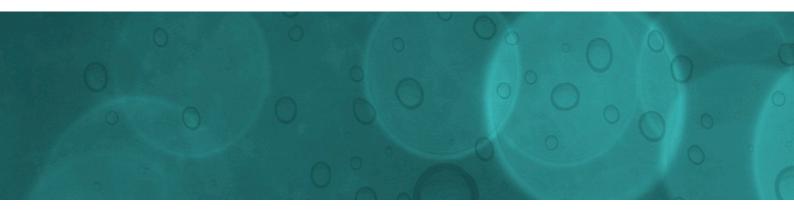
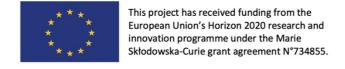
trans·making



ART, CULTURE AND ECONOMY TO DEMOCRATIZE SOCIETY

HOW ART-BASED AND DESIGN-BASED RESEARCH CONTRIBUTE TO KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION?



INDEX

INTRODUCTION	2
THE NARRATIVE, VISUAL AND ARTISTIC FICTION AS A PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH PRACTICE OF THE URBAN, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT Ricard Ramon	3
ALTERNATIVE VISUAL NARRATIVES: LJUBLJANA VS PARIS Amparo Alonso-Sanz	9
VIEWS FROM THE HILL: STUDYING GENTRIFICATION IN BELLEVILLE (PARIS) Raúl Abeledo Sanchis and Eva Máñez	18
EMOTION MAPPING: AN EXPLORATIVE AND GENERATIVE DESIGN RESEARCH METHODOLOGY Gökhan Mura	25
TECHNIQUE, POETRY AND THEORY: THEORETICAL AND ETHICAL CONVERGENCES BETWEEN PHOTOJOURNALISM AND VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY Darío Gabriel Sánchez García	29

INTRODUCTION

The texts in this publication deal with artistic and design research conducted within the trans-making project which has run over the period January 2017 until September 2022.

The trans-making project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement n°734855.

Its objective is to strengthen research capacities, through exchange of knowledge, expertise, skills and experiences between academic and non-academic partners from Europe and Third Countries in a shared research programme focused on: Collecting/Documenting, Exploring/Experimenting, Performing and Designing.

Through these dimensions, trans-making aims at fostering the links between art and culture, economy and democracy, at EU level and beyond.

The final result of the project is a network of research and innovation staff active in the fields of placemaking/place-based art activities as a space to create alternative narratives for social, economic and democratic renewal.

This publication presents research developed by researchers involved in different fields (applied economy, teaching, design and communication) during their secondments. It gathers texts referring to i.) urban research practices focused on visual narratives and artistic research methodologies; ii.) a design-based practice involving mapping as a tool for knowledge production; iii.) the convergence between photojournalism and visual anthropology.

These texts offer an analysis of the contribution of artistic creation, design and more broadly the contribution of an artistic medium to research and knowledge production.

The authors are thanked for making their texts available for this publication.

The texts reflect the authors' view and the EU Commission is not liable for any use that maybe made of the information contained herein.

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THE NARRATIVE, VISUAL AND ARTISTIC FICTION AS A PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH PRACTICE OF THE URBAN, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT¹

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1. URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AS SPACES FOR LEARNING. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CITY OF PALERMO

Cities are first-class spaces for cultural, social and economic interaction. Urban spaces are probably the places that represent the historical evolution of the human being in the most clear way, for better or for worse. The city and all its interactions construct a framework of complex life experiences that inevitably define the construction of the contemporary human being. Of all possible experiences, our investigation is especially focused on those born of aesthetic experience, as a sensitive means of building complex knowledge and personal biographical learning, measured through the arts. Cities and their opportunities for learning (Huerta, 2015; Ramon, 2016), measured by artistic experiences, are therefore established as the general frame of reference for this investigation.

The city of Palermo has been the subject of our research, carrying out a month-long project there, focused on designing a methodology of learning and investigation of cities based exclusively on artistic methods, such as photography, narratives, painting, recording and sound maps, among other activities. Furthermore, this is part of a broader and more extensive personal research project that includes an analysis of different European cities close to and linked to Mediterranean culture, as opposed to other cities in the Atlantic area.

As part of this design process, we generated a series of works of analysis of the city with artistic methods, such as testing and experimentation of the design model in process, among which is the proposal that we briefly elaborate upon in this paper, that of Pictorial Artographies.

The city of Palermo has all the necessary characteristics to carry out an intricate process of analysis, being a lively city full of conflicts, open wounds, contradictions, and spaces of cultural diversity. Furthermore, it is a city with an overwhelming cultural heritage as a whole. All of this offers elements that intertwine history with more contemporary problems. These emerge in the analysis in a powerful way and are bound to the past from which many come, as the city struggles to build a more hopeful future.

In this sense, it is important to point out that the research model presented focuses on the analysis of environments far removed from the researcher's own day-to-day environment. The analytical gaze needs distancing, a different perspective from that offered by the environments in which we carry out our daily routine. This mediates and numbs the senses necessary for a delicate aesthetic observation that allows an understanding of the city in this context. This does not mean that it is not possible to perform this investigation in one's own home city, rather that it is more complex and requires greater effort, so the approach is based on the need to be located in unfamiliar daily environments.

¹ This article was first published in: Art, culture and economy to democratize society, Editor Raúl Abeledo Sanchis, tirant humanidades, Valencia, 2021

2. NARRATIVES, FICTION AND ART AS PLACES OF INTERSECTION AND CREATION OF VISUAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

The fictional narratives that already have a certain recognition in the field of Social Sciences are presented as a natural ally of Arts-Based Research and artistic projects and experiences. The creation of knowledge and learning is something very complex and multidimensional, and can hardly be reduced to the strict, limited parameters posed by classical positivism. At the academic level, it is necessary to establish new strategies of investigation that validate certain aspects of knowledge, especially in a sensitive area, that cannot be addressed in other ways.

In this sense, incorporating new types of academic narratives that construct complex insights into the phenomena studied is a necessary way to integrate other aspects of knowledge and learning, especially the relationships that human beings establish with their surroundings and with other human beings.

This approach allows me to discuss the complexities of the interrelationship by constructing imagined scenes to make comprehensible sense, rather than relying on conventional narratives or critical analyses only. Interpretative and fictive writing fascinate readers by restoring the sensations, in particular detailing the body's actions and reactions, in imagined scenes framed by analytical discourse. This way of writing creates a sense of being with the body in the space, whereby readers can be affected by the fictive atmosphere of the body's movement in that space while still being included in academic discussion. (Peng, 2018, p. 145)

Starting from the fact that narratives, as a method of investigation, offer a much greater framework of understanding of the phenomena studied, open up new possibilities and possible futures through imagination and creativity, and allow us to connect in a more direct way with the reality of understanding the phenomenon studied. If these narratives are further approached from the practice of the image, the visual and the artistic, the possibilities of sensitive comprehension are broadened and enlarged thanks to the power of the visual arts to create transformative symbolic contents that directly connect with an overall understanding of the world.

3. ARTISTIC METHODOLOGIES AS MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING HUMAN BEINGS. PICTORIAL ARTOGRAPHIES

Among the many research possibilities that exist, the Arts Based Research (Leavy, 2018) responds in a clear, precise way to the aims of understanding the city as a space for fusion and the construction of critical and sensitive knowledge. Any other methodological approach to the urban environment, whether quantitative or qualitative, takes us away from the real exploration of the dynamics that take place in such an important area of sensory experience as aesthetic experience.

From direct contact with the aesthetic experience measured through actions of living knowledge of the city, there is a plane of understanding of oneself in relation to the city, and of the city as a complex, sensitive and stimulating environment. Among the methodologies of artistic research that we can use as a means for the creation of these experiences of knowledge, the situationist drift (Debord, 1958), the cartographies (Macaya-Ruiz, 2017), the pedagogical parallel drifts (Ramon and Alonso-Sanz, 2019), and other types of approaches linked to artistic photography such as photo-essays or visual dialogues stand out, among other practices.

This approach, on this occasion, taking into account all the practices from which it directly derives, focuses, as has already been described, on the use of painting and drawing as a means for the active construction of a conscious knowledge derived from the experience of the city. Especially from aesthetic and sensory experiences. Unlike other ideas or artistic practices inspired by the city, such as the thousands of examples offered by the history of art, Pictorial Artographies start from a connection and travel through the city with the essential aim of generating this sensory, complex knowledge and not of creating a painting. In other words, painting is understood and established as a tool at the service of aesthetic and sensory research, and the learning of levels of knowledge that can hardly be investigated by other means.

