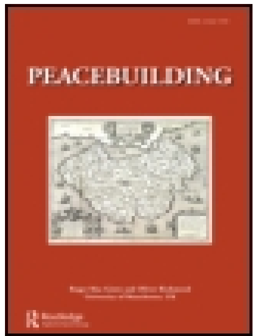

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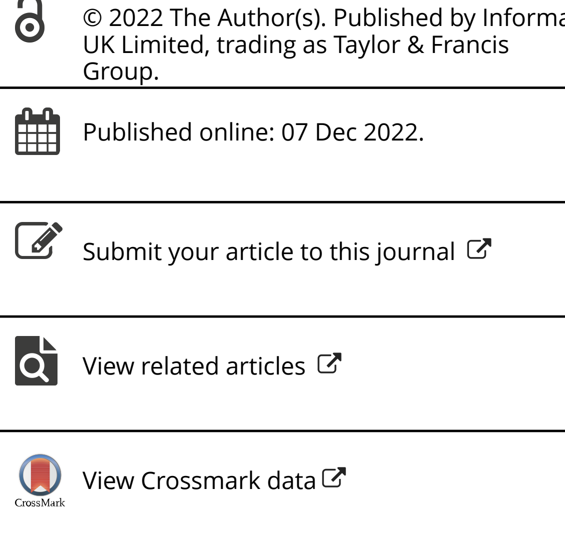

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Active looking: images in peace mediation

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ABSTRACT
In this article, we explore the potential contributions of visual images to international peace mediation. Inspired by the concept of active listening and narrative approaches to mediation, we advance the notion of active looking in peace mediation: a visual-discursive mediation practice that includes images as a mode of expression and contribution to meaning-making processes, capitalising on specific characteristics of images, especially as regards their relationship to verbal language, which we explore in terms of ineffability, approximation, elusiveness, and commonalities. We propose active looking as both an approach to conflict mediation and a mediation skill derived from an understanding of conflict transformation that – instead of aiming at problem-solving based on sameness – appreciates openness, difference, and ambiguity. Ideally, through image-generated evolution, re-complexification, and re-authoring of narratives, the conflict parties, by means of active looking skills embodied in and promoted by the mediator, move closer to a conflict's transformation.

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Active looking; narrative-based mediation; applied visual peace research; photography; visual culture

Introduction

Research in international relations, peace research, and security studies increasingly acknowledges the importance of visual images in national, international, and global dynamics.[1] In this literature, there is a strong focus on the relationship between images and violence.[2] As images – and discourses on images – 'reinforce the invisibility of some

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[1]Roland Bleiker, ed., *Visual Global Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018); Juha A. Vuori and Rune Saugmann Andersen, eds., *Visual Security Studies: Sights and Spectacles of Insecurity and War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018); Sophie Harman, *Seeing Politics: Film, Visual Method, and International Relations* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2019); Frank Möller, *Peace Photography* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) and William A. Callahan, *Sensible Politics: Visualising International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[2]A small selection: Allen Feldman, 'Violence and Vision: *The Prosthetics and Aesthetics of Terror*', in *Violence and Subjectivity*, eds. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000), 46–78; Nicholas Mirzoeff, *Watching Babylon: The War in Iraq and Global Visual Culture* (New and London: Routledge, 2005); Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London and New York: Verso, 2010); Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010); Dora Apel, *War Culture and the Contest of Images* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Geoffrey Batchen, Mick Gidley, Nancy K. Miller and Jay Prosser, eds., *Picturing Atrocity: Photography in Crisis* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012); Liam Kennedy and Caitlin Patrick, eds., *The Violence of the Image: Photography and International Conflict* (New York and London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); John Roberts, *Photography and Its*

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things by overtly focusing on others',[3] it is arguable that the focus on violence in much of the literature on visuality, important as it is, also explains in part the absence of peace from visual representation and discourses. To be sure, '[t]hroughout its history, photography has had an intimate relationship with violence' but focusing on this relationship tends to make us blind to photography's equally 'important role in civic life and democratic struggle'.[4] Because the concept – any concept – that we use tends to 'preselect' our answers,[5] yet another rehearsal of the substantial literature on the relationship between the visual and violence would produce little insights into the relationship between the visual and peace. We, therefore, deliberately choose a different starting point, utilising insights generated in or epistemologically connected with visual peace research which highlight the peace potentialities of visual images.[6] In addition to this literature, we consult visual and cultural studies to unearth some of images' peace potentialities that the specialised literature on violence tends to obscure. By taking one step back to the general (some may say: basic) literature on visuality while simultaneously being aware of the literature on violence, we put ourselves in a heuristic position from which we can traverse the less frequently explored path – the path to peace.

In the article, we explore conditions for an *applied* visual peace research and elaborate on images' potential impact on and relevance in conflict transformation and peace mediation. Many practitioners deem mediation in crisis, arguing that it is less effective today than it used to be.[7] While practitioners and academics call for innovative approaches, the study of international peace mediation has hitherto ignored challenges and opportunities of visual images – despite profound theoretical and conceptual knowledge produced in visual peace research. Mediation disregards a particularly promising path to innovation given the extent to which global politics is nowadays shaped by visual images and ignores one of the most powerful trends in current politics and societies, especially if thought of in connection with digitisation, social media, and the Internet. We, therefore, suggest starting a peace-politically fruitful dialog between academic discourses and the practical mediation level which will help practitioners understand how images operate and academics increase their work's political relevance and social impact. It will especially speak to younger mediators who have grown up with and are accustomed to visual images in their daily

