Picturing community development work in Uganda: fostering dialogue through photovoice

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Abstract This article explores the use of photovoice in understanding the roles and experiences of community development workers in Uganda and how such methodology can foster dialogue. Community development workers, attached to a local development organisation, took photographs and engaged in discussions about their roles and experiences. The rich and generative photovoice exercise revealed four major themes, namely, social progress/development (enkurakurana), cooperation (enkwatanisa), education (eby’enyegesa) and our challenges (ebizibu byaitu) in the experiences of these community development workers. In addition to such an insiders’ view of community development through photographs, the article discusses an emergent conceptual framework of five types of dialogue which photovoice methodology can foster in community development research. The article argues that photovoice can richly serve development research given its inherent participatory, critical and emancipatory character. Photovoice fosters multiple forms of dialogue and in so doing, allows people to picture and name their world.

Introduction

Beebeejaun et al. (2014) recently advocated, in this journal, for greater use of ‘non-text’ methods of doing research; photovoice being one of these methods. They highlight the ‘empowering potential of non-text research methods by facilitating greater reflection [our emphasis] on the lived experience of those involved’ (p. 37). This observation echoed that of Purcell

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In an earlier edition of this journal, Purcell noted that photographs could serve as coded material to stimulate community members to reflect on their current life circumstances. Both of these articles have noted an important component of the research process which photovoice methodology facilitates, namely, participant reflection. In this article, we draw attention to a further important component of the research process fostered by photovoice, which is dialogue. Reflection and dialogue are key ways of engaging community participants in generating knowledge. We illustrate, via photovoice research with community development workers (CDWs) in Uganda, how photovoice can enable multiple forms of dialogue.

There is substantial literature on CDWs who conduct important development work within local communities (Henderson and Glen, 2005; Swanepoel and De-Beer, 2006). The roles and worldviews of these CDWs are, however, usually presented from external perspectives of technocrats and researchers (Castleden, Garvin and First-Nation, 2008) and often explored via traditional text-based research methodologies. This study sought to understand the roles and experiences of CDWs from their own perspectives, as revealed through the photographs and discussions which CDWs themselves generated. A further gap in the literature addressed by this study relates to the research context of Uganda. A review of the literature shows little use of photovoice in research in Uganda in general, and no previous use of photovoice in research of community development workers in Uganda.

In this article, we first briefly review the history of photovoice as a visual methodology within community-based research in the social sciences. We then provide a view of community development work in Uganda by examining the perspectives and experiences of CDWs in Uganda as revealed through photovoice. Noting the success and potential demonstrated by photovoice, though largely in health and medical-related fields (Castleden et al., 2008), this study not only hoped to assess its effectiveness in exploring the worlds of CDWs but to also contribute to its methodological literature.

The final and important section of the article thus takes a methodological focus in considering a key emergent value of photovoice. Here, we identify and discuss five types of dialogue which the photovoice methodology can foster. We believe this section presents a promising conceptual framework comprising multiple forms of dialogue fostered by photovoice. We propose that such a conceptual framework can fruitfully serve the field of community development as it aligns well with the notion of giving voice and with the participatory, critical and emancipatory principles advanced by development theorists such as Freire (1972).
Photovoice: origins and usage

The literature shows that the term photovoice is used interchangeably with auto-photography, with both practices involving equipping research participants with cameras to take and analyse pictures that represent their worlds (Mitchell, 2008; Purcell, 2009; Wiersma, 2011; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012). As Duffy (2010, p. 790) notes: ‘the cameras encourage recording of important issues and lead to discussion and reflection on the meaning of the images’.

Castleden, Garvin and First-Nation (2008) note that photovoice was a reconfiguration of earlier use of photographs as a means of obtaining qualitative data. Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris later coined the concept of photovoice to identify a process previously referred to as auto-driving, reflective photography and photo novella or ‘picture-stories’ (Hurworth et al., 2005; Castleden et al., 2008). Closely associated with these terms is photoelicitation or photo-interviewing, which involves using pictures and images during interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) to elicit better understanding of the issues being investigated (Noland, 2006; Mitchell, 2008), although in these processes the photographs are not necessarily taken by participants.

