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Photography as a Social Research Method

Springer

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ISBN 978-981-10-7277-2 ISBN 978-981-10-7279-6 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017958725

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

This book is dedicated to my parents.
They taught me to see.

—Sten Langmann

The original version of the book was revised: For detailed information please see Erratum. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_7

Contents

1 Research Photography Is… 1
1.1 The Power of a Photograph 1
1.2 Learning to See—What Does a Photograph Represent 3
1.3 Photography and the Fold 4
1.4 Selectively Unfolding Photographs—Image, Experience, Information 5
1.5 Enfolding Experience and Information into Research Photographs 6
1.6 Photography in Social Research 6
1.7 Photo-Elicitation 7
1.7.1 Participant Insights 7
1.7.2 Research Relationships 8
1.8 Photo-Elicitation Interviews 9
1.8.1 Advantages of Photo-Elicitation Interviews 10
1.8.2 Disadvantages of Photo-Elicitation Interviews 10
1.9 Reflexive Photography 11
1.9.1 Advantages of Reflexive Photography 12
1.9.2 Disadvantages of Reflexive Photography 12
1.10 Interview Viz (Visualisation-Assisted Photo-Elicitation) 13
1.10.1 Advantages of Interview Viz 13
1.10.2 Disadvantages of Interview Viz 13
1.11 PhotoVoice 14
1.11.1 Advantages of PhotoVoice 15
1.11.2 Disadvantages of PhotoVoice 16
1.12 Portraiture 18
1.12.1 Advantages of Portraiture 19
1.12.2 Disadvantages of Portraiture 20
1.13 What About Researcher-Generated Photographs? 21
1.14 A ‘Snapshot’ Approach to Researcher-Generated Photography 22

1.14.1 Advantages of the Snapshot Approach 23
1.14.2 Limitations of the Snapshot Approach 24
1.15 Combining Emic and Etic Approaches to Research Photography—Narratives and Counter-Narratives 25
1.16 Conclusion 26
References 27

2 Photography as an Art-Based Research Method 33
2.1 Photo-Narratives—A Storytelling Approach 34
2.2 Sam Ferris:: Daily Life in Sydney, Australia 35
2.3 Moe Zoyari:: Life After War in Afghanistan 37
2.4 Joyce Torrefranca:: Studying by the Lights of McDonald's 39
2.5 Documentary Photography—A Systematic Approach 41
2.6 Rochelle Costi:: Quartos [Bedrooms] 42
2.7 Brian Finke:: Flight Attendants 44
2.8 Portraiture—Constructing Identities 46
2.9 Claudia Gaudelli:: Women Boxers in Argentina 47
2.10 Rineke Dijkstra:: Shany 49
2.11 Tatsuo Suzuki:: Tokyo Street Portraits 52
2.12 Conclusion 54
References 54

3 Ethical Considerations in Photography as a Research Method 57
3.1 Ethical Considerations in Photography as a Research Method . . . 57
3.2 Dignity: The Ethical Foundation of Photography 58
3.3 Power Relationships 60
3.4 Photo-Research with Vulnerable Groups 62
3.5 Being 'Vulnerable' 63
3.6 Vulnerability in Research Photography—Contradictions of Representation 63
3.7 Consent in Photographic Research 65
3.7.1 Informed Consent 65
3.7.2 Written Consent 66
3.7.3 Audio/Visual Consent 67
3.8 Consent at Collection and Consent at Re-Contact—an Approach to Informed Consent in Photo-Research 67
3.9 Anonymity in Research Photography 69
3.9.1 Anonymising Research Participants 70
3.10 Anonymisation Techniques 70
3.10.1 Pixilation, Blurring and Face Bars 71
3.10.2 Cropping Images 71
3.11 The Ethical Dilemma of Anonymisation and the Ethics of Recognition 72
3.12 Planning Anonymisation and Planning Identity 73

3.12.1 Planning Anonymisation . . . 73
3.12.2 Intervention in Photo-Research . . . 76
3.12.3 The Ethics of Intervention . . . 77
3.12.4 Conclusion . . . 78
Appendix 1 . . . 79
References . . . 79