I have created the term Pictorial Artography or Painting Artography, to which I designate part of the works that I developed during the research process carried out during a month's work in the city of Palermo. This term should not be confused with the idea of the A/r/tography perspective (Irwin, LeBlanc, Yeon Ryu & Belliveau 2018), which is the methodological perspective that is also part of this text and its associated works. Nor with other terms such as Artography that is also sometimes used to designate artistic photography.

The paintings are presented as exercises of investigation, halfway between the field sketchbook, cartography and participant observation, from which it starts, to situate itself in a field of creative investigation of aesthetic character and based on a personal autobiographical narrative of experience of the city. All this through Arts Based Research and in connection with the methodologies proposed by researcher Dawn Mannay (2016).

3.1. Pictorial Artographies of the city of Palermo

As a result of this investigation, I will show and analyse a very short selection of some of the works that make up the complete series of Pictorial Artographies of the City of Palermo, to better clarify this practice of research based on arts, with examples. There are many more works which make up this whole part of the process of designing the method of knowledge of urban environments, but it is impossible to address everything as a whole in this text.

In the case of the work shown in Figure 1, the starting point is an analysis of the personal experience as a whole as a means of generating symbolic connections that allow for an in-depth study of the spheres of experience and the relationships established while residing in the city. Areas of personal reference are included because they are inseparable from the areas of observational experience and environmental analysis. This work is based on a number of layers of colours that represent the different surfaces on which the city's own diverse culture is based. A culture and people, rich in nuances, diverse, and highly perceptive. A space full of cultural opportunities and aesthetic, social developments.



Figure 1. Series of Artographies of the city of Palermo. Self-sourced

But among these emerge the problems that constantly threaten to destroy and break through all these layers of social, cultural wealth. These problems, represented by the black paint drops, also threaten to affect the personal

experiences of anyone who tries to learn and experience from the city. Problems such as poverty, inequality, corruption and the mafia still permeate any meaningful analysis of Palermo.

The drops of paint across the entire surface clearly describe the journeys, paths, encounters and misunderstandings, with the environments, places, concepts and people that are essential for the development of these lessons. Wandering and action as allies of knowledge creation along with a sensitive and trained gaze.

This Pictorial Artography was developed during the whole month of the investigation and it relates narratively through words associated to colours, the experiences lived in relation to people, places, objects, institutions, and other types of concepts and perceptions that have arisen in reference to the analytical observation of the city. This allows a conceptual scheme to be constructed that is both aesthetic and sensitive, formed in a synthetic way, but at the same time intense, the accumulation of learning and experiences developed during the process of research and learning in that specific environment. It is important to do so as a narrative construction, because it responds more clearly to how we relate to the world and to others, and we construct our own biographical narrative as our lives unfold.



Figure 2. Series of Artographies of the city of Palermo. Self-sourced

The work of pictorial artography in Figure 2 analyses a very important part of the experience of knowledge in an urban environment that is not the one in which the researcher carries out his day-to-day life. These are the contacts and analysis of the people he encounters directly or which he encounters and who form part of his analytical process, in his constant wandering and observation of the environment, within this experience of participant observation. People form an essential part of any environment and are usually not taken into account in this type of analysis. Human presence and their interactions are very important in the aesthetical and cultural perception of an urban environment.

From this visual work, we discover how our gaze becomes an element of analysis, not only of architecture and the rest of the cultural, historical spaces that make up the aesthetics of a city. In this case, our analytical gaze pauses on the people we come across in our wandering, and reflection on this leads us to create narratives of possible connections between us and them and between themselves. Connections that build bonds, sometimes visible and sometimes not. These bonds resort to these possible stories, which allow us to recreate the need for human contact by translating it into artistic media. Once again we find a dimensional plane of human relationships, which is largely established in the realm of the sensory and the aesthetic, understood as opposed to the anaesthetic. A dimension, therefore, that must be understood using means that respond to the same plane of meaning in which these relations act.

In the case of the work shown in figure 3, the drawing is included to reference a symbolic, dramatic location in Palermo, the tree in homage to the judge Giovanni Falcone, who was murdered by the Mafia in 1992. And in this analysis, several elements derived from multiple encounters with this specific item of the city come together. The strong symbolic significance that the tree itself holds, located in one of the main streets of the modern city, almost emerging from a block of buildings. The size of the tree, visible from a great distance, already offers an identifying

element in itself, but as it draws closer, one can observe that, despite the years, the memory of what Falcone represents, the struggle of a city to look to the future and bury a past, is still present, overwhelming. In this way, the lines of colours that converge in the heart of the judge's image respond to those connections that the thousands of texts, photos and drawings of homage and remembrance that pile up and surround the tree provoke.



Figure 3. Series of Artographies of the city of Palermo. Self-sourced

The approach through pictorial artographies forces us to think of the city in other terms and dimensions that reflect the interactions of human behaviour expressed symbolically. Because there is no better way to do it, in a case like the one analysed, where the poetic, the aesthetic, the historical, the symbolic, even the mythological (Barthes, 2014), are the essence of the discourse of reality itself. Using similar compression narratives for their analysis is therefore most consistent with this type of connection with the world, its events and its relationships, which human beings create in their interaction with the environment and other human beings.

4. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, limited by the space imposed by the characteristics of this publication and its aims, all that remains is to highlight some aspects that I understand this practice of Pictorial Artographies provides as a means for the knowledge and learning of urban environments in their sensory and symbolic dimension.

On one hand, the proposed model makes it possible to approach a dimension of cities and cultural, historical environments that is not usually taken into account in research in this respect, such as that of sensory aesthetic experiences. From there, these practices are incorporated into broader methodological interpretations or add to more traditional methodologies, thus offering a more complete and complex approach to the phenomenon studied.

On the other hand, the model is considered an integral part of a series of more complex actions, within a design of global methodology of knowledge of the city through exclusively artistic means. It claims the role of the arts in its capacity to know and understand the world, and of Arts-Based Research as a valid means, directly or indirectly, for learning and creating knowledge about the world.

As a limitation of this phase of the process, but also as an opportunity for development, this practice would multiply the results of its application, together with a complementary subsequent analysis centred on previous examples such as photo-elicitation, in this case art-elicitation. This would offer a sense of the understandings and implications generated by this model, which would greatly enrich the results of any such research process.

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ALTERNATIVE VISUAL NARRATIVES: LJUBLJANA VS PARIS¹

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This research is trying to depict the experience of urban space as a place where different perceptions can exist side by side. It focuses on all the existing perceptions, not only those, that are usually presented to us through mass media. Personal narratives are exigent in order to confront dominant discourses. Through my woman, artist, researcher and teacher eyes a flâneuse view of cities is to be presented. Being a flâneuse, a woman drifter, can be presented as certain kind of erotic (Scalaway, 2002b) that has been explored by many researchers (Elkin, 2016; Hammergren, 1996; Mouton, 2001; Richards, 2003; Scalaway, 2002a, 2002b, 2006; Van Nes and Nguyen, 2009; Wolff, 1985).

Drift as a form of an artistic practice that is approaching the city from a critical perspective, has widely been used by Surrealists and Situationists of the 20th century, but also by various contemporary artists (Bassett, 2004). In this day and age, drift is utilised as a didactic and research method in the studies of urban environments.

Art-based research (Haywood Rolling, 2018) allows us to explore the territory from A/R/Tography (Marín and Roldán, 2017; Irwin, 2006, 2013). Within this research, drift is presented as a method of collecting data and furthermore photography as a way of sharing knowledge and personal view on the matter.

The objective of this research is finding parallels between the capitals of France and Slovenia and to offer alternative visual narratives to the most common ones i.e. tourist, merchandising and commercial visualities.

Through the chronicle of the metropolis (Paris, New York, Berlin, London, etc.), of the urban ecosystem, a new perception of the individual is constructed that facilitates the understanding of our contemporary society, as well as its political, social and economic implications. In this capture of the urban microcosm, the documentary filmmaker - returning to the role of the flâneuse - is often positioned on the margins of the social, going on the hunt for unconventional motives that call into question the dominant ideological discourses and that refuse to leave out of frame its contradictions and edges. (Clemente-Fernández, Febrer-Fernández and del Mar Martínez-Oña, 2018, p. 81)

Data collection has been done randomly, looking at the figure numbers from 1 to 60 in the cities visited as a criterion to frame the scenes of interest. The collected data offers us the opportunity to observe and to ponder about different scenarios, mainly about places that are usually not considered as attractive. As a documentary filmmaker it is necessary to do an effort to frame the scene artistically despite the context or thanks to it. In each picture a number can be seen in some part of the frame.