The principles underpinning photovoice can be traced back to three theoretical perspectives, namely, documentary photography, Paulo Freire’s theory of critical consciousness and feminist research theory (Castleden et al., 2008; Martin, Garcia and Leipert, 2010). Documentary photography is premised on the view that providing a camera to people who would otherwise not have one empowers them to record and instigate change in their community. Critical consciousness is associated with the work of Brazilian adult educator Freire (1972) who sought to engage individuals in questioning their socio-economic conditions and their sources of oppression so that they may change them. Likewise, feminist theory seeks to empower vulnerable groups to become aware of power dynamics within society. Wang and Burris (1997) and Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001), identify three goals for photovoice which are assisting individuals with recording and reflecting on selected community issues, encouraging group dialogue on these issues and influencing policy-makers.

A review of the literature shows little usage of photovoice in Uganda. However, two studies conducted in this context have explored the lives and experiences of young participants. Green and Kloos (2009), asked students to document their life as students and community members in the war-ravaged northern Uganda. Fournier et al. (2014) used photovoice to document the experiences of orphaned HIV sero-positive children living in a rescue home in western Uganda. The present study builds on the limited photovoice
usage in the Ugandan context and explores the utility of the methodology with older adults.

**Research process**

The photovoice exploration reported in this article was part of a larger case study of Emesco Development Foundation (EDF), an indigenous NGO focused on community development work. This study was conducted in Kibaale district, in mid-western Uganda. Data sources for the larger case study included the key stakeholders of EDF, namely, administrators, field staff, development partners, CDWs and community members. Photovoice was used as a participatory method to investigate the views of CDWs regarding their roles in EDF. The study was interested in how CDWs in their various roles as Community Resource Persons (CRPs), Community Health Workers (CHWs) and Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) understand and implement their roles within a development context.

**Generating data via photovoice**

CDWs were each asked to take a set of 20 photographs which illustrated their role in communities supported by EDF (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2012). We attempted to recruit 10 CDWs to participate in this process. However, seven completed the training and only six CDWs managed to participate in the photovoice exercise to completion. These six CDWs, three males and three females, represented all the three categories of CDWs in EDF equally.

The first meeting involved acquainting participants with the purpose of the study, their role, camera use, ethical requirements and an overview of photovoice (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2012). Each participant was given a disposable camera to carry for 1 week to take pictures which best described CDW work and experiences.

**Analysis of photovoice data**

Noland (2006) argues that there can never be a recipe for data analysis in photovoice. In this study, participants were first given the opportunity to talk about their photographs and present any significant features in them. We then proceeded to contextualize the photographs and finally coded each before generating emerging themes. Each participant was then asked to select five to seven of the most suitable photographs for the study based on the guidelines earlier provided (Kramer *et al.*, 2010). These photographs were then returned to the owners to discuss individually in greater detail.

The problem-posing method of Freire (1972) guided the discussion following what Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001, p. 562) called SHOWeD: ‘These questions were set around the mnemonic ‘SHOWeD’: What do you...
here? What is really Happening? How does this relate to Our lives? Why does this problem or strength exist? What can we Do about it?’ Due to limitations of the SHOWeD process, the discussion was allowed more flexibility and spontaneity, giving individuals more freedom to say why the photographs were significant to them and their work. A broader set of questions were thus used such as: Why did you take the picture? What does it say about your role in EDF? What would you want changed about the message in the picture? (Novak, 2010). It is this latter question which most triggered Freirean-inspired reflection and dialogue. Several discussions thus focused on how CDWs could improve their roles and livelihoods, including some critique of the neglect of government, as revealed in the discussions below.

Each participant, with the help of group members, was asked to suggest a title for each selected photograph. From these titles, a number of categories emerged which we finally narrowed down to four themes (Noland, 2006; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012), namely: enkurakurana (social progress/development – thirty photographs); enkwatanisa nk’emikorere yaitu (cooperation – six photographs); eby’okwesega (education – six photographs); hamwe ne’ebizibu byaitu (challenges – eight photographs). Photographs were thus collectively assigned to one of these themes (Kramer et al., 2010; Wiersma, 2011).

Data analysis thus took place in a participant-led discussion of the photographs with the entire group. Each participant led the group in a process of uncovering meanings. While Novak (2010) and Yang (2012) argue that discussion and photo-coding can be done by individuals, groups were preferred for their dialogic potential to generate discussion, clarification, debate and consensus (Tijm et al., 2011). The discussion was recorded with a digital voice recorder with the full permission of participants. The recorded discussions and analyses, in excess of four hours, were later transcribed for further analysis.

