doing a particular for a research and defined our goals regarding the problem. In this paragraph I will translate these into a coherently formed research question to which the research can be examined. I will outline the goal the research, the different knowledge gaps, but firstly a small recollection of the problem statement.

In the problem statement we found that there is to little know about how directed photography could be used to generate beneficial social change in a public context. Previous research has been done but there is a distinctive difference in how different modes of visual material is used to facilitate beneficial social change. On one hand we see that visual material (photos) are used but a exclusive manner where participants are the photographer. On the other we see audio-visual (video) that is often directed and used in a larger context (community or nationally).

The goal of the research is to create a methodology that combines applied visual anthropological practices with directed photography in public context to generate beneficial social change. It is aimed to shift perspectives regarding the use of photography and outline the advantages to the audio-visual approaches. To combine applied visual anthropological practices, with the power of photos to facilitate change at a community level.
The knowledge gap regarding staged or directed photography needs to be addressed. Because how do we stage a photo in order to convey a particular message? How do photo’s derive meaning in the first. These questions are paramount if we want to fill the knowledge gap and use photography is a complete new way in regard to visual anthropology.

Secondly a solution regarding photography used in a public space needs to be found. If I want to use my photos in a broader context then traditionally seen in applied visual anthropology we need to ask ourselves the question, how can we facilitate a context where the message can be transferred? How do we create an environment which is engaging questioning existing predispositions and facilitates in a lasting attitude change regarding a predetermined topic.

To answer these questions research is needed, this thesis will address this problem and tries to incorporate just that. The main research question therefore will be:

“How do we generate social change through photos bases upon data gathered through action research, aimed to be deployed at a community level?”

To answer the question we need to break down challenge at hand into sub questions. I propose three questions that translate into a workable methodology. Firstly, data needs to be gathered regarding the topic of social change. It has to outline the context in which the change effort will be executed. I need to know what the driving force is behind everyday behavior and what needs to be changed in order to outline an alternative. Second, after we’ve located a specific topic of change and created a message to counter this, the message needs to be translated into photos that transfer the same message. And Lastly, after extensive research the message needs to be conveyed to the target audience. It will need to facilitate a lasting attitude change towards the topic of change. How do I ensure the audience elaborates on the topic at hand and perceive the message as intended?
3 The three-steps methodology: a theoretical outline

The challenge that lies before us is to construct a methodological framework supported by theory that addresses the research question. I propose a method that draws on theories from visual anthropology and social marketing and can be broken down into three distinctive steps each with its own theoretical foundations, the steps are listed below:

1. Create a baseline and discover what’s needed and creating story;
2. Making the switch: from text to photo;
3. Facilitate change process

I will elaborate on each particular step, mentioning why a particular theory is chosen in relation to the research question, the goal of each step and what it contributes to the next, an explanation of the theory and its critiques to conclude with the desired results that would serve as input for the next.

3.1 Step 1:

The first step is to establish a baseline and discover what’s needed to create a story based on the findings. The theory behind this step will be the storytelling and photo elicitation, the data will be gathered through semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation.

The theories contribute to the research as they shed light on the driving force behind socially constructed realities. The theory of storytelling outline how background stories are produced and reproduced within a community creating and shaping the lived realities people live in. The theory of photo elicitation on the other hand give insight in how these realities are materialized and represented in a physical reality by using photography as a method of conducting interviews. Besides valuable insights in background stories the method gives us a first insight in how photos are deconstructed relating to the theory of semiotics used in step 3.

3.1.1 Storytelling: locating the background story

To facilitate change is a difficult challenge, often met with ignorance and resistance. The literature has many examples as we find development workers experiencing resistance as they try to introduce a new practice that seems the best option but beneficiaries collectively resist. And we could ask ourselves why do people resist something that seems the most rational choice? An overview of the literature gives us insight and tells us that resistance often occurs when it is threatening the status quo (Beer, 1980; Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Spector, 1989) or if people evaluate the outcome as negative (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2011; Morris & Raben, 1995; Smith & Berg, 1987) and the perceived ability to preform low (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2011; Morris & Raben, 1995; O’Toole, 1995).
These motivations are personal, not collective, and can differ from person to person, we do not live in a modernistic world and a modernistic stance towards resistance is unrealistic. But how then do we explain collective resistance towards change that seems uniform. Ford, Ford and McNamara outline in their theory on storytelling that “Resistance, therefore, is not to be found “in the individual” but in the constructed reality in which individuals operate. And, since different constructed realities differ not only in their outcomes, but also in the kind of talk with which they are conducted and maintained, participants in different constructed realities will have a different sense of themselves and their worlds. As a result, they will engage in different actions, and give different forms of resistance, which depend on the reality in which they live.”(Ford, Ford, & McNamara, 2002)

The foundations of this theory is founded in the works of Giddens, structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and Habermas, communicative action (Habermas, 1984). Giddens argues that, as stated before, the world’s societies are produced by its actors and the actors are formed by the society they live in, as they reproduce the norms and values through interaction. Habermas, complements this theory by focusing on the role of communication within this process, he outlines how everyday talk influence the concept of the self and other, the sense of community, and public reason (Habermas, 1984).

Looking at stories as these representations of realities it sheds light on how social resistance towards change is constructed and reinforced through everyday talk. Their attitudes or personal realities are a fighting for survival when confronted with a new reality that tries to replace theirs, the need for consistency and balance forces us to challenge new realities and resist change.

In order to induce change on a community level, the common sensual or general truth needs to be challenged. A new story has to be introduced in the everyday talk, a new reality needs to be inserted into the conversation, one that challenges the existing truths, laying bare flaws in what is the current reality and presenting a new reality. It is here in the conversation that truths fight for their survival, discussions represents a warring place of realities going back and forth to enlarge their radius of influence. In this fight truths may conquer or perish, they almost seem to be disconnected from the person narrating and defending the reality, they are merely soldiers using arguments to defend themselves and statistics to attack.

So to influence to action, the everyday talk has to be influenced, we need to participate in this dialogue. Storytelling as a method tries to achieve just that, to talk the talk. Storytelling removes the boundary as communicating through stories is human’s natural mode of conversation making the process accessible and inclusive.

The goal of this step is therefore to collect shared stories on the topic at hand. These stories give insight in the lived realities and the processes that construct the concept of the self facilitating resistance in the process. A number of interviews need to be done in order to triangulate these shared stories as they are there within the community shaping reality.

Although story telling gives us insight in processes that shape attitudes and resistance on a community or institution level, it’s not the silver bullet of change. Stories do influence action but on a personal level attitudes, perceived norms and ability to preform are leading
regarding behavioral intent (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2011). Nevertheless, it’s impossible to devise an approach to change, that addresses every attitude, perceived norm and ability to preform that prevents action on a personal level. Storytelling is more fit in this particular situation because it engages with the constructed realities people live in.

The stories we find within these communities will be fed back into the next step “Create a story” in order to device a message that addresses the a topic regarding change and eventually be translated into visual material.

3.1.2 Photo elicitation

Photo elicitation as a method has different advantages over text-only interviews. Collier one of the first researchers to use photography as a method as an addition to normal interview techniques already mentions that photos can help interviewer to create rapport (Collier, 1967; Schwartz, 1989) and give insight in aspects of their lives that are taken-for-granted (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). Although the photos are not a empirical representation of a truth or reality (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004) they can however in interaction with a participant reflect on the lived reality and “mine deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews” (Harper, 2002). It can therefore expose different realities or Background stories.