Violations (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) and Feldman, *Archives of the Insensible: Of War, Photopolitics, and Dead Memory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[3]Shawn Michelle Smith, *At the Edge of Sight: Photography and the Unseen* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 14.
[4]Mark Reinhardt, 'Violence', *Visual Global Politics*, 321 (both quotations).
[5]Karl W. Deutsch, *Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1954), 4.
[6]See Stuart Allan, 'Documenting War, Visualizing Peace: Towards Peace Photography', in *Expanding Peace Journalism: Comparative and Critical Approaches*, eds. Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, Jake Lynch and Robert A. Hackett (Sydney: University of Sidney Press, 2010), 147–167; Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); Fred Ritchin, *Bending the Frame: Photojournalism, Documentary, and the Citizen* (New York: Aperture, 2013); Frank Möller, *Visual Peace: Images, Spectatorship, and the Politics of Violence* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Wim Wenders and Mary Zournazi, *Inventing Peace: a Dialogue on Perception* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013); Möller, *Peace Photography*; Jolyon Mitchell, 'Peacebuilding Through the Visual Arts', in *Peacebuilding and the Arts*, eds. Jolyon Mitchell, Giselle Vincett, Theodora Hawksley and Hal Culbertson (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 35–70 and Jolyon Mitchell and Tom Allbeson, eds., *Picturing Peace: Photography, Conflict Transformation, and Peacebuilding* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).
[7]Paul Dziatkowiec et al., *Oslo Forum 2016 Report: Adapting to a New Conflict Landscape* (2016) and Antti Pentikäinen, 'Reforming UN Mediation through Inclusion of Traditional Peacemakers', *Development Dialogue* 63, no. 3 (2015): 67–76.

communication and help them comprehend how images shape conflict perceptions, making some options possible while excluding others.

The article – exploring the relevance of visual peace research beyond theories and concepts by translating theoretical debates into more practical suggestions thus serving as a starting point for a discussion among academic (visual) peace researchers and mediation practitioners – clearly and deliberately focusses on the *opportunities* the visual offers for improving mediation (without disregarding challenges). Based on narrative approaches to peace mediation and inspired by the principle of active listening, we advance the concept of *active looking* in regard to conflict transformation involving a third-party in general and peace mediation in particular. We understand active looking as tool from which mediators in all sorts of conflict transformation processes can benefit (and not only those engaged in processes officially designated as mediation). By active looking, we mean a visual-discursive practice that includes images as a mode of expression and contribution to meaning-making capitalising on specific characteristics of images as specified below.

We first briefly review the existing mediation literature that is relevant in our context and elaborate on the narrative tradition in mediation with emphasis on active listening. We then sketch the intricacies involved in trying to represent peace visually. Visual representations of peace are marginalised in mediation, photojournalism, and the arts; we want to understand why this is so. Afterwards, analysing the word–image relationship, we proceed to active looking in peace mediation as both an approach to conflict mediation and a mediation skill derived from an understanding of conflict transformation that, rather than aiming at problem-solving based on sameness, appreciates openness, difference, and ambiguity. Active looking does not necessitate peace images but knowledge on peace images helps mediators instigate conversations among the conflict parties with the aim of acknowledging difference rather than finding consensus. In sum, we develop preconditions for a theoretically informed applied visual peace research relevant for peace researchers and mediation practitioners.

Narratives in mediation: beyond consensus-as-sameness

The *United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation* define mediation as ‘a process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements’.[8] More broadly and detached from agreements, Kleiboer describes mediation as ‘a form of conflict management in which a third party assists two or more contending parties to find a solution without resorting to force’.[9] Conflict transformation, as Kriesberg and Kleiboer specify with regard to mediation, aspires to ‘help[] adversaries communicate with each other, even when they are engaged in deadly conflict’ with the aim of ‘re-establishing social relationships’.[10] More modestly, it tries to prevent social relationships

[8]UNDPA, *United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation* (2012), 4.
[9]Marieke Kleiboer, ‘Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, no. 2 (1996): 360.
[10]Louis Kriesberg, *Realising Peace: A Constructive Conflict Approach* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 14, and Kleiboer, ‘Understanding Success and Failure’, 379, respectively.

from collapsing totally. Peace mediation's effectiveness in today's conflicts is debated.[11] Mediation is accused of neglecting conflicts' complexity and disregarding the diversity of cultural practices by, for instance, prioritising the rational over the emotional[12] as a result of which 'not only the conflict … becomes intractable, but also the mediation process itself'.[13] Scholars and practitioners increasingly look for innovative ideas, concepts, and methods to strengthen mediation's effectiveness and to refine understanding of what 'effectiveness' is supposed to mean in this context in the first place.

Said to be at the core of many mediation theories and practices, 'consensus-as-sameness' refers to an understanding of conflict transformation as 'a "shared" experience, as though the sameness of experience, the reduction of differences, would be the venue for the evolution of relationships'.[14] Western peace mediation has 'emphasised consensus, commonality, and unity rather than difference',[15] which is why many mediation processes 'presume that conflicts can be resolved via changes in attitudes or via meeting needs/interests as a function of negotiated settlements'.[16] Such approaches based on 'resolution-as-agreement', however, might be counterproductive or even harmful, 'reproduc[ing] the conflict rather than transform[ing] it because the parties discuss their "interests" encased in narratives that delegitimize their Others'[17] (or cultivate their Others as negative reference points to legitimise their own narratives). Either way, conflict transformation is unlikely.

In addition to interest-focused problem-solving approaches, a more transformative approach[18] assumes that 'people are concerned with their self-interests, but they are also simultaneously and pervasively concerned with their connection with others'.[19] Several scholars analyse the process of meaning-making itself, particularly the *narratives* expressed by the conflict parties. Conflict transformation appears as 'the poetic process of strengthening the narratives people tell, so that, paradoxically, they can be free to be human beings, being human'.[20] Transforming violent conflict towards peace requires engaging with narratives. A narrative is 'a foundational building block for organizing meaning in life'[21] both individually and collectively that tends to collapse in violent circumstances: 'violence breaks not only relations, but it also breaks the narrative logic