Ethical issues
Ensuring ethical conduct in the research started with the training of CDWs where much emphasis was placed on research ethics with special reference to photographing people and their neighbourhoods (Castleden et al., 2008). Protocols were instituted to ensure that all community members gave permission before they could be photographed. CDWs were given consent forms for community people to sign before any photographs were taken (Martin et al., 2010; Eglinton, 2013). In isolated instances where it could be detected that there was some non-compliance with the protocol, such photographs were not included in the study. A downside to be aware of is that the photovoice process can be very time-consuming. The processes of explaining the research and getting informed consent, all take time and interfere with the natural flow of community life. The consequence of some ‘staged photographs’ is ever-present and needs to become part of the analysis and discussions which follow.
Wiersma (2011) agrees with Wang and Burris (1997) that photovoice, like any other participatory research technique, does not necessarily solve the material and status inequalities that they purport to address. In this study, we attempted to create a more participatory research process but acknowledge the researcher’s power in terms of control over resources and final reporting. However, the training process emphasized that the power to portray CDWs experiences via photographs lay entirely with CDWs. A further power dynamic we draw attention to is in the relations between CDWs and community members. High cooperation by community members with CDWs in the photovoice process is worthy of critical reflection in terms of the power that CDWs wield within the community. Photovoice does not flatten such hierarchies and it was our responsibility, using the training and ethical protocols discussed above, to sensitize CDWs to these issues and to ensure that these power asymmetries were not exploited.

**Themes emerging from photovoice**

This section briefly presents the findings of the photovoice research according to the four themes identified. The findings are presented here in order to picture community development in Uganda, as a basis for understanding what the study generated and to allow for a discussion of the research process and methodology, which follow.

**Social progress (enkurakurana)**

A large number of photographs were grouped under this category and were dominated by scenes of good and poor practices and socio-economic progress. These scenes include: protected versus unprotected water wells; healthy versus unhealthy homesteads and good versus poor agricultural practices (see Figure 1). Poor practices identified by participants were associated with households that were not so keen to adopt the advice of EDF.

One Community Health Worker (CHW) explained the reason for the picture below (Figure 1) as

> The picture represents what is considered a model home in our EDF teachings. Here you see gardens of green vegetables, onions, egg plants, mangoes, bananas but also pig sty, goat’s byre and a storage house. This means that farming around the home is good, not only because it provides food for the home, but also keeps away mosquitoes, which cause malaria... and dangerous snakes... just as EDF has been teaching us.

**Cooperation (enkwanisa)**

Cooperation was a theme derived from the local expression ‘enkwanisa nk’-emikorere yaitu’ which loosely translates to ‘we work largely through group
work’. Six of the fifty photographs were considered to represent group work or cooperation. Some images in this category depicted joint preparation of liquid manure, managing community seedbed, preparing mud for building and working on community roads. Cooperation is promoted by EDF through distribution of equipment for communal ownership and use. Cooperation also facilitates informal learning and efficiency, enhances communality and demonstrates willingness to help the weak. These benefits of cooperation are evident in the following comments (Figure 2).

Another thing, you will see why these people (EDF) advise us to work in groups; one, it creates friendship, secondly it stops the bad habit of begging
because if we work together it means that we all have that thing . . . but also ensures support for the weak (abaceke) . . . and helps to learn from one another.

Education (Eby’enyegesa)
Six photographs were categorized as representing an educational role in the work of CDWs (Figure 3).

When asked why she took the picture below, the TBA noted

In this picture, I am standing with two young expectant mothers who had come to my home for antenatal visit [and are now] picking vegetables from my garden . . . my husband just joined us. I had just finished examining them . . . I wanted to show that . . . as TBAs whenever an expectant mother comes for antenatal visit, we also educate them on the right foodstuffs for them and their unborn babies . . . I don’t sell to them, but can only give them once and tell them to go and plant them as well for continued good feeding. It was taken by my eldest son whom I had shown how to do it.

These photographs, as well as those presented earlier and the discussions they generated made it clear that while their formal titles relate to the fields of agriculture, health and midwifery, all the CDWs also have distinct educational roles. Most technical, hands-on interventions are followed by advisory or educational input to ensure sustainability of such interventions.