The results of the analysis are photo-essays that pair images of both capitals according to different thematic categories that are emerging: young people in social centres and public space (Figures 1-5), markets (Figures 6-7), aesthetics on streets and public art (Figures 8-11), storefronts (Figures 12-15), museums and heritage (Figures 16-20).

The parallels found between Paris and Ljubljana are being visually discussed from a contemporary perspective in order to raise new questions and challenges to and for the European society.

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1. YOUNG PEOPLE IN SOCIAL CENTRES AND PUBLIC SPACE





Fig. 1. Ljubljana number 14 and Paris number 9.





Fig. 2. Ljubljana number 33 and Paris number 17.





Fig. 3. Ljubljana number 52 and Paris number 46.





Fig. 4. Paris number 3 and Ljubljana number 22.





Fig. 5. Ljubljana number 24 and Paris number 12.

2. MARKETS





Fig. 6. Paris number 16 and Ljubljana number 43.





Fig. 7. Paris number 45 and Ljubljana number 7.

3. AESTHETICS ON STREETS AND PUBLIC ART

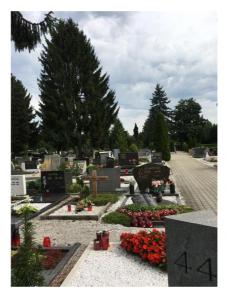




Fig. 8. Ljubljana number 44 and Paris number 13.





Fig. 9. Paris number 16 and Ljubljana number 52.





Fig. 10. Ljubljana number 2 and Paris number 4.



Fig. 11. Ljubljana number 4 and Paris number 35.

4. STOREFRONTS



Fig. 12. Ljubljana number 60 and Paris number 50.



Fig. 13. Ljubljana number 6 and Paris number 18.





Fig. 14. Ljubljana number 40 and Paris number 60.





Fig. 15. Paris number 30 and Ljubljana number 50.

5. MUSEUMS AND HERITAGE





Fig. 16. Paris number 32 and Ljubljana number 11.





Fig. 17. Paris number 28 and Ljubljana number 12.





Fig. 18. Ljubljana number 9 and Paris number 36.





Fig. 19. Paris number 48 and Ljubljana number 31.





Fig. 20. Paris number 21 and Ljubljana number 22.

In the exact sciences, there is no need and no space for silent knowledge and for knowledge that can be understood and interpreted in several different ways. In humanities there is. In art and artistic research there is even more. Artistic knowledge is often open to several readings and leaves in partly to the audience or to the 'user' what to make of it and what to make with it. (Mäki, 2017, p. 33)

Related to this opportunity to establish your own connections, we invite you to discuss some reflections about the similarities and differences between the two European capitals.

Evidently, the size of these two cities is responsible for most of the differences, but the reflection of the shared European and Mediterranean history and culture throughout many generations can nevertheless be seen.

Some questions regarding to these pairs of photographs are:

- Where and how are young people using social centres nowadays?
 Are old buildings being understood in a new way? (Figures 1 and 2).
- Where and how are young people using public spaces nowadays to enjoy the city? What values are they advocating with their attitudes? (Figures 3-5).
- How are capitalism and globalization reflected in flea markets, free markets, jumble sales and supermarkets? Is the common aesthetic spreading all over the world and destroying particular identities and visualities? How are different layers of design, visual arts, architecture, publicly overlapped? (Figures 6 and 7).
- Which is the powerful attractive of the aesthetics on streets and public art? (Figures 8, 9, 10 and 11).
- What kind of numbers, letters, colours and compositions can be found in storefronts? Is there a shared aesthetic? (Figures 12-15).
- Do museums and heritage tell us more about others than the nationalist values?
 What kind of parallelisms can be found between museum content and the outdoor life?
 Do museums open windows to other realities? (Figures 16-20).

To conclude, it can be said that art-based research opens new questions for further analysing and are offering us arguments with whom we can critically examine the present beliefs.

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VIEWS FROM THE HILL: STUDYING GENTRIFICATION IN BELLEVILLE (PARIS)¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article is an advance of the results of our research secondment at Relais Culture Europe (Paris) during September 2017 in the framework of the Trans-making project. Given the space constraints, we have also provided transmedia contents (video, text and photography) in a bid to increase the depth and level of detail of our analysis.

The object of study is the gentrification of the Parisian neighbourhood of Belleville. The working methodology combined socio-economic analysis, the practice of drift as an urban research technique and the use of photographs and audio-visual recordings. This documentation process was carried out in collaboration with photojournalist Eva Mañez.

Belleville is a popular district of the city of Paris, located on top of one of its hills. This traditionally libertarian area is grappling with the intensification of the same gentrification and urban speculation dynamics that are threatening the rest of the French capital. It is expected that the next Olympic Games in 2024 will accelerate these processes. Historically, migration flows and urban planning policies have been the main explanatory factors of gentrifying dynamics. The new paradigm of cultural capitalism (Rifkin, 2000) and the global liberalization of capital markets have defined a context of cities for sale where they offer their symbolic and territorial capital to the financial markets in exchange for the funds needed to finance electoral programmes. Today, cities that compete as commodities and as growth machines (Logan and Molotch, 2015).

The practice of drift has allowed us to experiment with the integration of various forms of artistic and scientific knowledge production that balance and complement each other.

This research technique has also generated artistic production and a case study that has led to theoretical modelling.



Photo 1. Postcard views, tourist attraction

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2. METHODOLOGY: THE PRACTICE OF DRIFT

The choice of research methodology depends on the nature of the object of study. Addressing the conflict of gentrification in all its complexity requires the use of creative and diverse approaches and tools. Following Wagensberg (2000), our initial hypothesis highlights the need to integrate various forms of knowledge production, thus combining scientific and artistic research. Therefore, the gentrification of our cities must be analysed using different mental models.

In this sense, situationist practices are particularly interesting to us. The Situationist International (S.I.) was an artistic-revolutionary avant-garde organisation that combined art with political action. Although it dissolved in the 1970s, its influence reached the main cultural and social movements of the latter part of the 20th century (Abeledo, Máñez, 2019). Along with psychogeography or decontextualization, drift is one of the main situationist practices. Drift basically consists in walking aimlessly, experiencing urban life and critically observing its power struggles in order to devise alternatives to the prevailing urban design.

The interest of drift for urban research lies in its appropriation of public space (Careri, 2002). It is how we as researchers interact with Belleville: in transition, at street level, emotionally and intuitively. The circulation and constant fluctuation of information is a fundamental characteristic of contemporary cities, and the aesthetic practice of walking allows us to capture the transitory and itinerant elements of the urban context.

3. ACTIVITIES

During our month drifting through Belleville, we identified some of the key dynamics and impacts of gentrification in the neighbourhood. More than 2,000 photographs were taken to document the main public spaces, actors and conflicts in Belleville. Around 25 interviews were also recorded.

One of the results of this documentation process was the video "Belleville Gentrification", which includes a selection of images through which we seek to illustrate our experience of life in the neighbourhood. The viewing of this video is recommended to gain a deeper understanding of the analysis that follows.



Photo 2. Innovation is an (urban) jungle

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQWkKNfDs9c&t=24s

The images used in the video illustrate our three key areas of analysis (public spaces, cultural spaces and social activism) and the way in which they interact with the main factors of gentrification: migration flows and urban planning policies.

3.1. Public spaces: parks, markets and squares

Through the practice of drift, we observed how the public squares, green spaces and open-air markets of Belleville affect the quality of life of its residents (quality shopping, use of sports areas, leisure and recreation). These elements increase the attractiveness of the neighbourhood for the higher income classes, leading to dynamics of inequality, exclusion and displacement. Sometimes, they are even used by urban planners as the "fifth column" in the gentrification of popular neighbourhoods, along with public services such as educational and sports facilities or health centres.

During our drift, we came across a municipal initiative to privatise the restaurant-terrace of Belleville Park and witnessed the neighbours' opposition to the project. Another interesting discovery was the Place des Fêtes. This was a good example of the urban reforms carried out in the sixties, characterised by their technocratic orientation and designed to promote social control. The morphology of the Place des Fêtes is characterised by wide open spaces and high apartment blocks that replace the alleys and low blocks of houses that made up the old and degraded urban fabric. This is an example of an urban 'surgical operation' that cuts through a healthy area and contributes to the displacement of the resident population by a middle class with greater purchasing power in the face of rising house prices.