A photo has multiple advantages to text as a photo can relay multiple meanings at once and are therefore poly-semantic (Becker, 1986; Schwartz, 1989) and can lay bare the invisible for the researcher but obvious for the participant (Schwartz, 1989). Used in groups different background stories can be exposed as it creates tension while discussing the represented (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004).

The information gathered will server two purposes. First, lay bare the stories constructing reality and practice, feeding into step two. Second, as a preliminary exploration of the meaning of signs in the context of the research, this will feed back into step 3.

3.1.3 Storytelling: Creating a Story

So if we want to persuade people, to alter their behavior it’s necessary to know what prevents people from preforming the desired behavior. The theory of storytelling gives us beautiful insight in this process. Stories that are narrated over and over again construct and reinforce everyday realities, guiding and steering action action. So if we want to change behavior on a community level we need to change the narrative. We need to talk the talk engaging through the present discourse.

Changing the everyday talk starts with the individual. Although the goal is to alter stories constructing realities on a community level, we need to recognize that these stories do not spring into existence but are inserted in everyday talk by the individual. The story therefore needs to address and contest stories already there while persuading the individual to assimilate the presented information into their own attitudes.

People do not judge messages objectively but rather subjectively. Social Judgment Theory sheds some light on how and when people accept the message and adjust their attitudes. Sherif at al. (1965) argue that the assimilation of the message will depend largely on three
factors. First, the similarities between the current en the presented reality. Second, the strength of the attitude and lastly, ego-involvement.

The perceived similarities between the message and present attitude facilitate assimilation of the message. The initial attitude serves as an anchor and people tend to a assimilate somewhat congenial messages, and draw the message towards their own attitude, assuming it is more in line with their perceived realities then it in fact is. On the other hand a message can also be contrasted, or assumed more different then it in fact is this happens when the message is perceived congruent with their own attitudes (Granberg, 1993).

The second factor that plays his part in the strength of the attitude Sherif et al. argue that attitudes position themselves in a continuum of evaluations or latitudes, a range of acceptable and unacceptable positions. They refer to latitudes of acceptance, rejection and non-commitment. The latitude of acceptance consists of positions a person finds acceptable and the latitude of rejection consists of positions someone finds unacceptable. Besides these they recognize the latitude of non-commitment and consist of positions a person wants to dissociate from. A message is more likely to persuade someone when it lands in the latitude of acceptance or non-commitment as they are drawn closer toward their own attitude.

Once a message is contrasted future efforts to change an attitude will become harder. If a message lands in the latitude of rejection more harm then good is done as it reinforces the negative attitude someone already has toward a topic. This process is also referred to as inoculation, where just like within the human body antibodies are made to fend of future attack. In persuasion something similar happens the arguments when not strong enough will not change the attitude and even serve as a reinforcement to fend of future arguments.

The last factor influencing attitude change is ego-involvement. Ego-involvement revers to the extend people perceive that an issue touches on their self-concepts or core-values (Sherif et al., 1965). The more involved people are the smaller the latitudes of acceptance will be, as they contemplated many times about the subject, making them sometimes almost resistance toward arguments.

So what are the implications for the message we want to convey? Firstly, we have to recognize that our goal is to influence the background conversations not the people, then again for a message to influence background stories we need ambassadors who agree with the message and communicate these stories so they can start a different story creating a new reality with new possibilities. Secondly, we can construct the message in such a way that we can aim for as much assimilation as possible, but their needs to be a balance between maximal assimilation and radical change. If we aim for maximal assimilation the message well most likely not differ from the background stories already in existence, so no change will occur. On the other hand radical change will probably end up in the latitude of rejection, making future change efforts even harder. The message needs to be concession between the stories that are already there and the envisioned change so future efforts can move even further to the envisioned goal. It has to be taken step by step.

The result will be a message containing first order realities (what just happened) and second order realities (meaning and interpretations added to the first order reality) (Ford, 1999; Watzlawick, 1990) aimed at maximum impact balancing between maximal assimila-
tion and radical change based on the theory of Community Readiness as discussed in step 3. This story created will feed into the next step “Making the switch: text to photography”.

3.2 Step 2:

The next step is to translate the message based on language into photography. With the story of the previous step we will address personal attitudes and background stories. But the message is constructed with words and to translate these into visual representations we need an understanding in how photos derive meaning by what is presented.

The theories used within this step will be semiotics and photo elicitation. Semiotics, outlines how photos construct meaning and contribute to the research as it gives a platform to deconstruct and construct photos. With this theory we can construct theoretical photos based on the story from the previous step. Photo elicitation will be used to “test” the photos, the method previous used in the first step will now serve as validation of the stories represented in the photos taken.

3.2.1 Semiotics

But how do pictures or photo’s construct meaning? This question is crucial if we want to use photography to convey a message. Insight in this topic can be found with the theory of semiotics.

The theory of semiotics build upon the work of Ferdinand de Saussure who wanted to develop a systematic understanding of how language works (Saussure, 1983). He argued that signs are the basis unit of language. The sign is on a analytical level build up of two parts the “signified” and the “signifier”. The signified is a concept or an object, let say “an human who attends an education” and the signifier referring to this object, “student”. Saussure argues that there doesn’t have to be a relation between those two. A good example is found in different languages, the signified can be a known concept or object is different languages but the signifier can be different as different languages use other words to refer to a concept of object.

The meaning of a signifier isn’t determined by the signified but the relation to other signifiers. For example the word boy stands in relation to the word girl regarding to gender, but also to men in regard to age and calf regarding species. The actual object the signifier refers to, is called referent.

But there is a flaw in the assumption that a sign in language works the same is in a visual representation. Bal and Bryson (1991) and Hodge and Kress (1988) both argue that: “Linguistic signs are arbitrary in the sense that there is no relation between the sound of a word and its meaning other than convention, a ’contract’ or rule. It is clear that visual signs are nor arbitrary, but ’motivated’ – there is some rationale for the choice of signifier. The world ‘dog’ and a picture of one do not signify in the same way, so it is safe to assume that a theory of semiology based on linguistics will fall far short of offering a complete account of visual signification.” (Iversen, 1986)
They therefore refer to Charles Sanders Pierce (Wollen, 1972) who suggests multiple forms of signs; Icons, indexes and Symbols. The signified more or less relates to the message it wants to convey. The first, the icon, conveys only the signifier, a good example is the book “point it” it’s filled with icons that must represent what is shown no more or less. If a camera is shown its only meaning is an iconic one a camera. The second form, the index, the depicted has an inherent relation between the signifier and the signified, often culturally determined. For example a schematic picture of a clothes hanger in many countries refers to where we can find a cloth rack. A symbolic sign can mean something totally unrelated. The American flag is such a symbol, it represents freedom, “the American dream” but also power.

What does this tell us about photography and the way it can carry a message? The first step is to recognize that a photo is just like a sentence build up out of signs (Bal & Bryson, 1991). So we want to analyze a photo we need to we need to pinpoint the different signs contained within the frame, once we have done this we can explore the meaning of the signs. Secondly, that a sign can have multiple meanings depending on the context where it is being displayed.