Our challenges (Ebizibu Byaitu)
The CDWs chose to categorize eight photographs as ‘our challenges’, or ‘ebizibu byaitu’ in the local Runyoro dialect, faced in their work. The photographs in this category highlighted issues of poor housing conditions, poor

Figure 3 Practical adult education: A TBA (standing middle) provides vegetables and nutrition education to young expectant mothers.
animal grazing and agricultural practices, youth idleness, destruction of wetlands and unprotected water sources. On a personal level, they noted challenges such as lack of remuneration, being overlooked by some community members, conflict of roles with government officials and inability to solve some problems that they encounter within the community (Figure 4).

When asked why he took the photograph above, a CRP commented

I took this picture because someone planted crops in a wetland and yet this is against our teaching ... I therefore hoped that this picture can be used to educate more people about dangers of environmental destruction but also to highlight our challenges as CRPs. This practice is not only condemned by EDF but the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) as well ... but people just go for short-term benefits. I must admit that some of us leaders have fallen victims to this bad practice, which depicts badly of us as leaders ...

It was noted that some problems are rooted in people’s socio-economic and cultural lifestyles. This discussion continued to show how wetlands can be put to economic usage but in a sustainable manner and the importance of leading by example.

**Fostering dialogue through photovoice**

Photovoice was one of several data collection methods employed to explore the world of CDWs in EDF, others being interviews, FGDs, document analysis and observation. We firmly believe that photovoice enhanced the overall data collection process, a view supported by the literature (Chilisa and Preece, 2005; Rule and John, 2011). Photovoice confirmed findings emerging from other methods and thus contributed to quality in the form of triangulation.
While these quality-enhancing attributes are valuable and noteworthy, we wish to highlight two other attributes of photovoice which were most valuable and significant in this study. Here, we refer to the power of the method in giving voice to participants (Purcell, 2009; Smith, Bratini and Appio, 2012) and in generating rich discussions.

The photographs provided an excellent stimulus for various deep, reflective and authentic discussions which allowed the researcher and participants to delve deeper into several issues, some of which had emerged through other data collection methods (Fitzpatrick et al., 2012; Bell, 2013). This combination of voice and discussion constitute the dialogical potential of photovoice. Reflecting on the photovoice process and adopting a methodological gaze, we identify and discuss four types of dialogue which we believe the process fostered in this study. We complete this discussion by identifying a fifth type of dialogue, which though not present in this study, could be beneficial in other studies of community development.

**Dialogue among participants**

Of the different methods employed, only FGDs allowed for participants to engage with each other in making meaning of their roles and experiences as CDWs. This engagement was, however, very much under the direction of the researcher. Photovoice loosened researcher-control and engendered a level of freedom among participants that the other methods did not. It allowed for CDWs to speak with authority about their lives and experiences in the community and to flatten status and gender hierarchies. It was particularly encouraging to observe female CDWs showing levels of confidence not seen before as they presented, debated and challenged others’ views about their work.

The presentations by TBAs, for example, generated a lot of passion and questions from other CDWs. The male participants, particularly, expressed deep appreciation for the midwifery roles of TBAs and their empathy to all mothers. This prolonged the discussion as further explanations were sought. The TBAs also explained the specifics of their work and how they have handled critical cases like the birth of twins and breech births. Similarly, there was dialogic depth when CHWs went into details of how they use a rapid diagnostic test to detect malaria and then prescribe treatment.

The following extracts reveal the types of educational dialogue among participants.

Iruku (CRP): I have a small question to these TBAs. When these expectant mothers come for antenatal care or delivery, do you ever give them some lessons on family planning?

Noreda (TBA): Now, those are coming too. Just hold on . . .

But I strictly advise the man to care for his wife after delivery ... but we also talk to them about sex after delivery, especially those having their first child. We normally
tell the men that they need to give their wives time and not to hurry to be united again, ... that you need to give her time for uterus to go back in its right place.

Balifaijo: But I see it is such a big task, keeping someone for four days, do they pay you?

Noreda (TBA): Yes, they sometimes give us a token of appreciation. But what if someone comes and you see that she has nothing at all; you just let her go without any payment?