Photo 3. Place des Fêtes: Urbanism as a tool for social control

Historians such as Hazan (2010) have highlighted the power's willingness to increase social control by erasing all traces of the neighbourhood's past, thus quashing its rebellious spirit.

Other uses and areas of interest found during the drift included leisure activities in the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, commerce in the Belleville-Ménilmontant market, life in the Place des Rigoles neighbourhood, the exceptional existence and resistance of the Rue de l'Ermitage / Leroy or the Rue Dénoyez, to which we will return later. All of them are documented in our video.

3.2. Cultural spaces: construction of memory and identity

Belleville's artistic activity has historically been associated with the neighbourhood's nightlife and leisure activities. Next to the taverns and cabarets, we find a gallery showing the works of some of the most illustrious artists of Belleville. This iconic and powerful image draws in both tourists and new residents, affecting the real estate market and urban policies. The media play an important role in the international promotion of Belleville².

The neighbourhood's image is built on cultural icons such as its favourite daughter (Edith Piaf), pataphysical artists such as Alfred Jarry, the photographic imaginary documented by Willy Ronis, literary chroniclers such as Pennac or musical references such as Django Reinhardt or Mano Negra. Real estate agents themselves do not hesitate to point

² https://www.timeout.com/coolest-neighbourhoods-in-the-world

this out: Belleville's artistic dimension, understood as symbolic capital, has a significant potential economic value (Vivant and Charmes, 2008).

During our drift, we also documented a number of associations, cultural spaces, management models and activities of interest. Les Ateliers d'Artistes de Belleville (AAB) is an association that brings together more than 250 artists from different disciplines (photography, ceramics, painting, sculpture). In addition to the AAB, we identified and documented the dense network that makes up the neighbourhood's cultural ecosystem. This network includes interesting spaces such as Culture Rapide and its cultural programme, the anarchist memory of the Espace Louis Michel, interesting psycho-social experiments such as those of the Babelville / ANPU³ cluster and small craft workshops such as that of Mexican engraver Raúl Velasco. We will come back to the latter to comment on the cases of La Bellevilloise and La Bellevilleuse, two cultural organisations that represent very different attitudes and behaviours towards gentrification.

First, however, we focus on the case of the Rue Dénoyez, which is extremely illustrative of Belleville. For a decade, this street became a real open-air graffiti museum. The free use of public space for urban art placed it on the international map. However, the municipal policies that supported cultural self-management within small artist workshops have been replaced with ones that promote the demolition of these spaces in order to develop social housing that reconfigures the neighbourhood, displaces its population and fuels speculation in the real estate market. All the while tourist guides offer graffiti routes through the neighbourhood for international visitors.



Photo 4. Rue Dénoyez: A Tour de Force of gentrification in the neighbourhood

We identified and interviewed various cultural agents with contrasting views on this situation – from the resigned acceptance of the Frichez-Nous La Paix association (for legal reasons) to the greater resistance of those directly affected.

Equally diverse is the role played by cultural agents in the dynamics of gentrification in the neighbourhood. This role is characterised by a great deal of ambiguity and depends on a variety of factors, such as the phase of the gentrification cycle and the very nature of the agent. Thus, we find both cultural companies that act as catalysts of speculative real estate logics (La Bellevilloise), and activists who fight against it (La Bellevilleuse). One, purely commercial in nature, follows the logic of profit, while the other, social and voluntary, follows that of activism.

La Bellevilleuse was an association formed by artists and local residents that managed to thwart the attempts to demolish a large part of the neighbourhood that were made in 1987 as part of the so-called Zones d'Aménagement Concerté. The craftsman Raúl Velasco, whom we interviewed in his workshop during our drift, took part in La Bellevilleuse and led the neighbourhood opposition. Through its actions, La Bellevilleuse managed to halt the municipal plan, lowering the projected figures of property destruction from 95% to 22%.

³ https://www.anpu.fr/Bienvenue-a-Babelville.html

The case of La Bellevilloise is quite different, as it is a cultural enterprise that acts as a Trojan Horse on behalf of real estate interests. Its businesses branch out throughout Paris and connect with financial interests on a global scale. In the neighbourhood, they sell a luxurious cultural space: La Bellevilloise. This is a huge industrial building that formerly hosted the headquarters of an important trade union, from which it inherits its name. They also manage ephemeral cultural and leisure spaces, such as plots of land prior to construction, and offer a programme of luxury yacht trips along the Seine or around the region's castles. The comments made by Raúl Velasco during his interview reinforced the impression that a visit to the Bellevilloise website⁴ made on our minds.

Whether they are voluntary or involuntary, direct or indirect facilitators of gentrification, cultural organisations can even become victims of displacement. Belleville's quality of life and image, its proximity to the capital, its artistic tradition and its low prices attract talent and culture, which increases its value and makes it visible to speculative interests. Mass media amplify the message.

3.3. Activism and social cohesion

The popular and migrant character of the neighbourhood is reflected in the characteristics of its associative fabric: diversity, density and mobilisation capacity. The nature of the neighbourhood is also reflected in the conflicts of social exclusion and the difficulties associated with integration and the coexistence between different communities. In this context, aspects like public space or housing become essential variables for analysis.

During our drift, we also interviewed activists and experts in migration, multiculturalism and the fight against social exclusion. These interviewees included agents such as Moncef Labidi (Le Café Social) or Mathieu and Jeanne (activists from the soup kitchen La Cantine), who fight against the dynamics of exclusion in the neighbourhood from their own spaces. Through these interviews and our own journey, we became aware of the influence that Belleville's multicultural makeup has on the neighbourhood's artisan, working, migrant, combative, supportive and popular identity. We were also able to identify two very different realities in the lower and upper parts of Belleville. The lower part (Bas Belleville) is significantly affected by marginalisation, social exclusion and issues in the coexistence between different cultural and ethnic communities. Crime, drug trafficking, street prostitution, police violence and attacks against the Chinese community are some of the most visible conflicts in the area.



Photo 5. Flea market in Belleville

Other interviews carried out gave us a flavour of the local nightlife and life in typical Parisian cafés (Da Capo international music duo), the urban approaches of new residents (Latitude 48° Viviana Comito architects) and the actions of the local community (Emilie Bourgouin, Vide Grenier du Village Jourdain Neighbourhood Association).

⁴ https://www.labellevilloise.com/

We also met researchers and experts in fields such as Parisian anarchism (Claude Orsoni, sociologist) or the history of migration (Fabienne Pourtein, Maison des Suds, and Sarah Clément, from Génériques Association).

4. BELLEVILLE: BUILDING A MODEL

Combining the inventory that we generated during our daily drifts around Belleville and the conceptual theoretical framework, we designed an explanatory narrative of the neighbourhood's distinguishing facts in the face of the current gentrification dynamics. This narrative integrated three superimposed and interacting levels of analysis: the territorial dimension, the socio-productive dimension and the cultural-symbolic dimension.

In tune with Wagensberg, we adopted a cross-cutting perspective that allowed us to analyse the complexity of a diverse reality. While he stressed the need to consider the co-evolution of systems in any type of analysis, integrating the concepts of fundamental, natural and cultural selection (Wagensberg, 2000), we studied the physical, productive and cultural interactions that define Belleville's singularity.

The first aspect to consider is the geographical perspective. Belleville, like Montmartre, is located atop one of Paris' few hills, which has determined the neighbourhood's role in the history of the French capital. For instance, it was one of the last bastions of defence of the Paris Commune. Belleville's relative isolation also meant that the area was spared the radical urban transformations promoted by Baron Haussman (1860), which allowed it to preserve the village life that still defines its identity today. It should be noted that Belleville's relative isolation may come to an end in the not-so-distant future. As Raúl Velasco confirmed during his interview, there are plans to extend the metro line with tunnels that would run up to 50 metres deep. This would totally transform the connectivity of the neighbourhood, thus accelerating its gentrification. On the other hand, topographical characteristics of the area such as the view from the Parc de Belleville make it very appealing for tourists and constitute valuable landscape resources.

As well as these territorial specificities, Belleville has a historical identity as a popular neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by working classes and artisans. According to the 1891 census, Belleville was the most 'Parisian' of the capital's neighbourhoods, with 52.2% of its residents being born in the area. A little more than a century later, in 2009, the census indicated that 34% of its residents were not born in France, making it the most cosmopolitan district of Paris. However, it remains popular (Corbillé, 2013).