[11]Dziatkowiec et al., *Oslo Forum 2016 Report*, 6; Pentikäinen, 'Reforming UN mediation', 67.
[12]Sara Cobb, *Speaking of Violence: The Politics and Poetics of Narrative in Conflict Resolution* (New York: Oxford University Press 2013), 75; Morgan Brigg and Roland Bleiker, 'Postcolonial Conflict Resolution', in *Mediating across Difference: Oceanic and Asian Approaches to Conflict Resolution*, eds. Morgan Brigg and Roland Bleiker (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 19–37 and Tricia S. Jones and Andrea Bodtker, 'Mediating with Heart in Mind: Addressing Emotion in Mediation Practice', *Negotiation Journal* 17, no. 3 (2007): 217–244.
[13]Dziatkowiec et al., *Oslo Forum 2016 Report*, 24.
[14]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 235–236.
[15]Brigg and Bleiker, 'Postcolonial Conflict Resolution', 23.
[16]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 11.
[17]ibid., 72 (both quotations).
[18]Katherine A. Stewart and Madeline M. Maxwell, *Storied Conflict Talk: Narrative Construction in Mediation* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamin, 2010), 38; Christopher Harper, 'Mediator as Peacemaker: The Case for Activist Transformative-Narrative Mediation', *Journal of Dispute Resolution* 2 (2006): 599–600 and Herbert C. Kelman and Ronald J. Fisher, eds., *Herbert C. Kelman: A Pioneer in the Social Psychology of Conflict Analysis and Resolution* (Cham: Springer, 2016).
[19]Joseph P. Folger and Dan Simon, 'Transformative Mediation: Illustrating a Relational View of Conflict Intervention', in *The Mediation Handbook: Research, Theory, and Practice*, ed. Alexia Georgakopoulos (New York and London: Routledge, 2017), 73.
[20]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 284.
[21]John Winslade, 'Narrative Mediation of Family Conflict', *The Mediation Handbook*, 87.

itself because persons are not able to make sense of the violence'.[22] Alternatively, they try to make sense of violence by simplifying their narrative such that it appears meaningful to them although it often inadequately represents the overall patterns within which violence occurs.

Importantly, 'narratives are both productive of conflict and a resource for its resolution'.[23] Critical to conflict resolution is the 'evolution of meaning' in Cobb's or 'plot evolution' in Winslade and Monk's terms.[24] In conflicts, however, narratives tend to lose complexity and become simple and schematic, stressing what went wrong in a relationship (conflict) rather than what worked well (cooperation).[25] Complex narratives turn into 'narrative "short cuts" – events in the main plot line become "dense" with meaning' or even into narrative closure.[26] Which is why a narrative approach to mediation assumes that narratives must evolve thus regaining complexity to allow people to move closer to a conflict's resolution. Trying to take advantage of all possibilities a narrative offers, a narrative approach 'consider[s] the possibility of something different'[27] inherent in every narrative. It emphasises 'the effort to re-author the relationship story first before facilitating the negotiation of resolution in the spirit of this relationship narrative'.[28]

To achieve such re-authoring, Cobb argues, presenting narratives to one another is necessary but insufficient as the narrative's evolution 'depends on the conditions under which it is told'. Furthermore, conflict-affected people might get 'caught in narratives they did not make by themselves and cannot change by themselves'. This is why 'narrative transformation is unlikely from within the narrative structuration process' thus requiring 'help in destabilizing the narrative structures (plots, characters, moral frames) that contribute to maintain their exclusion of the Other'.[29] Hence, regardless of sensitive issues pertaining to legitimacy, agency, power, self-interests, and ethics, third-party involvement is required to help the conflict parties complexify their narratives as a step towards conflict transformation.

Active listening: de-hierarchising narratives

In narrative-based mediation, different narratives coexist; they are presented such that they appear equally valuable (within a selected narrative frame; see below) instead of being hierarchically ordered. Such mediation requires a fundamental sense of narrative equality. Narrative-based approaches assume 'that people are always situated within multiple story lines. [...] We do not have a bias in favor of integrating a person's multiple

[22]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 26. For an exemplification of such narrative collapse, see Ivan Philippov, 'What does it mean to be Russian? For many of us, it's no longer a simple question', *The Guardian online*, May 31, 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/may/31/im-russian-what-that-means-language-passport-invasion-of-ukraine (accessed May 31, 2022).

[23]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 155.

[24]ibid., 24 and John M. Winslade and Gerald Monk, 'Does the Model Overarch the Narrative Stream?' in *The Blackwell Handbook of Mediation: A Guide to Effective Negotiation*, ed. Margaret S. Herrman (Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell, 2006), 217–227.

[25]See Winslade, 'Narrative Mediation of Family Conflict'.

[26]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence*, 51, 86.

[27]Winslade, 'Narrative Mediation of Family Conflict', 89.

[28]ibid., 87.

[29]Cobb, *Speaking of Violence* 24, 67, 52 and 222, respectively.

story lines into a singular or congruent whole'.[30] Narrative mediation, then, is interested in the relationship between different people (or different narratives) and their evolution; it focusses on 're-authoring the relationship story in order to address a problem issue, rather than addressing a problem issue in order to allow the relationship to go forward'.[31] Successful mediation results in increasing complexity of the conflict parties' narratives (while it is difficult to establish beforehand at what point narratives are considered sufficiently complex).

Increase in narrative complexity and evolution of meaning can be achieved through *active listening*, understood by mediation scholars and practitioners as one of a mediator's most crucial skills.[32] Active – or careful, 'reflective',[33] 'sensitive'[34] or 'empathic' or, simply, 'good'[35] – listening refers to a high level of attentiveness to the interlocutors on the mediators' part including priority given to listening to others rather than speaking themselves.[36] Active listening includes double listening 'assum[ing] that what a person says is selective and that there are multiple readings to be made of any conflict story'.[37] Mediators morph into acknowledgers, recognising, accepting, and making others accept the plurality of readings that, put together, constitute the story. In such situations, mediators need 'sensuous perception'[38] – 'an aesthetic sensibility' enabling them to achieve 'a state of receptivity, an appreciation of the many levels on which the words, sentences, images and metaphors convey meaning'.[39] Receptivity requires the capability of deciphering words, silences, and dynamics of silencing,[40] appreciating what is said straightforwardly, routinely, hesitantly, in metaphors, implicitly or not at all.