A sign can interact with other signs in two different ways, paradigmatic and syntagmatic. The paradigmatic signs derive there meaning from other signs surrounding them, this can be within the same frame or others if we talk about a film or a documentary. The syntagmatic sign derives its meaning by what it is not, like a boy is not a girl, man nor a calf.

Besides giving meaning through interaction of individual signs, a combination of signs can create a new message therefor we distinguish denotive and diegesis signs. A denotive sign derives meaning from what it is not like a pidgin or a boy (Barthes, 1978). But if there are more denotive signs that together transfer meaning we talk about a diegesis, for example if we combine a eagle with the American flag, reducing the possible messages an eagle can convey (Barthes, 1978).

Anchorage is needed to reduce the possible interpretations of a denotive sign as there could be many. Therefore to reduce the possible meanings of signs we need anchorage, this can be text but also another frame or photo that provides “context” (Barthes, 1978). But then again for anchorage to work the information about the flag needs to be accessible meaning the knowledge has to be there but also it has to surface once the flag presents itself otherwise you cannot act according to your knowledge making the anchorage useless (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2005). Although a anchor can be another sign in a photo it can also be something other as mentioned earlier text can provide a good anchorage. Other forms of anchorage can be the physical display or location.

Gillian Dyer explores how a message is brought across in her book Advertising as communication (1982). She outlines the effect of the signified on the product promoted in the ad. She argues that characteristics of the signified is transferred to the product. A good example is the use of a model in advertisements on beauty products, her characteristics concerning beauty are transferred and associated with the product in the ad, this process is also referred to as “objective correlates”. The photo aims to persuade one to adjust their attitude towards a concept or object and assimilate additional information into their attitude towards a certain concept or object making it more likely for one to act in line with the
communicated message. Michel Foucault in his argumentation of discourse sheds light on how a message is translated into action. He refers to discourse as “a group a statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking” (Foucault, 1972). The discourse functions outside the realm of the living not bound to an individual actor or as Lydia Nead refers to as “a particular form of language with its own rules and conventions and the institutions within which the discourse is produced and circulated” (Nead, 1990) The discourse is part of a larger concept Foucault refers to as disciple, it is a force that guides our action and therefore it exerts power. The discourse lays a truth claim upon the people who are bound or within this discourse and within the discourse this knowledge is not contested, a regime of truth. So for a photo to convey a message we need to account for the discourse to which it speaks, it has to address the rules and conventions and challenge this regime of truth there we deem necessary, while speaking the language of the discourse.

Discourse and storytelling are not the same concept although they share many similarities. Both exert a form of power, are not bound to the individual and shape reality through interaction. The distinction can be found in the form it presents itself, Foucault refers to discourse in relation to a particular word where storytelling presses the importance of the narrative or story.

Using a systematic approach a multiplicity of meanings can be prevented. As outlined in the theory of photo elicitation a photo can be semioptic, caring multiple meanings at once. For a photo elicitation practice this feature of photography provides multiple advantages. But in regard to communicating a predetermined message this can undermine the efforts. By carefully studying the possible meanings one could attribute to signs one can carefully eliminate a multiplicity of meanings ensuring an optimal result, conveying just the predetermined message.

3.2.2 Photo elicitation

The directed photos will be tested to ensure the predetermined message is captured in the documentary. Photo elicitation will in this case provide me with essential insight in how people construct meaning regarding to photography (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Collier, 1967; Dyer, 1982; Harper, 2002). The story that I constructed and photographed will be put to the test. The main aim is to verify is the photos indeed carry the intended message. If they do we can carry on to the next step, if they don’t I have to revise photos and shoot new ones.

3.3 Step 3:

The last step is to facilitate the change process. It revolves around the question “How do we get people to elaborate on the subject and achieve lasting attitude change in order to change the background stories?”. Through the previous steps we’ve considered the tone of the message en how the message is most likely to be assimilated in attitudes to eventually end up in everyday talk shaping realities and guiding action.
The theory used is elaboration likelihood model (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Petty & Wegener, 1999; Petty, Wheeler, & Tormala, 2003) and the theory of Community Readiness (Edwards, Jumper-Thurman, Pleston, Oetting, & Swanson, 2000). These theories are complementary to the research as ELM outlines the inner workings of attitude change and will serve as basis for the physical structure carrying the message. Community Readiness theory examines the processes by which communities engage in action (Edwards et al., 2000).

This final step will ensure its methodological goal regarding to the interaction. The theory will help construct a way of communicating that is within the public space, take little time and yet be engaging, personal and questioning existing predispositions. While able to provide a lasting attitude change towards a predetermined topic by using the local context.

3.3.1 Elaboration Likelihood Model

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) will provide a basis for achieving maximal elaboration on the message presented. The theory of semiology gives us some insights in how images can carry a message regarding meaning derived from previous images and anchoring. We can expand on this knowledge by applying the ELM as it provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the effects of a host of source, message, and receiver factors on persuasion (Perloff, 2010). Giving us the means to ensure the cognitive elaboration on the topic leading to a lasting attitude change.

The ELM argues that we process information in two distinct ways, or routes, the central and peripheral route. The first, or central route, refers to the process involving considerable cognitive elaboration, carefully evaluating arguments and implications on your life. The peripheral route involves much less elaboration than the central one, it relies on so-called heuristics, simple decision making rules guiding the decision making process.

The ELM stresses that if one would like to achieve a structural change in attitude, which is resistant to counter persuasion and predictive of behavior one should try to achieve elaboration on the message by the receiver. But how do we achieve elaboration? The ELM outlines different factors that need to be satisfied in order to achieve elaboration on the subject at hand, the receiver has to be motivated to process, hereafter one needs to have the ability to process the information presented.

Motivation is influenced by two factors; involvement and Need for Cognition (NFC). Involvement refers to the extend the message addresses a topic personally relevant to the receiver. Need for Cognition on the other hand is a variable best characterized as a personality trait. These two factors have a strong influence on each other.

People high in involvement are more likely to elaborate on the subject at hand. High involvement refers to a state where people perceive a topic to be personally relevant or bear on their lives. It is this perceived involvement that motivates people to allocate cognitive effort to process the information. Validating and weighing the new information presented to the knowledge already persistent. People low in involvement perceive the opposite, they evaluate the matter as not relevant, the motivation to allocate cognitive effort is low and
information will most likely be processed via the peripheral route relying on simple decision making heuristics.

People high in need for cognition tend to allocate cognitive effort even though the perceived involvement is low. Need for Cognition is “a stable individual difference in people’s tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive activity” (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein, & Jarvis, 1996). On the other hand, people low in NFC will likely decline an offer to think deeply about a certain topic, it’s not their cup of tea, they are less likely to elaborate on subjects that do not directly bear on their own lives. People low in NFC are more likely to process information peripherally than centrally, processing information via simple decision making heuristics. This does not mean that NFC is the same as intelligence, it is not, there is however a modest relation. People who engage joyfully in cognitive activity tend to have a higher intelligence as their knowledge expands through cognition.

The second factor that needs to be satisfied in order to achieve elaboration is the ability to do so, mental or physical. Mental ability refers to process after we received all the information contained in the message and draws on our knowledge and intelligence. Physical ability refers to everything that prevents us to use our mental ability, for example time. These two correlate with each other as someone with a good mental ability to process the information presented needs less time or physical ability to do so, but also the other way around.