Thirdly, the traditional socio-productive structure of the neighbourhood is reflected in the cultural values of the community, highlighting the anarchist and libertarian heritage derived from its history of resistance in the Paris of the Commune, the professional autonomy of the artisans and its own identity as a collective. In this context, the existence of anarchist spaces such as the Espace Louise-Michel and the bookstore Le Jargon Libre or the presence of the legendary Lucio Urtubia⁵, a key figure of international anarchism, is not at all surprising. The struggle is kept alive by the young anarchists of the neighbourhood, who we followed⁶ to the centre of Paris to demonstrate against Macron's reforms.

⁵ http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/el-documental/lucio/961865/

⁶ https://www.elsaltodiario.com/francia/somos-la-naturaleza-que-se-defiende



Photo 6. Lucio Urtubia (on the right) during a neighbourhood gathering

5. NEXT RESEARCH STEPS

After gathering abundant documentation during our stay in Paris, we looked at our research as a work in progress, expanding it and connecting it to stays in other Trans-making destinations. Thus, during our stay in the association Citema (Tuscany, December 2017), we carried out an artistic residency in which we synthesised and graphically represented our analysis of Belleville through a narrative sequence of five oil paintings on canvas. Work was then carried out in Cairo (December 2018), Sarajevo (August 2019) and Istanbul (December 2019), comparing the historical centres of the three cities and illustrating these case studies through the photographic technique of cyanotype. The aim is to show all these photographic, pictorial and audio-visual materials in Trans-making's final exhibition, which will be held in Paris in 2020 to mark the end of the project.

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EMOTION MAPPING: AN EXPLORATIVE AND GENERATIVE DESIGN RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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I have participated in the EU H2020 project trans-making as a designer and design researcher working at the Department of Visual Communication Design at Izmir University of Economics. I have completed four secondments, each of them a month long. The framework of my research in this project was structured to explore the impact of labour migration on the visual and material culture of the societies involved in migration. There were 4 different areas of concentration (exploring the meaning and social economy of the migrant gifts as material remittances, visually exploring the meaning and value of migrant shop signs as migration-influenced visual culture, visually exploring the murals of facial figures and exploring the perception of public spaces by migrants) across my secondments explored through ethnographic interviews, visual documentation and the emotion mapping methodology that was developed and applied through these secondments. Emotion Mapping methodology was effectively applied during my secondments in Santiago in 2018 and in Paris in 2019 with migrants from Turkey as the participants. The methodology later adopted as a one-day mapping workshop in Lublin in 2022 with Lublin residents as participants.

Emotion Mapping methodology aims to explore the perception of the public spaces in a city by a selected group of participants. It is composed of two steps, data collection and visualizing. In the data gathering step, the participants are asked to report their associations of emotions with public spaces in the city. The participants are asked first to match the six basic emotions with certain places and later they are asked to extend the pairing with more emotions by marking participants' associations of public spaces. Once the emotion associations of the participants are collected and marked on the city map the visual output allows the interpretation of how the selected group experiences the public spaces in many different levels. In my trans-making secondments, I have used Emotion Mapping to map the emotive responses of the Turkish migrants to public spaces in Santiago and Paris.

In both cities, a two-step data collection approach based on face-to-face meetings with Turkish migrants was used. During each meeting, a semi-structured interview was conducted to learn about each migrant's background story, followed by an emotion association survey to gather emotion associations. The emotion association survey asks participants to match six basic emotions with six public places they have visited in Santiago and Paris in order to reveal their emotional associations with specific places. According to Ekman and Friesen (1971), the six basic emotions are anger, fear, sadness, joy, disgust, and surprise, and they are universally experienced and visually recognizable across cultures all over the world through facial expressions. The six emotions were chosen because they are clearly classified, with universally accepted distinctions between arousal and responses. This hexa-polar quality of six basic emotions makes it suitable for use in mapping associations of these emotions with public spaces because they present a clear classification distinction.

The migrant emotion association map is created by putting participant input onto city maps. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in both Santiago and Paris, usually at the migrant's workplace. After completing an introductory information session and semi-structured interviews, the emotion association survey was administered. The surveys that asked migrants to associate certain emotions with specific public spaces were filled out textually. Each emotion was assigned a different shape and colour, which were then digitally marked on the maps. Initial outputs of the process as the marked maps of Santiago and Paris show how the responses are clustered to spatially compare Turkish migrants' emotional responses to various public spaces in Santiago and Paris.

The Lublin workshop was a variation of the emotion mapping methodology applied as a workshop which aimed to explore Lublin from the viewpoint of the emotions of the citizens of Lublin. It aimed to visualise different emotions triggered/lived/remembered/experienced in Lublin by workshop participants. The outcome was a printed and manually marked map of Lublin showing the distribution, the variety and the clustering of emotions experienced in Lublin through the eyes of the residents providing us an alternative overview of the city of Lublin.

The migrant emotion map can be interpreted on two different levels. First, the use of color-coded emotions on a map allows us to see how different emotions and the places that trigger them are distributed throughout the city. The mark distribution also allows for a two-way reading. The Turkish migrant emotion map in Santiago and Paris presents information about the perception of public spaces in Santiago and Paris from the perspective of a single migrant. Along with the information gathered through interviews, the diversity and similarities and differences in individual perceptions of Turkish migrants on the emotional quality of their neighbourhoods and public spaces can be seen. When individual responses are combined and visually marked on the map, the migrant emotion map provides information about how a group of Turkish migrants perceive public spaces collectively and how these spaces are distributed throughout the city (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Second, the migrant emotion map provides a visual representation of the diversity of how the same public environment elicits various emotional reactions as the exploration's attention switches from the individual migrants to specific public spaces (Figure 3). The interviews provide further context for understanding how different migrants react differently to the same public areas.

The Emotion Mapping methodology aims to explore the spatial experience of public spaces through the lens of the migrant. It also aims to employ visual methodologies to explore the spatial dynamics and the emotive dimension of the city, migrants and public spaces by making intangible and personal knowledge visible and comprehensible.

The Emotion Mapping methodology as used for my trans-making research aims to explore the spatial experiences and emotions of migrants and to allow an alternative peek to the sensory quality of public space through the lens of migration. Mapping emotions related with public spaces around the city helps us to see the city in a different empathetic light and to develop a human centred and participatory visual tool to think on how same places in a city can be experienced by different people with different backgrounds. The knowledge expected to be accumulated by applying this method with the participation of different groups across different times is expected to help to design more inclusive, engaging and more democratic public spaces eventually.

Mura, Gökhan (forthcoming) Learning from Visible Diversity: Mapping Migrant Emotions in Public Spaces. In the process of finalization. Academic article based on Emotional Mapping methodology developed and applied for trans-making research in Santiago and Paris.

The initial methodological frame and the first application of Emotion Mapping in Santiago was presented in Lisbon with a presentation titled "Perception of Public Space by Turkish Immigrants in Santiago" at The Migration Conference 2018. An academic journal article titled "Learning from Visible Diversity: Mapping Migrant Emotions in Public Spaces" presenting the Emotion Mapping methodology and its applications in Paris and Santiago is in its finalization stage aimed to be published in 2023.

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Figure 1. Six Basic Emotions of Turkish Migrants in Santiago. Screenshot from the digital map. Most of the marked places are located on the east – west axis of the city.



Figure 2. Six Basic Emotions of Turkish Migrants in Paris. Screenshot from the digital map.

Most of the marked places are located on the east – west axis of the city,

concentrated mainly on frequently visited areas of the city.

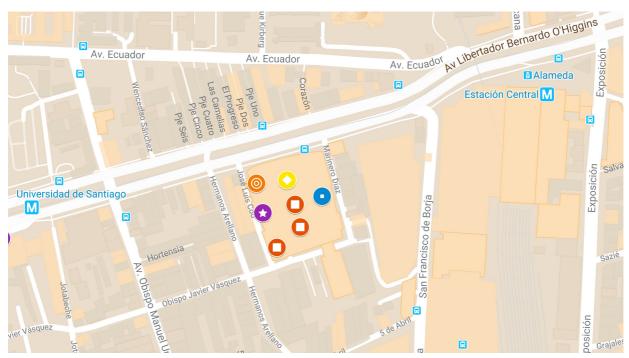


Figure 3. Mixed Emotions in Central Station, Santiago. Screenshot from the digital map. Same public space triggers different emotions for different participants.

TECHNIQUE, POETRY AND THEORY: THEORETICAL AND ETHICAL CONVERGENCES BETWEEN PHOTOJOURNALISM AND VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY¹

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PREAMBLE

In the first chapter, we reviewed the theoretical schemes and concepts involved in the study of visual anthropology on the one hand and photojournalism on the other.