4 Research Photography in the Field . . . 85
4.1 The 'Exposure Triangle' of Photography . . . 85
4.1.1 Example: Crowded Trains . . . 87
4.2 Photographs as a Social Enabler and Research Enabler . . . 89
4.3 Stigma and Consciousness . . . 92
4.3.1 Public Stigma . . . 92
4.3.2 Self-stigma . . . 93
4.3.3 Stigma and Research Photography . . . 93
4.4 Perceived Realities . . . 94
4.5 Max Weber's Verstehen . . . 94
4.6 Verständnis . . . 95
4.6.1 Example 1: The Authentic Portrait . . . 98
4.6.2 Example 2: No Relations and Misleading Perceptions . . . 100
4.7 Conclusion . . . 101
References . . . 101

5 Photographic Analysis . . . 103
5.1 Content Analysis . . . 103
5.1.1 Quantitative Content Analysis . . . 104
5.1.2 Qualitative Content Analysis . . . 105
5.1.3 Photographic Content Analysis . . . 106
5.1.4 Qualitative Content Analysis Example . . . 107
5.1.5 Quantitative Content Analysis Example . . . 109
5.2 Thematic Analysis . . . 110
5.2.1 Photo-Thematic Analysis . . . 111
5.2.2 Photo-Thematic Analysis Example . . . 111
5.3 Semiotic Analysis . . . 113
5.3.1 Semiotic Analysis in Research Photography . . . 113
5.3.2 Semiotic Analysis Example . . . 114
5.4 Iconography/Iconology . . . 115
5.4.1 Iconographical/Iconological Analysis in Research Photography . . . 117
5.4.2 Photographic Iconographical/Iconological Analysis Example . . . 118
5.5 Photo-Elicitation Analysis . . . 120
5.5.1 Photo-Elicitation Example . . . 122

5.6 Interpretive Engagement Framework . . . 123
5.6.1 Interpretive Engagement Framework Example . . . 125
5.7 Positionality in Photographic Analysis . . . 127
5.8 Conclusion . . . 128
References . . . 128

6 Publishing and Presenting Research Photographs . . . 133
6.1 The Publication Potential of Photographs—Telling a Story . . . 134
6.2 Single-Photo Narrative and Multiple Single-Photo Narrative . . . 135
6.2.1 Single-Image Narrative Examples and Multiple Single-Image Narrative Example . . . 136
6.3 Photo-narrative . . . 139
6.3.1 Photo-narrative Example . . . 140
6.4 Conference Presentation and Publication . . . 146
6.4.1 Conference Presentation Figurative I and Figurative II Example . . . 147
6.5 (Re)Presenting Research Participants . . . 149
6.6 Copyright Protection of Photographs . . . 151
6.7 U.S. Copyright, Moral Rights and 'Fair Use' . . . 152
6.7.1 Copyrights . . . 152
6.7.2 Moral Rights . . . 152
6.7.3 'Fair Use' . . . 153
6.8 Australian Copyright, Moral Rights and 'Fair Dealings' . . . 153
6.8.1 Copyrights . . . 153
6.8.2 Moral Rights . . . 154
6.8.3 'Fair Dealings' . . . 154
6.9 European Union Copyright, Moral Rights and Fair Use (?) . . . 155
6.9.1 Copyright . . . 155
6.9.2 Moral Rights . . . 155
6.9.3 Fair Use (?) . . . 155
6.10 UK Copyright, Moral Rights and Fair Dealings . . . 156
6.10.1 Copyright . . . 156
6.10.2 Moral Rights . . . 156
6.11 'Exceptions to Copyright' . . . 157
6.12 Fair Use/Dealings in the Digital Environment . . . 157
6.13 Copyright in the Public Domain . . . 158
6.13.1 Expired Copyright . . . 158
6.13.2 Permission Granted 'A Priori' . . . 159
6.14 Conclusion . . . 162
References . . . 162

Erratum to: Photography as a Social Research Method . . . E1

Index . . . 165

Chapter 1
Research Photography Is…

> I've always felt that about photography, that it is a medium that has been applied endlessly with very little understanding of its relevance.
>
> —Nathan Lyons