People high in mental ability are most likely to process the information centrally. Mental ability consists of two factors knowledge and intelligence. Knowledge refers to the extent we are familiar to the topic. If we have a lot of knowledge about a certain topic, then we can elaborate on the information presented. Questioning if the proposed aligns with our previous assumption, if it doesn’t what are the arguments and do they hold ground? But also are we able to understand the language the message is presented in, verbal or non-verbal? The second and last factor, Intelligence, refers to the ability to think or contemplate on a subject. Intelligence enables us to cognitively elaborate on a subject even though our knowledge sometimes fall short of fully comprehending the information.

Physical ability refers to everything that prevents us to use our mental ability, for example time. If you are in a hurry then you don’t have time to contemplate on an issue, or distracted because you are driving your car. It can also refer to a physical disability such as deafness and you cannot hear the message transferred to you, these are all obstacles preventing a person to mentally elaborate on the message presented.

Although the model gives us extensive insight in how cognitive elaboration is achieved many of these factors lay beyond our capacity to influence. We can however create an environment that facilitates the ability and involvement. Need for cognition however is something outside our control.

### 3.3.2 Community readiness Model

The last question we have to ask ourselves how do communities change? How do they react and mobilize after receiving a message? The community readiness model gives insight in this process and gives an outline of how these changes can be facilitated. It’s complementary to the research as it combines two research traditions; individual psychological readi-
ness of treatment (Prochaska, 2013; Prochaska & Velicer, 1997) and community development (Warren, 1963) “to provide and efficient means of characterizing and assessing a community’s readiness to take action on an issue” (Kelly et al., 2003).

Warren (1963) argues there are different stages within community action; stimulation of interest, initiation, legitimization, decision to act, and action. These stages represent the readiness of a community to act. To achieve maximal impact the message should fit the appropriate state the community is in.

The model divides a community in six dimensions each with its own stage of readiness. The model makes the following division; existing efforts (programs, activities, policies, etc.); community knowledge of efforts; leadership (includes appointed leaders and influential community members); community climate (prevailing attitudes in community about the issue); knowledge about the issue; and resources relating to the issue (Kelly et al., 2003). The table below outlines different questions to asses every dimension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Sample questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community efforts</td>
<td>• Please describe the efforts in your community to address this issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What are the strengths of these efforts? Weaknesses?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Are there any segments of the community that may not be able to access these services?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What formal or informal policies, practices and laws address this issue in your community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community knowledge of efforts</td>
<td>• How aware are people in your community of the efforts?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• How does the community view the policies, practices and laws that address the issue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>• Who are the leaders specific to this issue in your community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Using a scale of 1–10, how much of a concern is this issue to community leaders?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• How are the leaders involved in the issue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community climate</td>
<td>• What is the community’s attitude about this issue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What are the primary obstacles to efforts in your community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Is there ever a circumstance in which members of your community might think that this issue should be tolerated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about issue</td>
<td>• How knowledgeable are community members about the issue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What local data is available?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• How do people get information about the issue in your community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>• Where would an individual affected by this issue first turn to for help?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Do efforts that address this issue have a broad base of volunteers?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• What is the business community’s attitude about supporting local</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
efforts with funding, personnel, space donations, etc.?
• Is there any evaluation of these efforts?

Every dimension then can be subdivided into stages of readiness like outlined in Table 2. It can be of considerable strategic value to pinpoint where to intervene as well as to what strategies can be applied to get the community into the next stage of readiness and which dimension to target. (Kelly et al., 2003)

**Table 2: Stages of community readiness. Source: (Kelly et al., 2003)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Brief description</th>
<th>Goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No awareness</td>
<td>Issue is not generally recognized by the community or leaders as a problem.</td>
<td>Raise awareness of issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial/ resistance</td>
<td>At least some community members recognize that it is a problem, but there is little or no recognition that it might be a local problem.</td>
<td>Raise awareness that problem exists in community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vague awareness</td>
<td>Most feel that there is a local problem, but there is no immediate motivation to do anything about it.</td>
<td>Raise awareness that community can do something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-planning</td>
<td>There is clear recognition that something must be done, and there may even be a committee. However, efforts are not focused or detailed.</td>
<td>Raise awareness with concrete ideas to address problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Active leaders begin planning in earnest. Community offers modest support of efforts.</td>
<td>Gather information with which to plan and improve programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiation</td>
<td>Enough information is available to justify efforts, and activities are underway.</td>
<td>Provide community-specific information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabilization</td>
<td>Activities are supported by administrators or community decision makers. Staff are trained and experienced.</td>
<td>Stabilize efforts/program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation/ expansion</td>
<td>Standard efforts are in place. Community members feel comfortable in using services and support expansions. Local data regularly obtained.</td>
<td>Expand and enhance services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level of community ownership</td>
<td>Detailed and sophisticated knowledge exist about prevalence, risk factors and causes. Staff members are highly trained. Effective evaluation is in place</td>
<td>Maintain momentum and continue growth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although every strategy needs to be developed in the context regarding culture, norms, values and the issue at hand. The Community Readiness Model gives us a general direction to what is most appropriate in order to facilitate beneficial change. They suggest a number of actions that would contribute to the advancement in stages of readiness. In the initial stages (no awareness, denial / resistance and vague awareness) the main goal should be to inform in order to build awareness of the problem and that the community can and should do something about the problem. The three stages following these (pre-planning, preparation and initiation), communities are aware and preparing to take action, recommended actions are to gather data and solidify support for the cause. In the final stages (stabilization, confirmation/expansion and high level of community ownership) the primary goal is to keep momentum going, but also this is the time to feedback, are the needs being met and if not can we revise the efforts in order to keep momentum going and achieve the envisioned goal? (Kelly et al., 2003)

This model transcends the methodology I propose. It shows it’s place in a much more complex process of change. The methodology is complementary to the Community Readiness Model. Often change efforts go further than only educating through, in this case, photography and involve cultivating financial and political support, training, organizing public forums and many other activities (Kelly et al., 2003).

3.4 Summary

To conclude this chapter I’ll give a short summary of the methodology. The methodology can be subdivided in three steps, “Create a baseline, discover what’s needed and create a story”, “Making the switch: from text to photo” and lastly “Facilitate change process” and aims to provide a grass root approach that addresses a social need, through an inclusive process, that engages with the audience to facilitate change through photography.

The first step “Create a baseline, discover what’s needed and create a story for change” storytelling and photo elicitation is used, in order to pinpoint three different things. Firstly, it locates the stories that guides and reconstruct reality and therefore action. Secondly, it sheds a preliminary light on how people interpreted photo’s and assign meaning to different signs in the photo’s used in the photo elicitation. And lastly, It tries to identify community readiness. The result of this step will be a story that addresses the issue at hand in order to engage in the everyday talk.

The second step “Making the switch: from text to photo” elaborates on the process through which we give meaning to an image or visual representation. With this knowledge we can “create” theoretical photos that will be shot in the context. To verify the message that the image or image documentary should convey photo elicitation is used.