This next example, when the researcher enquired about the lack of photographs of male TBAs, shows CDWs challenging and educating each other through the photovoice process

Participants responded; They [male TBAs] are there. There is one in Matale and another in Kyebando. They even trained here with EDF...

Interjection by a male CRP) ... such male TBA cannot attend to my wife in maternity labour.

TBA: he can ... even women like and appreciate those male TBAs ... (laughter).

Interestingly in the above example, gender stereotypes are surfaced and the female-TBA gets the opportunity to correct the view of male participants. Photovoice thus served to alter traditional power relations between Ugandan men and women (Fitzpatrick et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2012). This supports Mitchell’s (2011) view that the visual research mode goes beyond inquiry into representation, dissemination and engagement. In addition, the above discussions illustrate the argument of Hurworth et al. (2005, p. 56) that: ‘photographs led to narratives that were more specific, more detailed and more grounded in day-to-day reality than the interviews’.

Dialogue between participants and researcher

Generating good quality data requires a productive rapport between researcher and participants (Bell, 2013). This can be achieved through skilfully conducted interviews and focus groups. Photovoice, however, can open new dimensions of rapport and dialogue between researcher and participants. The photograph and extract below show levels of depth, exploration and healthy disagreement between research participants and the researcher, which the other methods in this study did not generate (Figure 5).

Researcher: Why was that photograph taken?

Teruth (Female-TBA): I took this photo to show a good family homestead.

Researcher: But is that a good homestead?

Nsemba (Female-CHW) ... eehhh ... that man’s house is one of the model houses in the village. He has even been visited by 'bazungu' (white people) ... [other CDWs from Kidukuule village agree].
The above conversation shows an example of researcher–participant dialogue, across gender lines and power levels. It shows participants debating with authority. In the participatory and non-hierarchical photovoice process, not only could the CDWs agree and disagree among themselves but with the researcher as well.

The implied disagreement above relates to the difference in perception between the researcher and the participants on what constitutes a good homestead. Although the photograph showed a building that was grass-thatched, the homestead had all the basics to qualify it as ‘good’ according to community standards, that is; smoothed walls, leak-free roof, mosquito nets, compound, kitchen, toilet and other features. The challenge in interpretation provoked by the researcher opened up another level of analysis as to what is considered a good and bad homestead in the context of this particular community.

Such analysis and collective meaning-making was not possible in the interview and FGD processes as they lacked a powerful visual stimulus (Mitchell, 2008, 2011; Wiersma, 2011). This photograph and dialogue introduced reality on the ground in the community that was being researched. In this regard, Mitchell (2008, p. 374) notes that: ‘Visual images are particularly appropriate to drawing in the participants themselves as central to the interpretive process’.

**Dialogue between participants and other stakeholders**

Photovoice has been reported as serving as a catalyst to action and change (Wang and Burris, 1997; Wiersma, 2011; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012). Although there were no direct links to action in this study the discussions on the theme of ‘our challenges’ did trigger reflections on who EDF was targeting.
and who they were not (i.e. youth). This led to suggestions for possible new interventions. In this study, photovoice also opened up a communication channel for participants with policy-makers. These CDWs however, seem to target EDF leadership rather than government and other stakeholders. They argued that government had thus far been inactive in addressing their problems. One participant noted that

> I think these photographs will help us to highlight the challenges we still face in our work. We would indeed be glad if EDF staff would occasionally join us when we are doing our work in our communities. Our people sometimes get used to us and take our messages for granted. However, whenever someone from EDF joins us, they tend to know... But talking to government... I don’t know... government has not helped... NGOs have helped more than government.

With the permission of the CDWs all photographs were displayed at EDF head office and thus could be seen as opening up a dialogue between participants and this key stakeholder. The photographs were also used to engage EDF stakeholders in a dissemination of findings workshop. Such dialogue is a necessary precursor for change and action.

**Dialogue with self**

We are calling the fourth type of dialogue which we identified in this study, dialogue with self. Here, we see potential for photovoice to stimulate critical self-reflection at various points in the process. The example of self-reflection below illustrates this form of dialogue with self. Interestingly, this dialogue with self on the part of a community member and a CDW shows the potential of photovoice to also serve goals of educating people and transforming their practices (Figure 6).