Photographs captivate and it has become almost impossible to pass a day without seeing a photograph (Burgin, 1982). Contemporary society has witnessed an explosion of the visual through photographs and the immediate and multisensory impact of photographs (Spencer, 2011) has been recognised and elevated photographs into a position of power to access cognitive memory and communicate seemingly complex messages with visual simplicity (Bell & Davison, 2013). Photography forms *one* element and *one* form in the field of 'visual research' and 'images', which are both umbrella terms that refer to loosely connected research practices which are linked to the visual appearance of the surrounding world (Warren, 2005).

Traditional social research methods often represent access barriers, for example, to people with intellectual disabilities (Boxall & Ralph, 2009) and perceived vulnerable groups or children; yet visual research methods, especially photography, have increasingly proved its usefulness as a social research method when working with people who belong to marginalised groups. Photographers have long realised the potential of photographs to reveal information, which is difficult to obtain from other sources (Peters & Mergen, 1977). However, the full potential of photography as a social research method is yet to be realised and the use of photography in social research studies overall remains relatively scarce (Ray & Smith, 2011; Roberts, 2011).

1.1 The Power of a Photograph

The following '*Untitled*' photograph (Fig. 1.1) first appeared on Twitter without an extensive narrative. It shows Laith Majid clutching his son Taha and daughter Nour, embraced by his wife Nada, on a beach of the Greek island of Kos, after having

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_1

Fig. 1.1 'Untitled' © Daniel Etter/Redux/Headpress (Reproduced with Permission)

safely arrived on a flimsy, partly deflated boat. The photograph held an expression of people who fled their homeland, escaping a fate of many other refugees, whose lives ended in the Mediterranean Sea (Aubusson, 2015). Aubusson (2015) of the *Sydney Morning Herald* saw a moment in this photograph, in which desperation gave way to joy. Among the many comments that this photograph received, two notable Twitter comments underline the significance of this image. O'Brien (2015) described that 'all the words and TV reporting of the refugee crisis in a single image'. Fitzgerald (2015) wrote that 'an entire country's pain captured in one father's face'. Photographer Daniel Etter witnessed an extraordinary moment and more so, was able to spatialise (we intentionally do not say 'capture' or 'freeze') this moment in a photograph. The message and effect of the photograph went beyond its printed borders and became a *thoroughfare*, spurring interpretations, implications, social action, raising critical awareness and most importantly in this context, rehumanised an often dehumanised group of people.

Daniel Etter's striking photograph reminds us that we need to go beyond the image itself and explore its conceptual complexity, its insights and its many interpretations, which help us to begin to understand what photographs in a social research context represent and why they are an important component to and in social research. It follows then that one approach to understand what a photograph represents is learning to see.

1.2 Learning to See—What Does a Photograph Represent

Photographs have capabilities of representation (Scruton, 1981), but *what* they represent warrants close attention. For the naïve observer, a photograph may simply represent a 'truth' and the photographic universe and the world universe would be one and the same (Flusser, 1983). Yet, even the naïve observer sees photographs in between the borderlines of black and white and all wavelengths in between. Black and white are theoretical concepts of optics, which can never *actually* exist, but arise out of theory (Flusser, 1983). Colour does not rest within objects, it is only when white light hits an object that selectively absorbs and reflects different wavelengths, and is transmitted to our eyes, that the colour of an object becomes real to us. As soon as the naïve observer asks the question of how they see, they are inevitably embarked towards a debate of what they see and what a photograph truly represents (Flusser, 1983). If we do not engage in the same debate of what photography represents as a research method and photographs as research, photographs will remain an immobile and silent surface and will continue to claim to be an automated reflection from the world onto its surface (Flusser, 1983).