The last step “Facilitate change process” answers the question “How do we get people to elaborate on the subject and achieve lasting attitude change in order to change the background stories?”. It draws on knowledge of change by using the model of community readiness and addresses in which circumstances people will elaborate on the message presented.
This will provide a theoretical foundation to device a plan for a visual presentation of the photos.
4 The case of Dharavi

In order to test the methodology I propose I will do a case study. The case study will draw on all the knowledge I’ve gained through my years of education. It will combine knowledge of my bachelors in build environment, my current masters and my passion for photography. During my masters I came to know of the situation in Dharavi, a slum in the middle of Mumbai, which will be redeveloped as part of the Dharavi redevelopment project. It’s a complex situation with many actors. Personally I disagree with the course of action the municipality has taken as I consider it to be in favor of the status quo and undermining the equality principle, I do fully agree with Sheela Patel from SPARC as she states that the project is a modern form of land grabbing. Therefore I want to do a case study of the proposed methodology in Dharavi in the hope I can contribute beneficial social change which will lead to better facilities for the slum dwellers. In this chapter I will outline the current situation and the proposed course of action regarding the fieldwork to test my methodology.

4.1 Background of the current situation

Dharavi, India’s largest slum located just in the center of Mumbai enclosed in the urbanized environment and next to the financial hart of the city. Traditionally Dharavi was a fisher’s enclave and Mumbai was located south but started to expand rapidly in the 1960s and its trajectory was north. Slowly Mumbai grew around Dharavi and over time it found itself in the center of what was for a moment world’s most expensive city. (Weinstein, 2008)

Over the last decades propositions have been made for the redevelopment of the Dharavi slum, but the last effort initiated by the Dharavi slum redevelopment program is slowly gaining momentum. Developers could participate in a tender and some projects already started. But as the project progresses proposition to the project grows and in 2009 an expert committee concluded that the project was a “sophisticated land grab and one driven by personal greed” (Bharucha, 2009). One of the committee members, Vidyadhar Phatak, expressed his reservations about the bidding process and the continuation under the supervision of its project leader Mukesh Mehta. (Bharucha, 2009) In October that same year this fear was underlined by and the results of a survey concluding only 37% of the inhabitants of sector 5 was eligible for rehabilitation, meaning 56,000 residents had to be evicted from sector 5 within Dharavi. These people thus where without rights and provisions could not be made because the whole process was in the hands of the private developers (Janwalkar, 2012).

The Dharavi redevelopment is an interesting case, many actors are involved and it has a long history of previous attempts that failed. Again a plan has been made and again it’s facing resistance and delays. What makes Dharavi such a difficult place to change? I like to
explore the origin of the conflict between stakeholders and explain it by using various theoretical frameworks.

First I will elaborate on the frames of reference that the different actors bring to the scene elaborating on the following actors; Mukesh Metha (Project leader of DRP), Dharavi locals and SPARC (An NGO active in Dharavi).

Taking these into consideration I analyze the case using the theory of conflict communication. Using patterns of expressing conflict by Pearce and Littlejohn I elaborate on the interaction between stakeholders.

Lastly, using complexity theory elaborate on the reasons the change is not something that is just planned and executed, but though many external factors difficult to predict. Underlining the need to adapt to the chaos where processes are subject to.

4.1.1 Framing and narrative exploration

Before we dive into the conflict its important to analyze the different paradigms and understand why they oppose each other. Different narratives will be used so we can create a baseline on which we can identify with the actors. We can recognizes three kinds of actors, the government, developers and the “Slum dwellers”, all with different interests and views on the problem, which they frame and reproduce through interaction (Aarts, 2006).

a. Mukesh Metha

First the paradigm of Mukesh Metha the project leader of the DRP will be explored. Mukesh was born in Mumbai a son of a self made millionaire, his father came to Mumbai as a simple farmer and before Mukesh was born he had already gathered his fortune. A fortune teller had told his father that his youngest son would be the most successful therefore not a penny was spared and he was send of to America for his education. After his education he made a living building houses for worlds most rich on Long Island, New York. He had never thought of doing something with slums, this all changed when he turned back to India and was commissioned to redevelop India’s largest slum, Dharavi. His first approach to the project was like a developer or as a merchant as he puts it. But then he moved his office to the slums, there he had an epiphany he realized that those people living there where just like his father, people seeking a better future. Up from that point on he decided to put every effort in realizing that dream and helping the slum dwellers achieve it.

Mukesh tells the story often in different articles and presentations. It is the story of his success, that of a dream for all who have hope.

But if we see behind the curtains he shows a different image, we look at an interview in National Geographic (Jacobson, 2007) and an article written by Liza Weinstein (Weinstein, 2009) where she analyzes the actions of Mukesh. In the interview with National Geographic he outlines the process as he sees it.

Traditionally many slum were just bulldozed, but “who want to be the one on the bulldozer?” he says. He argues no one does, and therefore we use the “Talking cure” in which they work together towards an answer; the administrators of the DRP considers this to be crucial for the project to succeed. Therefore he can be seen on many occasions within
Dharavi. Over the years he attended over hundreds of meetings with the locals. (Jacobson, 2007)

But Mukesh is becoming skeptical, as he tells the reporter “I offered them the moon but they repaid me with crushing indifference” accusing them to have “to many chiefs and to little Indians”. Then he concludes it’s a business no one in power wants to do, because of the “vote bank”, but someone needs to do it (Jacobson, 2007). Also Weinstein underlines the sensitivity of the project as they leave a meeting and she interviews him. She talks about a meeting they just attended and why they don’t just bulldoze the slum according to the policy for “illegal squatters”. He replies; “We couldn’t be perceived as having run rough-shod, the perception mattered. The political leadership,” he explained, “wanted [the project’s planning process] to be done in a participatory manner.”. All in all the story of the genuine heroes becomes less credible reading his view on the process and the goal of the project, which is the redevelopment of the Dharavi area.

b. **The slum dwellers**

The people from the Dharavi area have a story to tell. Most of them grew up in this place and some families even lived there for generations, all of this is endangered through the redevelopment of Dharavi.

Diving through the literature different narratives have been found and what most of them have in common, is the adversity to the DRP. Some even claim it’s “a scam, a piece of fools gold” and others just shrug their shoulders adding “we heard many story’s but nothing ever happened, why should Mukesh plan differ?”.

Listening to a Kumbhar, mr. Tank, one of the many pottery owners living in Kumbharwada, he exclaims “How dare anyone claim that Kumbharwada is "a slum" in need of rehabilitation! Kumbharwada is home to working people, men and women who have always made their own way. If Mukesh Mehta was so enamored of the U.S., couldn’t he see Kumbharwada was a sterling example of the supposed American dream?”. He tells us he has worked hard and has a house of more than 280 m2 where as according to the plans he needs to relocate to an apartment of 21 m2. As he adds “I’m not going to live in those vertical slums” referring to the apartment high rise build by the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) containing 36 apartments remembering to Stalin like architecture. And even if a positive narrative towards the DRP is found it underlines the fact “they” will never understand what is means to live in Dharavi and call it your home.