Active listeners want to learn *how* the conflict parties see things and *why* they do so, ideally establishing a non-hierarchical conversation among equals. This implies that active listeners must (learn to) cope with a plurality of narratives which may support, overlap, supplement, contradict, or exist rather independently of one another. While the traditional mediation literature tends to treat positions, interests, and needs[41] as manifestations of an essentialized character or identity, we understand them as developed

[30]John Winslade and Gerald Monk, *Practicing Narrative Mediation: Loosening the Grip of Conflict* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008), 7.
[31]Winslade and Monk, 'Does the Model Overarch the Narrative Stream?' 223.
[32]Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to YES: Negotiating an Agreement without Giving In*, ed. Bruce Patton (London: Random House Business Books, 2012), 36; Maria Småberg, 'Witnessing the Unbearable: Alma Johansson and the Massacres of the Armenians 1915', in *War and Peace in Transition: Changing Roles of External Actors*, eds. Karin Aggestam and Annika Björkdahl (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009), 116; Edward J Kelly and Natalija Kaminskienė, 'Importance of Emotional Intelligence in Negotiation and Mediation', *International Comparative Jurisprudence* 2, no. 1 (2016): 57 and UNDPA, *United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation*, 4.
[33]Småberg, 'Witnessing the Unbearable', 116.
[34]Carl R. Rogers and Richard E. Farson, 'Active Listening', in *Communicating in Business Today*, eds. Ruth G. Newman, Marie A. Danziger and Mark Cohen (D.C. Heath, 1987), n/p.
[35]Richard A Salem, 'Community Dispute Resolution Through Outside Intervention', *Peace & Change* 8, no. 2–3 (1982): 91–104.
[36]Antonia Engel and Benedikt Korf, *Negotiation and Mediation Techniques for Natural Resource Management* (2005), 7, https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/NegotiationandMediationTechniquesforNaturalResourceManagement_FAO2005.pdf.
[37]Winslade, 'Narrative Mediation of Family Conflict', 89.
[38]John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 108.
[39]Cynthia Cohen, '*A Poetics of Reconciliation: The Aesthetic Mediation of Conflict*' (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 1997), 288 (both quotations).
[40]Stephen Chan, 'Conclusion: Mediating the Mediation with Difference', *Mediating across Difference*, 270–274.
[41]See, for example, Fisher and Ury, *Getting to YES*, 42, 50.

through discourse, embedded in and constituted by narratives. Following a non-essentialist viewpoint, 'how' and 'why' are socially-discursively constructed and 'there is no underlying essence that can be referenced as more trustworthy than its "surface" manifestation'.[42]

Digital media facilitate speaking in one's own voice but even today 'individuals are spoken *for*, much more than they speak in their own name – and they are not necessarily spoken for accurately'.[43] The question of *accurateness* deserves some attention in our context, especially if one equates accuracy with the establishment of facts. Facts eliminate ambivalence. Such elimination may be desired in some but not in all contexts: the search for accurateness-as-facts may worsen the conditions in which mediation takes place, infringing upon the very mediation situation the negotiator seeks to improve. However, mediators and participants will always want to ensure that they understand the narratives presented as intended by the speaker. Thus, accuracy in the sense of 'This is the way I/we see things' differs from accuracy in the fact-oriented sense of 'This is the way things are'. In narrative-based approaches to mediation, the first dimension is more important than the second one, hence the focus on understanding divergent and potentially conflicting narratives. Even if the conflict parties disagree on how social reality should best be narrated, it is important to understand why they disagree. Narrative openness can help achieve such understanding. It is probably painful for the participants (more so than for the mediator) being exposed to positions they reject or find insulting. Mediation reflects and follows conflict, occasionally violent conflict, but is itself also a conflict often including narrative incompatibility.[44] Yet, all conflicts have social functions, to be identified by the mediator: conflict can be 'positively functional', improving social relations, if all participants accept 'the basic assumptions upon which the relation is founded'.[45] Mediators must establish these assumptions before or during mediation; the conflict parties must agree upon them.

Mediation based on active listening, while cultivating narrative openness within a certain frame, must define the borders of this frame. According to the UN, for example, mediators should 'be clear that they cannot endorse peace agreements that provide for amnesties for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes or gross violations of human rights, including sexual and gender-based violence'.[46] Thus, narratives denying or justifying war crimes cross the boundaries of the acceptable framework. Active listening, then, is a conversation technique that should be equated neither with moral judgement (that there is only one 'truth') nor with moral indifference (accepting all narratives as equally valuable).[47] Evaluating narratives for their compliance with the established frame is a powerful, difficult, and possibly dangerous task; it can be perceived as an act of silencing and censoring. Provided that the mediator and the parties succeed in defining such a frame, however, diverging perspectives can stand side-by-side,

[42] Winslade and Monk, 'Does the Model Overarch the Narrative Stream?' 221.
[43] Nick Couldry, *Inside Culture: Re-imagining the Method of Cultural Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 2000), 58.
[44] See, for instance, Marc Howard Ross, 'Competing Narratives and Escalation in Ethnic Conflicts: the Case of the Holy Sites in Jerusalem', *Sphera Publica* 3 (2003), 189–208.
[45] Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: Free Press, 1956), 80 (both quotations).
[46] UNDPA, *Guidance for Effective Mediation*, 17.
[47] See Thomas Bauer, *Die Vereindeutigung der Welt: Über den Verlust an Mehrdeutigkeit und Vielfalt* (Ditzingen: Reclam, 2018).

different narratives resulting from varying lifeworlds and reflecting different contexts – personal, regional, local, or historically distant contexts – can co-exist. Some narratives 'are local in their sphere of circulation and some are pervasive discourses about, for example, gender, class, and race'.[48]

As different participants are likely to interpret (what, from a neutral perspective, seems to be) the same context differently, mediators must treat the stories they are exposed to without assigning priority to any of them; they need to exhibit equal distance towards and equal empathy with all narrators, regardless of whether they agree or sympathise with individual stories and storytellers. Active listening, then, means enduring ambivalences and contradictions, at least for the duration of the mediation. Clear-cut categories based on binaries may help structure a conversation, but they regularly fail to adequately capture the dynamics of social reality and can be dangerous if mediators forget that they are socially constructed; if pre-formulated, guiding a conversation from the outset, they may even prevent a conversation from evolving.