Efforts to understand what a photograph represents from different perspectives have yet to produce unequivocal conclusions (Soszynski, 2006). Photography as a medium is both increasing in size and also inhabiting different spaces and extending in its dimensions (Plummer, 2015). The representational attribute of a photograph covers a range of concepts. A photograph can represent a *relation*: *x* (the photograph) represents *y* (the subject). Yet, a simple causal relationship fails to explain the full representation of a photograph, as it is absent of thought, intention or other mental acts (Scruton, 1981). Instead, a photograph represents a site of a complex intertextuality with overlapping series of texts, becoming object texts with social intention and meaning (Burgin, 1982). This relational intertextuality of a photograph is defined by Brummitt (1973) as representing a *communication*. A successful photograph communicates an idea. The skill of the photographer determines the extent to which the produced photograph represents and communicates that idea to the viewer. It follows then that the photographer is a more important contributor to the production of images than the camera apparatus itself. The camera does not discriminate between the important and the inane (Brummit, 1973). Therefore, photographs also represent a reflection and communication of the photographer's meaning and intention, and what is important to them.

Gerhard Richter claims that a photograph does not represent anything and introduces the need of interpretation by the viewer for the photograph to attain a representative status. Richter (1995) argues that much like the human eye, 'a photograph, or an artist's rendering of an object can never represent 'the real' because we never know the real—merely the appearances behind which the real remains hidden'. For Richter, photographs are not a reality-bearing medium but one that challenges the real and argues that photographic representation is closer to an enigma that needs to be deciphered, than one of clarity and ideology (Coulter, 2013).

It is perhaps Henri Cartier-Bresson, who provides the most telling idea about what a photograph represents. Cartier-Bresson (often characterised as a documentary photographer and the father of photojournalism) argues that a photograph represents a 'reportage' (Davies, 2008). It is the photographer's ability to 'report' on the world that confers meaning to the world, represented in a photograph (Davies, 2008). The photograph does not presume clarity or ideology, yet also does not shroud itself in mystique or enigma. What a photograph represents therefore is a patterned social activity that is shaped by a multitude of social, cultural and group-specific influences (Schwartz, 1989), suggesting that photographs are a *gateway* to building relations and telling a story. Photographic 'truth' therefore may not be understood by the relation between the photograph and the world, but by the relation of what we see in the photograph, our understanding of the world and how we see it. To develop this argument, the Deleuzian concept the *fold* provides a useful way forward.

1.3 Photography and the Fold

An important element of Deleuze's philosophy is that of *becoming*. Becoming is based on the argument that the world and everything in it are in a constant state of folding, unfolding and refolding (Deleuze, 1993). For Deleuze (1993), the fold is firstly a point of inflection where things change their form as forces are applied. It is where variation takes place. Secondly, the fold is form in that folding involves enveloping/developing and involution/evolution. This is illustrated by Deleuze (1993) who uses the example of how a caterpillar envelopes a butterfly (it is folded inside it), that then develops (unfolds) into that butterfly. He goes on to explain that when it dies, the butterfly involutes (refolds) back into its constituent parts. These constituent parts become inorganic folds waiting to evolve once again into an organic fold—though in a different form. So, there is constant movement from fold to fold that together form a multiplicity.

Deleuze (1993) discusses the idea of a *continuous multiplicity*. Multiplicities are made of *becomings* and bring with them the art of implication (Lomax, 1995). Those implications are continuous, one implication implicating another, folding upon folding (Lomax, 1995). Lomax (1995, p. 46) has considered the possibility of the photograph as a *becoming*, as 'partaking of a *continuous multiplicity*'. A becoming occurs when something affects another, its doing creating a composition with each other and something new becoming between the two (Lomax, 1995). This is because photographs are always involved with something else, either in a visual, metaphorical, literal, abstract, actual or a virtual sense. They are always combined with something else, therefore always partake in becomings, constantly folding and devoid of any delineated 'inside' or 'outside' (Lomax, 1995). The state of the image in the fold becomes fluid, extensible; it is a stretching, and folding, rather than a cut (Lomax, 1995). We cannot draw a neat boundary around images, nor should we argue that multiplicities in photographs are indivisible, messy and

disorderly. One logical step would be to turn to binary opposition to counter the disorderly multiplicity, to divide and to draw boundaries to the photographic image. However, this would again reduce a photograph to merely representing some elusive truth or fact. Instead of binary opposition, we can *enfold* photographs. To enfold means to fold-in, to adopt a practice of inclusion and involution, with one side implicating the other, being both and neither, being in-between (Lomax, 1995). Deleuze encourages this involution with AND, which has its place between sets and elements, neither one nor the other, constituting a multiplicity (Lomax, 1995). AND divides, it divides continuous multiplicities, which pertains to a fold (Lomax, 1995).