Balifaijo (CRP): This is someone’s homestead and he is also affiliated to EDF. This goat’s shelter was even built with the assistance of EDF and acts a demonstration to other farmers. He was even given improved goat breeds... however; there is a saying that wherever there is a good thing, there is always a bad one too. This man was keeping unprocessed beans in the veranda instead of [in] a store for his crops...

Researcher: so, how did you help him? Did you advise him before leaving?

Balifaijo (CRP): Even he himself realized his mistake, because after taking other photographs, I also requested to take that one too. However, he first objected saying that it would depict badly on him... however, when I explained the purpose and the anonymity of his name, he accepted but we both agreed that it was indeed a mistake [incorrect storage]

It is clear in this example that the research process moved beyond recording and understanding to attempting to foster change. The photovoice exercise-triggered self-appraisal on the part of the community member regarding
his storage of beans. His discomfort at such a practice being photographed catalysed a discussion with the CDW-researcher about the need for a food store. This supports Mitchell (2011) who notes that visual research interventions play a critical role in educating and empowering communities. The above example also shows the CDW acting as researcher as he negotiates research ethics with the community member.

This example illustrates the types of reflections and dialogues with self which the photovoice process triggered in the field and during data-analysis. Such dialogue also reveals the enactment of multiple identities such as CDW, researcher and educator during the process.

Community-wide dialogue
This final type of dialogue, while not evident in the present study, could be important for deepening the participatory, consultative and action-oriented nature of photovoice research. In this study the photographs were brought into a forum where CDWs and the researcher could engage with them collectively to generate knowledge. The value of this process in terms of data enrichment, dialogic freedom, knowledge democracy and research quality has already been raised in the discussion above. We believe there could be further value in taking these photographs back to the community members for their input and analysis to stimulate community-wide dialogue and seek local solutions to problems identified (Stephenson, 2012). This community-wide dialogue is recommended to researchers as a way of furthering the democratization of knowledge making in community development research and stimulating action in the Freirian mode of praxis. We believe that participatory, development-oriented research should facilitate such action.

Figure 6 Depicting poor hygiene and poor storage practices of food.
and by extending the photovoice process to generate community-wide dialogue in the manner suggested here, the photovoice process could animate localized problem-solving and community action.

Adopting a Freirean framework, Purcell (2009) advocates for such use of photographs as coded material to stimulate community-wide dialogue which could lead to conscientization, planning and community action. He states that: ‘it is becoming clear that community use of photography can be used to give voice to, and make visible, otherwise hidden groups and community-based issues’ (Purcell, 2009, p.112). Researchers and CDWs could use photovoice in this manner to support community-wide critical reflection and dialogue, to conscientize and to allow people to name their world in jointly seeking solutions.

Beyond finding local solutions to immediate challenges faced, such community-wide dialogue could also be used to engage community members and development workers about some of the deeper and systemic challenges faced in development such as patriarchy, gender inequalities and donor/NGO-driven development. Such work requires a critical paradigm lens which also engages with the invisible and unspoken, in other words, with what is not in the photographs and what does not come up in dialogue. Such discussions are important in getting to the more difficult challenges in development. Herein lays the potential for photovoice to become truly powerful and transformative in generating dialogic space for more just and democratic development practices and for the enlargement of freedoms and humanity as advocated by Freire (1972).

Conclusions

The framework of multiple forms of dialogue in photovoice research is an exciting emergence from this study which sought to gain a view of community development work in Uganda. Paulo Freire (1972, p. 61) advised that: ‘Dialogue is the encounter between men [and women], mediated by the world, in order to name the world’. Research is also a process of naming the world from a systematic attempt to understand it. The use of photovoice in exploring CDWs roles and experiences in community development work fostered several forms of dialogue which together gave CDWs more space to name their world. The educational theory of Freire (1972) points to dialogue as being central in community development work for purposes of conscientization which is a precursor to action. This article has also highlighted its value in researching community development.

Clearly, not only did photovoice contribute to generating a rich view of community development work in this part of Uganda, it also contributed significantly in terms of fostering dialogue and democracy in the research
process. The methodology gave participants the opportunity, irrespective of gender, age or educational level, to speak freely and authoritatively about the pictures they had taken of their work. This does not happen regularly with traditional data collection processes. Photovoice can foster multiple forms of development-enabling dialogue.

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