Narrative-based mediations are highly convoluted scenarios. In what follows, we explore how they can be improved by including visual images so as to strengthen the characteristics of active listening as sketched above. We refer to such inclusion of visual images as *active looking*, aiming at a visual-discursive re-complexification of narratives. We argue that active looking provides visual peace research with an *applied* dimension beyond conceptual and theoretical considerations thus increasing the applicability of the knowledge produced in visual peace research to conflict transformation processes. We suspect that our approach appeals especially to the younger generation of mediators used to the operation of images in their daily lives in a 'world saturated, no, hyper-saturated with images'.[49] As noted above, we emphasise the opportunities that visual images present.

Active looking: images in peace mediation

While having as yet little to say about images in mediation, visual peace research does include discussion of the peace potentialities of both images and discourses revolving around images, exploring their possible contributions to peace. While active looking need not be based on peace images, knowledge on peace images facilitates active looking. While some authors argue that the visual is inextricably linked with violence, their work nevertheless offers relevant starting points for an exploration of images' peace potentialities. Azoulay, for example, connects 'the image, the artist/creator, the referent, and the spectator' in order 'to create a political space' within which civil imagination can evolve. Mirzoeff, while regarding violence as 'the standard operating procedure of visuality', explores how people insisting on the right to look can confront this violence. Roberts identifies the photographic archive as a place for the discursive reconstruction of meaning assigned to photographs.[50] Epistemologically closer connected with visual peace research, Ritchin explores how photojournalism, rather than merely documenting

[48] John Winslade, Gerald Monk and Alison Cotter, 'A Narrative Approach to the Practice of Mediation', *Negotiation Journal* 14, no. 1 (1998): 38.

[49] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 105.

[50] Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography* (London and New York: Verso, 2012), 55; Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*, 292 and Roberts, *Photography and Its Violations*, 93–119.

violence, can pro-actively help prevent it. Allan and Sliwinski analyse the contribution of visual images to human rights discourses and practices. Fairey explores citizen photography as a contribution to community building and peace. Möller and Shim look at images at the microlevel of peace, exploring peace conceptions at the individual and quotidian level of the international, and Möller suggests new ways of seeing peace which may – or may not – lead to new politics of peace.[51] Visual peace research creates new visual perspectives on peace thus exploring new ways of seeing peace and, ultimately, new politics of peace.

Images of peace, however, are 'hard to sell'.[52] They are marginalised due to a powerful photojournalistic tradition emphasising war, destruction, and human suffering while referencing peace mainly by showing its absence.[53] Consequently, the peace potentialities of images often remain unseen and unexplored, awaiting discursive rediscovery. 'Ever since cameras were invented in 1839, photography has kept company with death'[54] but photography – to the chagrin of photojournalists in search of 'great shots'[55] – has also always kept company with democracy, equality, and – by implication – peace.[56] Yet even books dedicated to the visualisation of peace often confirm rather conventional visual narratives referencing peace negatively.[57] It is almost impossible to make a career as a peace photographer – compare the media attention devoted to the World Press Photo Award with the lack of such attention devoted to the Global Peace Photo Award – and peace *is* difficult to visualise: Different kinds of peace require different forms of visual representation; competing understandings of peace condition whether observers see or do not see peace; different stages of a peace process and similar stages of different peace processes require different forms of visualisation.

Images 'constantly reiterate the general forms in which the particular is contained',[58] alerting viewers to the general *and* the particular but also to the *relationship* between the general and the particular. As such, the visual gives us a sense of the complexity of the scene depicted – *any* scene, even a seemingly simple and obvious one. Complexity inherent in the visual and in its relation to the reality it (cl)aims to depict implies that different people interpret the same scene and the same image differently. Differences in interpretation may be so big that the very idea of the *same* image or the *same* scenario appears doubtful. In a narrative-based approach to mediation, it is the mediator's task to acknowledge and utilise images' plurality of meaning. Because mediation commonly revolves around language and because language is never politically neutral and often

[51]Ritchin, *Bending the Frame*, 122–141; Allan, 'Documenting War, Visualizing Peace'; Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*; Tiffany Fairey, 'Participatory, Community, and Citizen Photography as Peace Photography', *Image & Peace: Exploring Visual Culture and Peace* (2021), https://www.imageandpeace.com/2021/11/11/participatory-community-and-citizen-photography-as-peace-photography/; Frank Möller and David Shim, 'Visions of Peace in International Relations', *International Studies Perspectives* 20, no. 3 (2019): 246–264 and Möller, *Peace Photography*.

[52]Wenders and Zournazi, *Inventing Peace*, 38.

[53]See Ann Wilkes Tucker and Will Michels with Natalie Zelt, *War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

[54]Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 24 (capitalisation omitted). See also Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (London: Vintage Books, 2000).

[55]For the photographer Robert Capa, peace appeared 'as dull as apple pie'. See Capa, 'A Legitimate Complaint', in *A Russian Journal. With photographs by Robert Capa. With an introduction by Susan Shillinglaw*, ed. John Steinbeck (London: Penguin, 1999), 141.

[56]See François Brunet, *The Birth of the Idea of Photography* (Toronto: RIC Books, 2019).

[57]See Constance Hale and Fiona Turner, eds., *Imagine: Reflections on Peace* (Paris: Hemeria, 2020).

[58]David MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema. Edited and with an introduction by Lucien Taylor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 246.

connected with violence, it is particularly important to reflect upon the word–image relationship in order to specify what we mean by active looking.