The Dharavi People feel not understood and even forced Making their resistance to the plan even more explicit and severe.

c. **Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC)**

The third party we are examining is the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC). SPARC is an NGO that in the 1980’s got involved in the fist plans to redevelop Dharavi. At the time much emphasis was taken to the institutional pluralism involving the NGO as a third party, they could be a good intermediary as they where not government looking for social control or commercial and therefore only interested in profit. The NGO had to voice the needs and preferences of the urban poor so the marked and
governmental institutions could act accordingly. In turn they had to convey the message back to the people in a language they could understand. The NGO had also to mobilize the communities so that they could organize themselves and partner with marked parties (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001). The narratives of SPARC will be examined through a study of the various articles the director of SPARC, Sheela Patel, has written in the journal “Environment and Urbanization”. The first article she wrote was in 2002 long before the DRP, about the relocation of around 60,000 people for the improvement of the railway system of Mumbai. The government worked in close relation with SPARC to coordinate the whole resettlement. Although many mistakes where made in the process SPARC recognized it was a great step forward. Finely people where involved in the process and the impact on livelihoods was kept to a minimum (Patel, d’Cruz, & Burra, 2002).

For long people thought Mukesh’s plan was never to implemented and critics wondered why they would impose a plan which existed only on paper. Until in 2007 a tender was issued that shook every one awake, this was the motivation to write the next paper. Arguing that a close collaboration with the Dharavi inhabitants had to be sought to ensure a conflict free process (Patel & Arputham, 2007). Not even one year later a critical article from her hand was published declaring legal procedures had not been followed. No plan was published and there was little possibility for objections and suggestions as the publics had virtually not been informed. Rejecting the decision to drop the need for a 70 per cent consent of the community and the increase of the FSI that would only be favor the developers (Patel & Arputham, 2008). In 2009 Sheela reported good progress, amendments and changes where made to the plan on recommendations of SPARC (Patel, Arputham, Burra, & Savchuk, 2009). But she still proceeds to fight for the rights of the Dharavi residents as she writes in 2010; “The government plans appear to be driven more by an intent to support commercial developments than to address the needs of their residents.” (Arputham & Patel, 2010)

4.1.2 Conflict communication

Looking at the process lessons have been learned from the past. Where the NGO had to be the voice of the public nowadays the public itself is actively involved. Actively trying to gain support from within the community. Although the credo of the DRP is participation many disagree (Weinstein, 2009). The meetings are mainly aimed at convincing the public and minimizing resistance, persuading them to oblige. And real participation is kept to a minimum, even the legal framework ensuring democratic decision making is withdrawn (Patel & Arputham, 2008).

One way to analyze the current process is the theory of “communication differences” described by Pearce and Littlejohn in their book “Moral conflict: when social worlds collide”. They recognize five different patterns of expressing conflict, three of which are applicable on this situation. They argue that most of the time these patterns succeed one another starting with persuasion going to frustration ending in dialogue (Pearce, 1997). A similar process can be recognized in the redevelopment of Dharavi. I therefore will argue that although the philosophy was participation it looks more like persuasion, a one way street of communicating the needs of the DRP, convincing people not to resist the change.
The aim was to start constructions in 2007 but this could not be achieved and as time passed the schism between the government and the Dharavi Public became more apparent. Both groups felt a threatened as their goals where not met and became more and more opposed to each other enforcing a common identity in which the other is the enemy making the social gap even bigger (Haslam, 2001). A time passed both parties gave up the hope the other would understand as Mukesh exclaims “I offered them the moon but they repaid me with crushing indifference” and the slum dweller says, “they” will never understand what it means to live in Dharavi and call it your home. So the process evolved out of the persuasion phase into forceful conflict (Pearce, 1997). The government no longer actively seeks a broad consensus on the project but instead takes measures so the project can go though and in 2009 they dropped the need for a 70 per cent consent of the community and the increase of the FSI that would only be favorable for the developers (Patel et al., 2009). These actions only reaffirmed the suspicions of the slum dwellers and increasing the social gap even more making a dialogue more unlikely. Up until today the process did not escalate to a point where both parties agree that dialogue will be the solution to this problem.

If the situation doesn’t change the government will over rule the slum dwellers getting their way and redevelop Dharavi. An alternative would be the empowerment of the public and force the situation into a dialogue. Different sources indicate the latter will happen, Jockin Arputham from the National Slum Dwellers Federation even wrote the following in an open letter;

“...The slum dwellers have some easy ways to make their opposition felt. Two of Mumbai’s main railway lines run along Dharavi’s borders. These can easily be blocked – and this would bring chaos to Mumbai as such a high proportion of the workforce relies on these railways to get to and from work. The airport runways can also be blocked – and the slum dweller federations will inform all the airlines that operate there as to when and where this will happen. We do not want to resort to this; we want a partnership in making both these development plans and other plans in Mumbai a success.” (Patel & Arputham, 2007)

If such things would happen and the public could equal the power of the government they could steer the conflict to a dialogue where both parties are heard working more toward a win – win situation (Pearce, 1997).

4.1.3 The complexity and the need to evolve.

But although we can recognize patterns, the complexity of the problem is still something to consider. Barnes argues that for an organization to survive it has to develop rules which are capable of keeping an organization operating ‘on the edge of chaos’. “Because when it is too stable, nothing changes and the system dies; if to chaotic, the system will be overwhelmed by change.” The only way out is to reorganize the rules so order is restored. He argues that chaos is dynamic, constantly transforming in an irreversible, and thus evolutionary manner. Although the laws of cause and effect appear not to apply there are certain boundaries to which the change is limited.
Looking at Dharavi and especially the team leading this project there is almost no flexibility, which leads to increasing chaos and conflict. First of all the goal is set and the only solution is the redevelopment of the Dharavi area, it seems. Second though self-referentiality (Van Herzele & Aarts, 2013) and time parties became more and more opposed, stuck in their own frames of reference thinking ‘they’ are “stubborn” or “only acting in self interest”. If this continues and parties cannot reorganize the rules of the ‘game’ it probably will lead to failure. Three things can happen after this, first, room for dialogue is found, second, the government will forcefully realize their plan or lastly, every thing will be discarded as a failure and no lessons are learned and a new project will be initiated trying it once again. The best solution for the Dharavi people is the fist, but for this to happen an important condition has to be met, the Dharavi public has to equal the governments power which they can achieve in various ways, though mass-media framing the problem in their favor or protests disrupting daily live in Mumbai as Jockin Arputham suggests in his open letter to the government and private developers (Castells, 2007). If not the government will over rule the public and forcefully implement the project without consent of the communities.

4.2 Methodological framework and planning

Below I will outline how the 3 step methodology will be translated into practice in the case of Dharavi. I will outline the different tasks within the case study. I will elaborate on the practical matters step by step. It will set forth a practical guide relevant to the research, theory as discussed in chapter 3 will be left out as the focus is the practicalities of the study. The planning divided over a time period of three months can be found in the appendix.

4.2.1 Step 1: Discover what is needed

In order to facilitate change one should be aware of the context. The situation has to be evaluated and one should be aware of the problems in this context. This step tries to do just that, become aware of the context so a change effort can be executed efficiently.

The theories used are storytelling and photo elicitation, in order to pinpoint three different things. Firstly, it locates the stories that guides and reconstruct reality and therefore action. Secondly, it sheds a preliminary light on how people interpreted photo’s and assign meaning to different signs in the photo’s used in the photo elicitation. And lastly, it tries to identify the stage of community readiness. The following practical matters need to be executed in order to gather the data that will server following steps.

- Gather background information on the project
- Create interviews
- Take interviews
- Analyze interviews
- Set up a communication strategy
- Create a Story

The first thing to do is to gather information on the current situation regarding the change you want to facilitate. In this case it’s the redevelopment of the Dharavi area. The
majority of the work is already done in the paragraph previous to this. I outline the different views on the redevelopment exploring the different narratives and discourses even more, and to lay bare the underlying assumptions that guide action. Even though I will spend some time to validate the information I already have.