From this, we have defined that visual anthropology covers all aspects of culture that are visible, such as non-verbal communication, context as well as physical expressions that shape human relationships. Its object of study therefore focuses on the production and/or interpretation of visual documents to communicate and extract information relevant to an anthropological analysis. In this process of extracting and communicating data for analysis, we argue that photographic technique is an essential element that effectively contributes to the visual writing of research results.

On the other hand, we define photojournalism as the process of making images for the press as a professional activity carried out by communicators, which by means of its own system of expression in images, fulfils the function of interpreting social reality, through various symbolic discourses, supported by specific formal structures, also called photojournalistic genres.

In this respect, summarising the definitions made, we can say that social photography has as its generic theme the different social facets of man, although it is carried out by photographers with heterogeneous backgrounds, close to the world of the press. While anthropological photography is the one used by anthropologists as a means of investigation, research, concretised in a specific methodology (Muñoz, 1999).

Although visual anthropology refers to the work of making and/or analysing images, and interpreting them, one of the main conclusions of this research, which confirms the hypothesis, is that there is a common approach, a common methodology, which is agreed upon. Indeed, it appears that it is not always necessary for the researcher to take the images, but the photographer must have the technical and analytical skills necessary to take images that meet the specific needs of the anthropological study.

Photo-anthropology consists of the production of photographs made specifically for research purposes, by anthropologists skilled in photography and/or photographers capable of working with the otherness of expressions of popular culture (González Alcantud, 1999).

This being said, thinking about alliances between photojournalists and anthropologists, at least from a multidisciplinary team point of view, is realistic, and let us take up José Antonio Gonzáles Alcantud's concept (1999): "Convergence must above all take place in the field of in situ collaboration of professionals from both sides".

However, there are still few people today who think about the possibility of a binomial, and theoretical and academic attempts to separate the two are repeated, often devaluing photojournalistic work in the name of the known expertise required for anthropological work.

¹ This text is the summary of the research thesis by author Darío Gabriel Sánchez García, directed by the following tutors: Dr Maribel Acosta Damas, Department of Journalism, Discipline Audiovisual Journalism, Faculty of Communication, University of La Habana and Dr. /Ph.D. José Muñoz, Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising, Faculty of Communication Sciences, University of Málaga.

Yet both types of photographs have the same object of study: man and his artefact. J. Muñoz will say: "the difference between these two photographic orientations lies mainly in the approach from which we start in each case and which has much to do with the distinction established by Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez on ethnographic photography and exotic photography" (1999).

Estévez establishes these two definitions, considering that press photographs, i.e. exotic photography, are one of the "artificial reconstructions of indigenous life, they are exposed to the contemplation of the general public, they aim to establish themselves as self-sufficient representations of cultural otherness; they are the result of an ephemeral relationship between the photographer and the people; and the main pretext is exotic stimulation. While the latter, ethnographic photographs, present a scrupulous fidelity of existence and the ordinary, they are mainly addressed to specialists, they are presented as leads, clues, or illustrations constructed like a literary discourse, more or less academic. They constitute milestones or marks of the ethnographer's long period of coexistence with the people he has studied, and whose main objective is to develop a visual text that must be interpreted with regard to ethnographic information" (1991).

On this point, it would be prudent to emphasize, once again, that in this research we are in fact advocating the opportunity to work in multidisciplinary groups where the photojournalists produce the images, they are part of the prior contextual study and participate in the fieldwork, insofar as, as we have said, it is not strictly necessary for the images to be made by the anthropologists. However, and without ambiguity, we also maintain that the anthropologist must be the one who carries out the final phase of the process, i.e. the interpretation of the images based on the tools and knowledge previously acquired.

To do these analyses beforehand was more than relevant, it was necessary to be able to conduct this research whose objective is to determine the theoretical, methodological, and ethical precepts that could serve as a basis for multidisciplinary teams between photojournalism and photo-anthropology.

Then, in our second chapter, we have pointed to the antecedents and references that have marked the models in each of the fields in question, including both simultaneously, to prove that the coming together of journalistic photography and visual anthropology is not 'unnatural', nor a post-modern whim. The revised antecedents and references show the common roots of these two practices.

CONVERGENCE 1: COMMON BACKGROUND AND REFERENCES

In this respect, and without mentioning any particular name or author, we could point out two main trends in the foundations of contemporary photo-anthropology. Originally, a very scientific and technical use, as an illustration or visible proof of the written word, initially focused on capturing images of notable ethnic and racial diversities with different physiognomic and anatomical features.

Secondly, we identified social and documentary photography, which focused on 'ordinary people', and which created a break with the nativist trend of proposing a new way of revealing contexts, with the search for 'objective' approaches to social issues under the aegis of 'revealing the truth'.

With particular reference to social and documentary photography, it should be noted that it has not only brought about changes in ways of seeing and analysing reality from anthropology. It is also a well-known precedent of modern photojournalism, which has brought about remarkable conceptual changes in the ways of thinking about press photography and communicating through it.

Among the new concepts derived from documentary, we have "Storytelling", or photographic narrative, one of the most well-known currents of contemporary photojournalism, and which, in the opinion of the researcher, should also be used to analyse the potentialities of the image and the construction of visual narratives in photo-anthropological research.

There is an important precedent for the use of photography in the humanities that can be useful to us, with the necessary precautions, to orient the possibilities of it applied to anthropology. Thus, with its limitations, the journalistic model can be useful to us, from an eminently practical point of view. This example, which may be debatable, is because it is in journalism that the language and possibilities of discussion of photography have developed

more broadly, and therefore it would be a mistake to ignore the development of photography in this medium (Montalbán, 2006).

According to Ramon Cabrales (2019), "first of all, it is important to understand that there are many people who dedicate themselves to photography, in a profound or light way, from the study or in an empirical way. Good photojournalism, as the great referents show, masters the technique, which is an indisputably necessary skill, but it also begins this work well upstream from the preparation, study and understanding of the culture. This must be the reference guide when we think of effective partnerships between photojournalists and anthropologists."

CONVERGENCE 2: THE PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY AS A KEY GENRE

One element that could undermine this alliance is the perception of the photojournalist that Howard Becker described in summing up the stereotype embedded in the popular consciousness:

Photojournalism is what journalists do, producing images as part of the work of getting out daily newspapers and weekly news magazines (probably mostly daily newspapers now, since the death in the early nineteen-seventies of Life and Look). What is photojournalism commonly supposed to be? Unbiased. Factual. Complete. Attention-getting, storytelling, courageous. Our image of the photojournalism insofar as it is based on historical figures, consists of one part Weegee, sleeping in his car, typing his stories on the typewriter stored in its trunk, smoking cigars, chasing car wrecks and fires, and photographing criminals for a New York tabloid; he said of his work "Murders and fires, my two best sellers, my bread and butter". A second part is Robert Capa, rushing into the midst of a war, a battle, to get a close-up shot of death and destruction (his watchword was "If your pictures aren't good enough, you aren't close enough." (quoted in Capa 1968) for the news magazines. (Becker, 1995)

We have already said this and verified it with previously consulted authors. The concept of "superficiality", which in turn has become "topicality", "immediacy" and "deadline", has become a stigma for photojournalists, drifting into unfounded doubt about their ability to give deep and accurate views on social reality issues beyond mere news.

According to Carlos Escalona Martí (2019), there is an undeniable link with news and information, which is due to the very nature of journalism. But it is also true that this approach has been voluntarily brought to other fields of knowledge by researchers, as it has also been used by other fields that find its codes useful and interesting. In any case, photojournalism, the visual language of documentary in the broadest sense, is a tool for approaching social phenomena and processes.

And although researchers and theoreticians who are dedicated to photo-anthropology do not in practice define modes of operation, in one way or another, they always require necessary and useful preconditions for the work to be carried out. These characteristics are usually extensive and varied photography, time spent in the field or studying the context from documentation, or qualitative techniques such as observation and interviews.

It would have been impossible to answer these questions from the point of view of photojournalism if we had believed in this reductive view, because to consider photojournalism only as related to immediacy would not only be a mistake, but would imply ignoring an important theoretical evolution that tends to systematise the practice and proposes methodologies organised by photo-journalistic genre, among which is the photographic essay. The latter is generally conceptualised with characteristics very common to those required for the production and/or subsequent interpretation of images for anthropological purposes. "This theory of photo-journalistic genres challenges this vision strictly linked to the immediate, as the essay is described as a genre, reflective, of long duration, developed from the previous study and with a large quantity of images, which are even broken down into sub-themes" (Cabrales, 2019).