While various peace visualisations and visual paths to peace (including mutually exclusive ones) coexist, visual documentation as such does not normally tell the mediator which interpretation of a given image is the 'correct' one. Photojournalism assigns the task of establishing truth to language which reduces the plurality of meaning all images carry with them. 'Normally', Sontag acknowledges, 'if there is any distance from the subject, what a photograph "says" can be read in several ways'. But even if, initially, words are absent, 'one day captions will be needed'. That she adds 'of course' tells us more about the power of photojournalistic discourses than about the potentialities of images.[59] Linfield, for example, strongly condemns photojournalistic work based on segregation of text and pictures as it allegedly inhibits understanding and action.[60] Yet, Sontag knows (just as Linfield does) that 'even an entirely accurate caption is only one interpretation, *necessarily a limiting one*, of the photograph to which it is attached'.[61] Despite the frequent use of a 'positivist notion of evidence as indisputable facts'[62] in politico-aesthetic discourses on forensic photography which is so in vogue currently,[63] the establishment of 'facts' by visual means alone is difficult indeed. Luckily, accuracy-as-facts is not what our approach to mediation is primarily about.

While we would not want to agree entirely with Emerling that '[a]ll images ... require ... language as a necessary supplement of the visual'[64] – it is indeed one of our points below that such supplementation is neither always necessary nor possible – it is equally crucial to acknowledge, as Mitchell does, that '"language" (in some form) usually enters the experience of viewing photography or of viewing anything else',[65] including in the context of conflict transformation. Translating images into words and assigning meaning to images by means of language take place within established discursive patterns regulating what is permissible in a given context and what is not,[66] in '*scopic regime[s]*' as 'ensemble[s] of practices and discourses that establish the truth claims, typicality, and credibility of visual acts and objects and politically correct modes of seeing'.[67] What is correct and permissible is, to a large extent, defined by what Rancière, rather vaguely, calls 'the dominant media', removing from images 'anything that might exceed the simple superfluous illustration of their meaning'.[68] For example, the interpretation as an image of peace of the photograph showing the last US soldier stepping on board a transport plane to leave Afghanistan would hardly be permissible in western media; instead, the photograph is said to show the 'Last man out',[69] anticipating disorder.

[59]Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 29.
[60]Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, 217.
[61]Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 1979), 109 (italics added).
[62]Solveig Gade, 'Forensic (Im)probabilities: Entering Schrödinger's Box with Rabih Mroué and Hito Steyerl', in *(W)archives: Archival Imaginaries, War, and Contemporary Art*, eds. Daniela Agostinho, Solveig Gade, Nanna Bonde Thylstrup and Kristin Veel (Berlin: Sternberg Press 2020), 380.
[63]Matthew Fuller and Eyal Weizman, *Investigative Aesthetics: Conflicts and Commons in the Politics of Truth* (London and New York: Verso, 2021).
[64]Jae Emerling, *Photography: History and Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 134.
[65]WJT Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 282.
[66]Butler, *Frames of War*, 71–74.
[67]Feldman, 'Violence and Vision', 49.
[68]Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2009), 96.
[69]See https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/aug/31/last-man-out-the-haunting-image-of-americas-final-moments-in-afghanistan (accessed December 21, 2021).

Converting the seeable into the sayable always means discussing images both 'in terms other than their own'[70] and in terms of what can be said in a given language and cultural context. These are severe limitations. While it may be difficult to identify images' own terms,[71] translating accounts of human existence produced by means of images into words reduces what images can tell us to what words can tell us about images. Yet, rather than only 'tell[ing] us things differently', images and written texts 'tell us different things'.[72] It is the mediators' task to initiate conversations about images so that both the individual narratives and the overall story, i.e. the sum of the individual narratives, appear more complex than before. Some of the limitations involved in talking about images cannot be avoided entirely. Images, too, are – and serve – narratives; they cannot be completely separated from the language that supplements them, enters the experience of viewing them, or operates in tandem with them. Thus, if mediators decide to use visual images, they must familiarise themselves with the intricacies of both images and the word–image relationship. Furthermore, mediators, too, operate within scopic regimes (see above) that, in turn, operate on them. However, the mediators' awareness of these intricacies helps them capitalise on images and their inherent '*excess* meaning',[73] avoid visual-verbal pitfalls, and develop active looking skills. Instead of suppressing some of the meaning images carry with them (for example, in search of accurateness-as-facts), mediation could capitalise on images' plurality of meaning without establishing narrative hierarchies. In the remainder of the article, we engage with active looking as a mediation practice and a mediator's skill utilising those characteristics of images that point towards appreciation of difference and ambiguity thus contributing to the re-complexification of narratives. We suggest paying attention to four (partially overlapping) concepts: *ineffability* (of both situations and images), *approximation*, *elusiveness*, and *commonalities*, all of which help us appreciate and, consequently, capitalise on narrative plurality, ambiguity, and lack of assurance thus complexifying the experience.[74]

Ineffability (as regards situations)

As noted above (following Cobb), violent conflict tends to interrupt the narrative logic; such an interruption often results in an inability to speak. In a mediation process, participants will encounter situations where they cannot articulate in words what they want to describe or where words seem to be inadequate. Pain is a case in point, often said to be inexpressible or unrepresentable,[75] or anger, emotions, feelings, all of which emerge as consequences of violent conflict.[76] An inability to speak renders active listening difficult. In such situations, images can help if participants, rather than addressing the image by means of words, address it visually, *taking it in*, and letting it speak for itself. In such a situation, silence can be understood as agentive rather than passive.[77] Sensuous perception indeed

[70]Möller, *Visual Peace*, 33.
[71]See W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[72]MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema*, 257.
[73]ibid., 68.
[74]Whether or not such re-complexification contributes, in the long term, to peace is an empirical question beyond the scope of this article.
[75]See Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
[76]Emily Pia, 'Narrative Therapy and Peacebuilding', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 7, no. 4 (2013): 476–491.
[77]This is an intriguing suggestion by one of our reviewers. Limited space prevents us from exploring it in detail. In a slightly different context, see Jane L. Parpart and Swati Parashar, eds., *Rethinking Silence, Voice and Agency in*

refers to 'the fuller range of senses, which includes but goes beyond the world of words'.[78] Refraining from talking, rather than signifying passivity, might indicate heightened awareness; taking an image in may lead to taking something out of the image – something other than that which words evoke. Allowing images to unfold their own narratives may also mobilise connotations that those participants who decided to show them were not themselves aware of, thus complexifying their experience. Images will evoke different things in different people, recognition of which is precisely what active looking wishes to establish.