So with the context in mind I can start to device interviews to lay bare, the stories governing everyday life, a first insight in how people interpret signs and the stage of readiness the community is in. The interviews need to underline and explore all facets. Proper questions need to be devised in order to allocate the information needed. More research needs to be done in the context of exploring the dimensions of storytelling, signs and community readiness.

I will have to gather or make photos that are related to the topic of change in order to conduct the photo elicitation process. To fully facilitate the photo elicitation I need to gather visual material regarding the subject. Important is to just take photos as esthetics and other considerations regarding a “good” or “beautiful” picture can lead to an empty picture in regard to what is there. It has to be a representation of what is out there. These pictures with a rich context can provide a basis to lay bare what was unknown by the researcher and unveil important data in regard to signs that the researcher regarded insignificant.

To prevent photos from framing the problem and influencing the data gathered I’ll take two measures. Firstly, interviews will be divided into two different parts a semi structured text only interview that will lay bare the stories and a second part that will use photo elicitation to locate the meaning of signs. The second step is to prevent framing of the problem, I’ll use different sets of pictures. The first is to locate meaning of everyday signs, the second a set of photos affiliated with the topic of change. To locate the meaning of everyday signs I will use a map and draw a grid on top of this, intersections will be numbered and I’ll use a random number generator to pick the numbers corresponding with a location. At that location I’ll take a panorama picture so nothing will be left out. The photos regarding the topic of change will be made using cluster sampling. A list will be made regarding of locations relating to the topics of change. A random number generator will select the locations. At the locations I’ll make a picture after every fifty meters, with a vocal length of 12mm, which is wide angle. So to sum up the interview process, firstly I’ll start with the semi structured text only interview followed up with a number of panorama pictures to lay bare the meaning of everyday signs, I’ll conclude with a set of random pictures regarding the topic of change.

The next step is to conduct the interviews, practical matters involve arranging translators, a location and participants. To facilitate the interviews in the best possible way we need to arrange multiple things. For starters a location where the interviews can be conducted, preferably within the slum. Situating the interviews in the slum has multiple advantages firstly it enables many potential participants to participate in the research and secondly, it enables me to easy access to participants. As I do not speak the language we also need translators so the language barrier can be overcome.

After conducting the interviews they need to be analyzed. The findings need to be subdivided into three categories, background stories, community readiness and semiotics. As the interview is already divided in its setup analysis of these different topics shouldn’t be a
problem. Three different outputs will be generated as these will feed into different parts of the research. Background stories are needed to devise a message in combination with the data gathered on the topic of community readiness. Where the data regarding semiotics will play a large role in the next step “making the switch”.

Based on the stage of community readiness we can evaluate our communication strategy. The community readiness model will serve as an anchor to create an overview on the strategy toward the change effort. It’s vital to connect the message to the community in order to create maximum effect.

The story will draw on the data gathered and will form a narrative of an imaginary person. It is important that we know the stories and narratives circulating within the community. These shape reality and guide action, our goal is to present a new reality and change the everyday talk to one which is more favorable to change. The new narrative we will construct will build upon the stories gained and the strategy build upon the theory of community readiness.

4.2.2 Step 2: Making the switch

The second step “Making the switch: from text to photo” elaborates on the process through which we give meaning to an image or visual representation. With this knowledge we can “create” theoretical photos that will be shot in the context. To verify the message that the image or image documentary should convey photo elicitation is used.

- Devide story into scenes
- Translate scenes in semiotics
- Making photos

The text from the previous step needs to be translated into a visual representation. The story will be broken down into scenes that can be photographed. This step will require creative input as the signs are puzzle pieces that need to fit into each other in order represent the theoretical. Firstly, I’ll make a theoretical exploration of the signs and their meaning. This will create a document with theoretical photos. The next step is to add esthetics, I’ll use Photoshop to arrange the signs to create a first draft of each photo. These drafts will serve as a guide when the photos will be made.

The next step is to recreate these pictures. The drafts I created in Photoshop need to materialize. Participants and props are to be arranged. I’ll search for collaboration within the artistic organizations or individuals to streamline the execution.

To test the photos I created, I’ll use photo elicitation to verify the message the pictures carry. Again a location needs to be arranged, it has to be large enough to create a small exhibition of the photo’s. I will use focus groups to get their opinion on the exhibition and expose shortcomings to the imagery and verification to the story. As before a translator has to be present to bring the language barrier.

4.2.3 Step 3: Facilitating the change process

The last step “Facilitate change process” answers the question “How do we get people to elaborate on the subject and achieve lasting attitude change in order to change the back-
ground stories?”. It draws on knowledge of change by using the model of community readiness and addresses in which circumstances people will elaborate on the message presented. This will provide a theoretical foundation to device a plan for a visual presentation of the photos.

- Design exhibition
- Record playbooks
- Arrange exhibition
  - Organize participants for audiobook
  - Construction of exhibition
  - Organize locations
  - Organize people to tell their story
- Exhibition

The last step is to put the images to work. I propose the use of exhibition as it is the perfect way the expose the images to a large population, as it can be put to display in a public space. Besides the large population you can reach, it also possible create more anchorage for the pictures, you have more control over the sequence people will view your pictures, and even lay meaning in the physical layout.

The first step is to design a exhibition, building on the Elaboration Likelihood Model I can fine tune every aspect to maximize the likelihood of elaboration. As mentioned before attention has to be paid to facilitate maximal motivation and ability to elaborate on the subject. Motivation can be achieved by laying a clear connection between the people and the subject presented, involvement is the key. The physical ability can be influenced by creating an environment with as less distracting elements as possible.

In order to grab the attention of the participants I plan to use audio in combination with the visual. These will small looped audio fragments to stimulate people to spend more time observing the photos. These audio fragments will be tuned to the subject of the photo one is currently viewing and provide beside a stimulus to elaborate extra anchoring to the photo. Audiobooks need to be created based on the semiotic work I’ve done before. Participants have to be arranged and recorded.

After these steps are completed the exhibition can be materialized. The construction can be made, locations reserved and to add to the experience people can be asked to transfer their experience to participants to reinforce what was just shown. The construction has to be flexible and easily deconstructed, as it will be exhibited in different parts of the slum. The work will be done by people from the slum as I want them to profit as well. Locations are preferably crowded to maximize the efforts.

The last step and goal of the entire research is to exhibit the photos. This is also the stage where I will test my assumptions. I will need to interview multiple participants about their experience and if they learned something from the exhibition. I need to evaluate the effectiveness of the methodology. This will be done through semi-structured interviews, addressing different facets of the change process. This will be done while exhibiting where I’ll ask random people to participate in a small interview asking about their experience and their opinions on the presented.
4.3 Documentation

In order to reflect on the research critically, everything needs to be documented. Every step of the research needs to be recorded some way or another. There are many forms of documentation and every step requires a different approach. Some steps are just not fit to be documented via text and other need to be documented in this particular way. I will elaborate on the different actions and the way they will be documented.