Becker himself gives some hints on this, by confronting this stereotype with that of the photojournalist essayist, who has no time constraints, and this makes all the difference:

The final part of the stereotype is Margaret Bourke-White in aviator's gear, camera in one hand, helmet in the other, an airplane wing and propeller behind her, flying around the world producing classic photo-essays in the Lifestyle. (Becker, 1995)

As a result of documentary research and interviews with specialists, we have conceptualised the photo-journalistic essay as a photographic genre composed of a large number of photographs, in dialogue with texts that facilitate the understanding and interpretation of the visual proposal. As for the content, it allows the photographer to develop particular ways of interpreting social reality and to share his or her point of view on a given phenomenon, generally

guided by the intention of addressing anthropological, sociological, economic, cultural, environmental, etc. phenomena in a critical and detailed way. Due to its degree of complexity, it is a very important tool for the development of the social economy. Because of its degree of complexity, it requires thoughtful and progressive planning, as well as precise and meticulous execution, with sufficient time to carry out the observation as a technique and to understand the context in depth. The process of photographic capture, as well as the selection of images for the final proposal, more so than in other photojournalistic genres, gives the author room for creativity and for deploying his or her own styles. In this sense, we emphasise the notion of creativity, not by its proximity to art, but as a technical, compositional and discursive skill, to achieve an aesthetic and effective documentary visual writing, along with the other characteristics that can constitute the genre.

Given the analytical depth that this requires, the image then produced from the conception of the essay goes beyond the exotic dimension defined by Gutiérrez Esteva, and carries the experience acquired during the fieldwork, as Montalbán points out.

Rafael Acosta de Arriba agrees with this notion of the photographic essay as a research tool:

Indeed, I think the essay is a strong and effective point of contact between the photo-journalistic duty to be and the investigative component that visual anthropology requires. An essay is a series of images taken by a photojournalist in an attempt to examine a social phenomenon from the sequences of images, which allows for a much deeper, calmer, more balanced analysis. In this respect, it should be pointed out that a group of images on the same subject is not the same thing as a photographic essay. The main difference lies in the intention: the connotation of investigation is the "must be of the genre", but in reality, whether it is achieved or not depends on the photographer and his/her ability to penetrate, interpret and understand the phenomenon in question. (2019)

On the other hand, the analysis should perhaps not be anchored to the "must be", seen as a stigmatisation of the practice in question. The search for factors inherent in the very process of making, capturing and/or selecting images, both for anthropological research and for photojournalistic essays, allows us to identify how much they share with each other. In other words, it may be that, in the case of photojournalism, the ultimate aim is to publish the essay in a newspaper or magazine (which might even be specialised); and for photo-anthropology to contribute, in the context of anthropological research, to social science. But in both cases, there is a common, primary objective, as Estévez called it, which is that of collecting and sharing knowledge in an efficient and sincere way, using the camera as the main tool, a process in which the methodologies and ethical conceptions of photojournalism coincide with those of photo-anthropology.

CONVERGENCE 3: AESTHETICS AND TECHNICAL MASTERY

Despite the documentary and investigative purpose of these practices, none of them is separated from aesthetic research and mastery of technique. These two skills should be considered as indispensable tools in the writing of visual texts.

As Muñoz (2019) reminds us, some photographers have always defended 'informative' photography to the detriment of aesthetic issues, speaking of communication and composition as if these issues were antagonistic, so that any photograph that is chaotic in terms of the arrangement and composition of its elements would still be valid only by virtue of the fact that it integrates these elements in the same space (the frame).

In this regard, Ramón Cabrales (2019) points out that the amount of data that the digital age has brought to the world of photography could lead to confusion in the evaluation and understanding of the image's potentialities. Not all images are effective because they are not all taken by good photographers. Assessing the potential of an image to communicate means not only knowing what to describe, but also how to describe it based on composition and technique. The combination of these two factors determines the level of quality and relevance of an image, as well as the communicative ability of its author.

And this is true both for visual anthropology and for photojournalism, because at this stage it is really a question of knowing how to write the visual text. We mentioned this in our first chapter: analogies could be made with literary writing, in which it is indisputable how much narrative clarity and eloquence help to understand the texts. With

photography it is the same, we will always have a result (the photo), but we should not confuse the existence of this result with the competence to communicate through it.

CONVERGENCE 4: IMAGE-TEXT RELATIONSHIP

Another element of convergence is that neither the photojournalistic essay nor visual anthropology disregards the presence of written text in dialogue with visual writing.

For example, when presenting a photographic essay, a minimum of information at the bottom of the photograph is essential to orient the "reader". One might therefore think that a series of images, in context, with the minimum of information at the bottom of the photograph would be sufficient, but it is not unusual to find photographic essays accompanied by texts that summarise the theme in question in a rigorous manner, giving the author's view of the people involved in the phenomenon studied, and also statistics, information that does not necessarily have a direct relationship with the image but that provides additional elements of information on the more global issue addressed by the essay.

The text-image relationship in photojournalism was also analysed in Cuestión de Tiempo, a study carried out by the author of this research. In this first approach to the question, 60 per cent of the 23 specialists interviewed qualified the use of texts in photojournalistic work as an optional feature, a trend also repeated in some articles. For example, in both the School of Journalism of the University Diego Portales (2009) and Enrique Villaseñor (2015), the use of text is not reported. In both cases, the narrative tendency of photojournalism is achieved in the symbolic discourse formed by the images that describe the subject. In this case, the photographs used must be sufficiently significant to reflect the complexity of current social phenomena related to daily news.

However, the remaining 40% consider the pairing as an essential distinguishing feature, which is supported by this research. From this perspective, the analysis of the literature also provides interesting notions. According to Jacob Bañuelos (2008), among the specific qualities he attributes to the image is the relevance of the text associated with it. He defines this relevance as the arbitrary evaluation of the level of adequacy and concordance of these two elements that anchor the meaning: "The text conditions the meaning", he explains.

Ramón Cabrales (2019) agrees with this definition. The teacher points out that "human beings read in different ways, and in providing information about the object of study, we must take full and intelligent advantage of each of the tools, the means of language at our disposal to communicate, to share the knowledge acquired. It is sometimes thought that photojournalists do not write. So I come back to a previous point, in fact it depends on what we refer to when we speak of photojournalism, because those who marked the major trends in the field and are today's references were and are people whose skills went far beyond mastering the technique, and they were aware of the need to study, to investigate and also to write in order to produce the most complete work possible."

Kaloian (2019) also shares this view: "One of the things that has hurt photography the most is to keep repeating that 'a picture is worth more than words'. Both the image and the word are resources to achieve the ultimate goal of communication. The important thing is to understand what the levels of relationship are between this text and the image, they are complementary, in particular to eliminate ambiguities, and the image is not a simple illustration.

As far as visual anthropology is concerned, the text/image alliance is also indisputable: "A classic example from visual anthropology is Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead's Balinese Character. Each photograph is part of a two-page layout, one page devoted to photographs, the other to two kinds of text: a one or two paragraph interpretive essay" (Campion, 2017).

From the point of view of visual anthropology, the view of the use of text is somewhat reversed from what has been seen in photojournalism and is even the subject of analysis and theorising about the inability of some anthropologists and specialised journals to understand that the use of images goes beyond illustrative value, and that they can be used as research material and source of information in the presentation of results.

It is not a question of giving up on text, notes Sylvaine Conord (Interview, 2019), its role in contextualising the images is undeniable, but it must complement the image, not the other way round. In surveys where photography is

used appropriately, the photos must speak for themselves, they must be understood as the key element of the result, not as illustrations.

In this regard, José Muñoz (2019) makes a specific analysis of this situation: "Spanish academic publications dealing with visual anthropology continue to present the relationship between anthropology and photography as a dichotomy, with anthropology as scientific knowledge while photography would only be knowledge based on the aesthetic and symbolic dimension proper to images". At present, there is also no research that places the visual on the same level as the written word. In fact, whenever images are used in social surveys, they are framed by words, there is little visual discourse on its own, independent, without the support of words. And if anyone ever tried it, in the current context, the criticism would probably be negative.

But in either case, the photojournalistic essay or visual anthropology, the relationship between text and image, a relationship of "dialogue" rather than dependence, is necessary insofar as it provides the reader with a context in which to read the images and follow the narrative of the story. In both cases, the substantial level of text that envelops a photographic story is essential to form a legitimate project that meets the objectives advocated from both points of view and helps to accurately establish the surrounding context.