Ineffability (as regards images)

Images, at least some images, also possess something that we cannot grasp by means of words: how do we describe how an image affects us emotionally and how we feel when we regard an image, especially one triggering traumatic memories?[79] How do we express the importance we assign to a specific visual representation of (parts of) our or others' lives? There is something in images 'that resists or eludes every effort to fix meaning through language'.[80] That this 'something' might invite misinterpretation does not bother us as fixing meaning is *not* our aim. Indeed, the notion of misinterpretation is alien to active looking because it requires consensus on the correct interpretation of an image – consensus that we neither aspire nor absolutize. Here, again, establishing a frame from which certain (visual) positions are excluded is important – otherwise an image's ineffability can threaten a peaceful conversation. This frame must deviate from the scopic regimes (see above) that the conflict parties bring with them to the negotiation lest active looking merely confirm them by reiterating established, exclusionary '"[t]elling" practices' often derived from or connected with violence serving as 'organizer of the politically visible'.[81] This is one of the reasons why mediating active looking is so difficult and potentially dangerous.

Approximation

Benjamin interpreted Atget's photographs of deserted Paris streets around 1900 as 'pieces of evidence in the historical process' to which '[f]ree-floating contemplation' would no longer be appropriate.[82] Instead, inscription was required to fix meaning and to prevent photographs from 'getting stuck in the approximate'.[83] Equating Atget's photographs with photographs of crime scenes, Benjamin introduced a positivist understanding of photographs as evidence but instead of locating evidence in the image, he found it in the accompanying inscription which he elevated to a photograph's 'most essential

Contested Gendered Terrains (London and New York: Routledge, 2019) and Johanna Mannergren Selimovic, 'Gendered silences in post-conflict societies: a typology', *Peacebuilding* 8, no. 1 (2020), doi:10.1080/21647259.2018.1491681.

[78]Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*, 109.

[79]There is an emerging, fascinating literature on emotions and affect (suggested by the reviewer) which also goes beyond what we can do here. It is easy to understand that images trigger emotions but how to deal with these emotions in the context of mediation is a different question entirely. On emotions, see Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison, 'Fear No More: Emotions and World Politics', *Review of International Studies* 34, no. S1 (2008): 115–135, and Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, 'Theorizing Emotions in World Politics', *International Theory* 6, no. 3 (2013): 491–514.

[80]Mark Reinhardt, 'Picturing Violence: Aesthetics and the Anxiety of Critique', in *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain*, eds. Mark Reinhardt, Holly Edwards and Erina Duganne (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 25.

[81]Feldman, 'Violence and Vision', 54 (both quotations).

[82]Walter Benjamin, 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit', *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit. Drei Studien zur Kunstsoziologie* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1963), 21, our translation.

[83]Benjamin, 'Kleine Geschichte der Photographie', *Das Kunstwerk*, 64, our translation.

component'.[84] Benjamin, thus, anticipated today's standard approach to photojournalism (see above): images' plurality of meaning tamed by language eradicating the approximate and fixing meaning thus not only informing spectators but also enabling action. Contrariwise, it is exactly the approximate that active looking wishes to capitalise on, recognising that we never exactly know what a picture 'really' shows and that we can domesticate images' 'instability of meaning'[85] only at the peril of failing to take full advantage of what visuality offers to peace researchers and mediators.

Writing about 'an intellectual stereoscopic effect', Gilgen presents a more sophisticated approach: 'the image gains in profile through the verbal information conveyed in the caption; from the accompanying image this information gains persuasive power'.[86] Yet his approach, too, echoes Benjamin's scepticism of the approximate which must be eradicated by textual information. Furthermore, the image, merely accompanying the text, seems subordinated to text thus confirming Ritchin's suspicion that picture editors 'represent[] a medium which is almost everywhere considered secondary to the text'.[87] Hence, the focus in the literature on discourses revolving around or meanings assigned to images which reveals uneasiness characteristic of western approaches to visual culture.[88] Images' very visible ambiguity, interpretive openness, and plurality of meaning often make western audiences fear a loss of '*control* of meaning'.[89] Such uneasiness coexists with fascination bordering, in social media, upon obsession largely without reflection. In contrast, active looking as a mediation tool is *not* afraid of images and it *does* reflect upon them: it appreciates the approximate, invigorates images' ambiguities, and re-discovers discursively marginalised meanings such as peace.

Elusiveness

Images are elusive. As Wenders and Zournazi submit, they 'don't "mean" … ! They "imply", "suggest", "hint" or whatever'.[90] 'It is not clear', Mitchell assists, 'that [images] actually "say" anything' but rather 'convey nondiscursive, nonverbal information that is often quite ambiguous with regard to any statement'.[91] Photography, thus, 'allows for the existence of a multiplicity of narrations and storylines without privileging a single one by referring to some pre-defined notion of "truth"'.[92] Instead of 'superimposing an externally perceived image, it seeks to bring out multiplicities and ambiguities'.[93] We appeal to images' plurality of meaning including 'unintended sites of connotation'[94] with its

[84]ibid.
[85]Daniel Rubinstein, 'Tag, Tagging', *Philosophy of Photography* 1, no. 2 (2010): 199.
[86]Peter Gilgen, 'History after Film',in *Mapping Benjamin: The Work of Art in the Digital Age*, eds. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Michael Marrinan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 56.
[87]Fred Ritchin, *In Our Own Image* (New York: Aperture, 1999), 99.
[88]See Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 24.
[89]MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema*, 68.
[90]Wenders and Zournazi, *Inventing Peace*, 38.
[91]Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want*, 140.
[92]Daniel Rubinstein and Katrina Sluis, 'The Digital Image in Photographic Culture: Algorithmic Photography and the Crisis of Representation', in *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture*, ed. Martin Lister (London: Routledge, 2013), 24.
[93]Roland Bleiker, 'The Aesthetic Turn in International Political Theory', *Millennium* 30, no. 3 (2001): 528.
[94]MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema*, 68.

inherent 'potential for political agency which depends on the possibility of a multitude of interpretations, ambiguities and differences'.[95]

In contrast to ineffability, then, elusiveness does not refer to verbal limitations but rather to the plurality of verbalisable and equally valuable interpretations that images always invite and that should not be reduced to one binding narrative. All of these interpretations, however, are approximations à la Benjamin. Exactly because of their inherent ambiguities and their surplus of meaning, images are apt vehicles to communicate diverse narratives thus introducing new levels of complexity into mediation conversations. In sum, then, two components of the visual which are conventionally regarded as liabilities – first, that 'the visual is too open to misinterpretation' and, secondly, 'that it is too seductive' or 'too engaging'[96] – turn out to be merits in the context of narrative-based approaches to mediation. That the visual is seductive implies that 'it draws the viewer into an interpretive relationship that bypasses professional mediation'.[97] Ironically, then, it asks the mediator to dispense with mediation in search of consensus and to prioritise acknowledgement of differences. Knowledge on the visualisation of peace facilitates this task.