Visual documentation is key in transferring the knowledge gained. As the whole research revolves around photography as a medium to facilitate social change, the process will involve many moments that cannot be caught in text. The creative processes can only be explained and documented through the visual accompanied with the written to provide anchoring to the presented. The photos documenting the process will only be use as a functional tool. Esthetics and beauty will literally be left out of the picture, it will only capture what is there, the materialization of the process.

Every action needs its own form of documentation. As the research operates on the fringe of the theoretical and the visual, some steps will produce materialized products while other only produce knowledge. Therefore it’s important to outline in advance which form of documenting is most fit for every step. In Table 3 I outline the best form of documenting a particular step.

**Table 3: Overview of what is to be documented and the medium**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: Discover what is needed</th>
<th>To be documented</th>
<th>Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gather information</td>
<td>Background stories gained through desk research (scientific, press and photographs), interviews and fieldwork.</td>
<td>Text Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create interviews</td>
<td>Questions and rationale behind the goal of the interviews. Process of determining where and how images being that will be made.</td>
<td>Text Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take interviews</td>
<td>Information about participants, content of the interviews and a photo’s regarding the interpretation.</td>
<td>Text Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyze interviews</td>
<td>Divide data into three categories, background stories, community readiness and semiotics. Document the threat linking the different topics.</td>
<td>Text Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set up a communication strategy</td>
<td>Rationale behind the communication strategy. Strategy itself.</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create a Story</td>
<td>Rationale behind stories, stories themselves.</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Step 2: Making the switch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Format</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divide story into scenes</td>
<td>Rationale behind the division. Message per scene. Preliminary ideas and mood board regarding the scenes.</td>
<td>Text, Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translate scenes in semiotics</td>
<td>Rationale behind the setup of each photo. Photos of the creative process.</td>
<td>Text, Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making photos</td>
<td>Documentation of the process, participants and photo's.</td>
<td>Text, Visual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Step 3: Facilitating the change process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Format</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Design exhibition</td>
<td>Rationale behind exhibition. Design of exhibition</td>
<td>Text, Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record playbooks</td>
<td>Creation of playbooks. Documentation of the process and link with photos</td>
<td>Text, Audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organize participants for audiobook</td>
<td>Information about participants</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organize people to tell their story</td>
<td>Process of arranging agreements on volunteers for exhibition. Visual documentation of process.</td>
<td>Text, Visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibition</td>
<td>Documentation of exhibition, report on progress and feedback from community. Video of surroundings and exhibition. Photos during the exhibition.</td>
<td>Text, Visual, Video</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Field notes will be the thread that links all the data together. Throughout the research notes will be made in a simple notebook that I'll keep on me throughout the research. It will serve practical purposes, such as writing thing down that still needs attention, but more importantly I'll write down notes related to the research, meaning of signs, comments of locals and ideas related to the research.
4.4 Budget

Although the research is practical viable the financial side needs to be considered. To determine if I have sufficient funds to do everything I’ve planed I need do an inventory of the expected cash-flow. What will be my income and expenses for the duration of my stay in India? Crucial questions are “What are the base expenses?”, “What are the research related expenses?” and “How much do we need to reserve for unexpected events?”.

Base expenses I consider to be housing, food and commuting. These costs I consider universal and although life in The Netherlands and India is quite different I expect to spend as much in Mumbai as in The Netherlands. As I move from the relative cheap Wageningen to the center of Mumbai I expect the rent to be the same or even higher. Food related expenses I expect to be lower.

Research related costs would be for translators, interview locations and the exhibition (printing photos, making the exhibition and exhibition related costs). Although the research will mostly be done by myself some research related costs cannot be avoided. The photos that I want to use need to be printed and the exhibition made. I expect some extra costs while exhibiting, so these need to be accounted for.

The budget I have consist of my income from the IB Groep, my savings and I hope to attract some extra funds. To facilitate everything I need income. My primary income will come from the Dutch government, the IB Groep, they provide loans and subsidies for students while they study. Besides the income from the IB Groep I plan to raise funds so the research won’t solely rely on my savings and income from the IB Groep. I’ll send letters and maybe start a kick starter campaign to fund my research.

Below a balance of the costs I plan to make. It’s divided into the subjects outlined above base expenses, practical expenses and income.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Costs</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Base expenses (housing, food, commuting)</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Practical Expenses</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Total left</strong></td>
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<td>€ 1,320</td>
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5 Ethics

With this research there are definitely some ethical considerations, first the research itself and secondary the outcome it may generate. The wellbeing of the participants has to be the primary focus. Therefore, we need to secure voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm to participants and confidentiality/anonymity.

Different parts of the research have to some or larger extend ethical concerns. When we look at the activities that involve participants these become more apparent. Interviews are one of those, and the points mentioned above need to be secured and taken care of in the design of the interviews.

The photo’s are a different story as anonymity is much harder to guarantee as faces will be an important aspect of the photo. Before we start it has to be clear to the participants why the photo’s are shot and what the envisioned result will be. Informed consent is a main concern regarding the main characters of the story. They have to fully understand to what purposes the images will be used and that I will be shown to the public inside the slum but maybe also outside of it.

But what about the ethical consideration regarding the goal of the research, what if I succeed? How will this change in attitude manifest itself? As outlined before in the exploration of the case of Dharavi we see a unbalanced power equation, where the municipality and the real estate developers have the upper hand. I propose a situation where the people try to balance this.

Drawn on social science we can make a prediction about the outcome. Looking at Pierre Bourdieu he depicts a world where social structures guide and structure action also referring to this as a Habitus. And such structures tend to defend it’s doxic state through the process of auto-poises. In my research I will let the people question the doxa, a set of believes about the world that are taken for granted and who structure society often facilitating inequality because the situation is perceived as common censual.

But what happened if I propose change? This change will be resisted, firstly by the people in the slums who never doubted the doxa as it guides their lives and aspirations, and secondly it will be resisted by the people who profit from this social arrangement, the municipality and real estate developers, and maybe even the middle class as a rearrangement of the social structures can form a treat to their way of lives.

So by doing this you will inflict harm to a social structure that is already there for decades. The problem is that harm to a social structure is often only measured by the force it retaliates. A good example is the recent attacks on Charly Hebdo, it was not only a attack on cartoonists, but also a attack on freedom of expression, an attack on our western way of live. The retaliation came throughout the west, hundreds of demonstrations where held and millions changed their profile picture in support of Charly Hebdo, or the western thought of freedom of expression. This also demonstrates beautifully that a retaliation does not have
to be in the same form as “the aggressor” exerted power but can take different forms, physical or mental.

If we translate this to Dharavi and the project does change something an opposing force will come. Let’s take it to its extreme, imagine the research was such a success that throughout the slum people would gather for demonstrations and demand proper rehabilitation. This would challenge the current doxa, the municipality will believe it had acted in reason and all fairness. It will perceive the demonstrations as illegitimate and abnormal. The institutions therefore want to restore “balance”, this can be done through dialogue where the two realities will be challenged, but in an extreme case physical power will be exerted in order to restore the doxic state of the social construct. I will be partly responsible for possible casualties on both sides. So this I need to consider and I’m aware of the potential consequences of my actions.

What if such things happen will I leave Mumbai to finish my thesis or will I stay to follow up on my responsibility as I put all of this in motion, I will do the latter, as I believe the wellbeing of the people is more important than finishing my thesis in time.
6 Bibliography


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### Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Devise story into scenes</td>
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<td>9-29-4-15</td>
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<td>3-17-6-15</td>
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