In other words, the text and the image serve, in a symbiotic relationship, to establish a coherent context. Thus, the meaning conveyed to the reader is largely prescriptive and unambiguous, hence the importance of context.

CONVERGENCE 5: ATTENTION TO CONTEXT

Precisely, in research, the capture and clear revelation of context is a primary element for the understanding and interpretation of images, here again the photojournalistic essay reproaches itself with photo-anthropology.

As opposed to much contemporary photography made in the name of art, the photographic genres discussed here insist on giving a great deal of explicit social context for the photographs they present. (Becker, 1995)

In fact, the two practices are so similar in terms of 'context' that, in the author's view, the analyses and opinions obtained in the course of the study are relevant in both cases, whether they were expressed by anthropologists or reporters.

"The search for this context begins with a previous study of the subject to be photographed, which is not a new activity for good reporters. Another important part is acquired in the field, trying to relate and understand the phenomenon." (Escalona Martí, Interview, 2019).

"To this end, we have our own methods of qualitative investigation", emphasises Sylvaine Conord (Interview, 2019). For example, in-depth interviews with the people involved in the phenomenon, observation through the lens, but also long familiarisation stays in the field are some of the approaches we have to understand and build the context of the images.

Then, perhaps, comes the critical part, which is to succeed in sharing this context through the codes of visual language. It is about providing the widest possible information about the phenomenon, locating it in time and space, as Rafael Acosta would say (Interview, 2019), which means not just using general shots.

The very rigour and amplitude of the essay is a very good resource for providing context, Rufino del Valle points out: "However, the possibility of taking as many photos as we want does not mean that we can have as many as we want. They have to be totally relevant to cover the subject, also playing with shot values, from the overall frame to the portraits and details that effectively contribute to the understanding of the context. Other aspects involve prior study, knowledge of the subject in question and the sensitivity to identify them, such as clothing, gestures, customs. It is really about building meaning with the visual elements that form the image" (Interview, 2019).

José Muñoz explains it with a practical case:

In a context of political confrontation, including two political opponents in the same image has an undeniable importance, missing this opportunity would be for the press professional or socio-anthropologist a great loss. The non-verbal communication that can be observed, captured from the photographs taken will make some images much more relevant than others for publication. To continue with this example, it is not the same thing to have an image of two people in opposition, where in one

case one could not clearly see the expressions of one of them, hidden by the other, due to a wrong perspective chosen by the photographer, and on the contrary to have an image clearly putting the two characters in perspective, with the direction of their looks, the orientation of their bodies, the physical distance existing between them, or any gesture between them that can be understood later on the basis of the narrative of the facts, etc. (Muñoz, 2019)

Thus, it also results in a careful and sharp look at the context, given in the images themselves or in the dialogue with texts, another element shared by the authors of the photojournalistic essay as well as the authors of visual documents for anthropological purposes. However, in the author's opinion, it is not only a matter of equipping the viewer with the tools to read and understand the images. There is a second objective, implicit in the scientific nature we have socially assigned to anthropology and photojournalism: to make our narrative true, credible, to provide elements of trust that support the author's vision.

CONVERGENCE 6: ETHICAL COMMITMENT

On a general theoretical level, and while respecting ethical and deontological codes, both photojournalism and photo-anthropology are governed by an unwavering commitment to a sincere and detailed look. This relationship with truth can be understood in two directions: first, to assume that what is produced in these fields will be considered true and that one must act accordingly. "Ethnographers must convince us, that not only they have really 'been there', but that if we had been there, we would have seen what they saw, felt what they felt, concluded what they concluded." (Geertz 1989)

However, although we have already analysed this "absolute truth" previously, we would like to take up and emphasise the concept of "objective subjectivity" defended by Pierre Bourdieu, understanding it as a notion in which, in the face of the physical inability to hold and capture reality in all its magnitude, the photographer/researcher's sense of ethics, professional honesty and social responsibility prevails.

"If we carefully analyse the fact that, since the birth of photography, its capacity to reproduce has been predominant as a copying machine. Everything in front of the camera is reproduced, but like any reproduction, this one is characterised by a high degree of iconicity, close to reality, but still an interpretation". (Muñoz, 2019)

On the other hand, and we refer now to the second pillar that underpins the relationship between photojournalism and photo-anthropology: 'truth'. This translates into respect for the objectives set at the time of the request for consent from the subjects under investigation, respect for privacy and the freedom of individuals to decide when they do not want to be studied. It is not ethical for anthropologists or reporters to lie about their identity in order to obtain the desired information, or to allow the data they have collected to be used for purposes other than those stated.

Another element to be taken into consideration if we talk about deontology or photographic ethics, whether in the anthropological or photojournalistic field, is the use of image retouching, a subject on which there is still a lot to think about because of the facilities offered by the digital age. On this point, some authors take a very firm position, maintaining that any type of manipulation during the development (analogue or digital) of the image modifies the coding of the message. Others, on the other hand, advocate the possibility of carrying out some minimal retouching that compensates for, or even improves, the limitations or technical failures of the cameras.

On this subject, in our first chapter, we quoted Alfons Rodriguez and his ethical standards for photographic editing, let's remember: "Adjustments will only be those that involve changing brightness, contour lines, slightly changing colour saturation, or the other way around (in the extreme, we think that going from a colour photo to black and white turns out to be total desaturation, but no one is opposed to that), focus masks, and perhaps, removing some specks from the sensor. Cropping should always be less than 10% and in very justified cases" (2012).

Sylvaine Conord acknowledges that the possibilities of digital editing increase the risk of distorting part of the captured reality and agrees to some extent with the models established by Rodriguez. "What I often advise my anthropology students is to subtly manipulate the modification of brightness, contrast or lighting, but never to remove people or objects from the images, or to make photomontages, for example" (2019).

CONCLUSION

So far, almost twenty articles have provided food for thought about the areas of convergence between photoanthropology and photojournalistic essay, including in this research work. This was done with the aim of defining "theoretical and deontological convergences between photojournalism and visual anthropology" that could thus support the realization of projects with multidisciplinary groups. However, as mentioned above, some authors remain reluctant to make this collaboration a reality.

According to Howard Becker (1995), attempts at segmentation are not just about making things easier for those who do them, and creating labels for others. Behind it, there is almost always the intention to draw boundaries around activities, to say who owns the organisation, who is responsible, who is accountable for what and who is entitled to what.

It seems that the distances between photographic practices are determined by preconceived, generic and stigmatising ideas, with all the negativity that the word implies, assigned to one field and the other. As if, in the social sciences, the boundaries were always so clear and the disciplinary crossings exceptional. However, in Becker's own words:

They are whatever they have come to mean, or been made to mean, in their daily use in worlds of photographic work. They are social constructions, pure and simple. In this they resemble all the other ways of reporting what we know, or think we have found out, about the societies we live in.

People who want to use photographic materials for social science purposes often get confused. The pictures visual sociologists make so resemble those made by others, who claim to be doing documentary photography or photojournalism, that they wonder whether they are doing anything distinctive. They try to clear up the confusion by looking for the essential differences, the defining features of each of the genres, as if it were just a matter of getting the definitions right. Such labels do not refer to Platonic essences whose meaning we can discover by profound thought and analysis, but rather are just what people have found it useful to make them be (...).

Having made these distinctions, it remains to say that the boundaries between them are increasingly blurred, as the situations in which people work and the purposes for which they make photographs increasingly blend two or more genres. (Becker, 1995)

Finally, let us return to a point discussed at the beginning, taking up José Antonio González Alcantud's question, a source of encouragement and provocation for this entire investigation: Why do anthropologists make good theories and bad photos, and photographers good photos and bad theories?

Rather than spending time trying to correct the problems, methods and concepts of each of the sciences and techniques, another path is perhaps necessary, that of dialogue. Photographers should get closer to the scientific community, while anthropologists should open up to tools other than writing alone. For obvious reasons, social science professionals should be closer to other sensations, tools such as the oral, the kinesic, the proxemic, the iconic, mainly. Convergence will have to take place more than ever in the field of the "in situ" collaboration of professionals from each field. Nothing is more ridiculous than anthropologists or sociologists who want to give lessons on how to make real sociographic photographs, but also photographers who despise social scientific knowledge by considering it as mere words addressed only to the academic elite. What we wanted to express (...) refers, basically, to the fundamental tension between technique, poetry and theory, with a view to a possible practical dialogue between the objectives of photography and anthropology (González Alcantud, 1999).

Eureka: forget the tension, let's focus on TECHNIQUE, POETRY, and THEORY.

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