Commonalities

In verbal language, we take the *general* for granted and emphasise the *particular*. Visual images also show the particular but often embedded within the general, co-representing the general and the particular, the central and the peripheral, differences and commonalities including 'the commonalities of being human' that usually disappear from written accounts.[98] Likewise, when talking about an image people tend to emphasise the particular rather than the general: as 'photographs manifestly contain visible images of people and their physical characteristics, people sometimes say *less* than they might otherwise do about those things, because there seems to be no real imperative to explain them'[99] – they are visible anyway. In consequence, the commonalities of being human escape attention. In narrative mediation, however, acknowledging these commonalities is extremely important: it helps understand that however much seems to separate one group from another, there is always something that all groups have in common. Such understanding helps prevent the transformation of alterity into Otherness, the transformation of other people into the – ontological – Other with whom agreement is impossible. Mediators can use the display in images of human commonalities to bridge the gap between different groups and to work towards partial identification with one another. In this approach to mediation, groups of people do not have to identify with one another entirely but only partially; disagreement in some areas does not render impossible agreement in other areas on the basis of which the contested areas can subsequently be re-tackled.

We would neither expect the four above concepts to appear equally in all mediation conversations involving images nor would we expect all of them to appear in all conversations. The mediator decides which concept to prioritise in a given situation

[95]Daniel Rubinstein and Katrina Sluis, 'Concerning the Undecidability of the Digital Image', *Photographies* 6, no. 1 (2013): 154.
[96]MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema*, 68 (all quotations).
[97]ibid.
[98]ibid., 246.
[99]Jennifer Mason and Katherine Davies, 'Coming to our Senses? A Critical Approach to Sensory Methodology', *Qualitative Research* 9, no. 5 (2009): 594–595.

and this depends for example on the degree of visual socialisation the conflict parties bring with them to the conversation or the cultural context within which the conversation takes place. Active looking must be learned and this applies to both the mediator and the conflict parties. But the aim of active looking should be clear: rather than establishing consensus-as-sameness, active looking aims at *consensus-as-different-ness*, capitalising on difference as articulated in complex, image-generated narratives without establishing narrative hierarchies. Individual narratives must be liberated from shortcuts and closure and the overall story, i.e. the sum of all individual narratives, must be allowed a greater degree of complexity than could be observed at the beginning of the conversation. Ultimately and ideally, then, through image-generated evolution, re-complexification, and re-authoring of narratives, the conflict parties, by means of active looking skills embodied in and promoted by the mediator, move closer to a conflict's transformation.

Conclusion

We ask peacebuilding practitioners to be open towards the inclusion of images in their work, to believe in the peace potentialities of images, and to use images' inherent ambiguities to produce more complex narratives. Peace workers should enable people to tell their stories through and with images. How this should be done is context-specific and hardly generalisable. However, all mediators, being aware of the above discussion and possessing active looking skills, could invite participants in a narrative-based mediation setting to share images with the participants on a specific theme, chosen by the mediator. Alternatively, participants may themselves decide what images they want to share with others because they deem them important in the context. Whole meetings can put images in the centre; exhibitions or social media content on the subject matter discussed in the mediation process can be discursively engaged with. Rather than limiting such engagement to visual images in a narrow sense (photographs, paintings, or film), it should also include other means of visual representation such as dance and performance. It is, however, important to note that participants and mediators can define images as *in*appropriate, thus establishing a frame within which narrative openness is appreciated and beyond which it is not. Normative judgements may be necessary but norms such as decency and taste can always serve a limiting purpose, depending on the authority used to justify them.[100]

While images become more and more present as important (f)actors in international politics, peace mediation, until now, widely ignores them thus also neglecting their potential contributions to peace processes. In this article, we argued that some qualities of images make images suitable to assist peace processes. We highlighted the role of ineffability, elusiveness, and ambiguity, enabling individuals to express – and to deal with – complexity in both their and others' narratives. While images' ambiguity is an asset for those who want to emphasise a situation's openness, it is a liability for those who promote strict and rigid policies. We acknowledge 'that any narrative, any model, must leave some things out, distort some things, privilege some things over others, and squeeze some things into categories where they fit uncomfortably, simply in order to maintain coherence'.[101] Our narrative is no exception. The way we emphasise complexity,

[100]See Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 68.
[101]Winslade and Monk, *Practicing Narrative Mediation*, 219.

narrative openness, and difference reflects our lifeworld, based on which we 'seek ways to rethink'[102] current mediation practices. Both these practices and our reflections are enmeshed in a variety of ontological and epistemological assumptions that limited space prevents us from elaborating on. While this article suggests a new perspective on mediation and the role of images in social processes that challenges currently common mediation conceptualisations, it also offers points of connection for practitioners to think about our ideas' value in their respective work. Thus, we consider this paper a starting point, an open-ended contribution to an evolving repertoire of thinking about and conducting peace mediation through images.

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[102]Alexander Laban Hinton, Giorgio Shani and Jeremiah Alberg, 'Introduction: Rethinking Peace Studies', in *Rethinking Peace: Discourse, Memory, Translation, and Dialogue*, eds. Alexander Laban Hinton, Giorgio Shani and Jeremiah Alberg (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2019), xviii.