The becoming of photographs is achieved by folding its meanings we derive from it, implication upon implication connected with 'and'. The folds in the photograph demand us to be responsive to the possible multiplicities enfolded in a photograph and unfolded by a researcher; a responsibility which Lomax (1995) explicitly argues is held by *both* the image maker and the image viewer. The application of the concepts of enfolding and unfolding then appears to have a strong influence of which photographs appear and disappear (Dados, 2010). Similarly, enfolding and unfolding also influences the way researchers or participants perceive photographs for their research projects as useful or useless. This *selected unfolding* of images (choosing some over others) appears to be a relationship between experience, information and the image (Marks, 2008).

1.4 Selectively Unfolding Photographs—Image, Experience, Information

Why do only certain events and photographs draw the attention of people? Marks (2008) conceptualises images as vehicles that enfold the past through experience and hypothesises a triadic relationship between image, experience and information, by which we as viewers selectively unfold its meaning and perceive its usefulness. Images are selective unfolding of experience and are determined by information. They are enfolded through experience, but are also unfolded through experience, which is translated into information, which for the viewer becomes useful (Marks, 2008). The selecting and unfolding of images happens in accordance with the viewer's interests at hand, determining which images are worthy of circulation (Dados, 2010). Dados (2010) argues that images are not unfolded by experience alone, yet are also selected and unselected on the basis of information, rendering enfolded experiences within image either accessible or inaccessible.

1.5 Enfolding Experience and Information into Research Photographs

Researchers are often observed to code the surface signification of research photographs, thereby reducing their philosophical and contextual beyonds to insights, which can be articulated (Dados, 2010). The articulated insights and how they are unfolded are dependent on the chosen analytical approach of the researcher (see Chap. 5). This is determined by what one wants to find in the photograph, influenced by either a research question or exploring a phenomenon. Following Dados's (2010) development of Mark's experience–information–image relationship, research photographs can be a fold of information over experience, or experience over information. An image of experience is opaque and an image of information floats unanchored above experience (Dados, 2010), both in the same need of unfolding and analysis by the researcher. Photographs in their *becoming* can be argued to be a flux of two separate events—the spatialising and the interpretation—and the link between the two resides in the photograph (Dados, 2010).

1.6 Photography in Social Research

The reasons for employing photography in social research vary from the discovery and understanding of contextual social circumstances and structures of people (Miller, 2015) to its use as a theoretical vehicle for practical change. Such *use* of photography for anthropological reasons beyond illustration was first exhibited by Bateson and Mead (1942) in their field study *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*, in which they visually documented the lives of Balinese women. However, only since the days of Collier (1957) have social scientists used photography as a valid and useful *method* for collecting data. Photographs were thus able to replace written field notes (Kanstrup, 2002) and have since found increasing functionality in research. For example, in Brekke (2003) study of daily lives of asylum seekers in Sweden, photographs created a positive effect on the relationship between Brekke and the refugees. By being engaged in taking photographs combined with the intended, the purpose of these images gave the asylum seekers time to think about their situation, consciously selecting what they themselves wanted to express. Brekke (2003) reported that the asylum seekers looked forward to seeing how their images turned out and displayed a sense of ownership in that the photograph were *theirs*, held in their hands. Using photography to explore society is capable of giving us more than good research relations a single striking image (Becker, 1974). Researchers can generate, utilise and create scholarly value with photography in different ways with the aim to ask questions, invite participants' responses, shifting its meaning and emphasis and presenting subjects or situations.

Photographic research *methods* are essentially modes of engagement which spatialise the concept of enfolding and unfolding of photographs for researchers.

This opens new understandings to existing photographic research methods and to the roles of the researcher and participant and the types of input they have in each method: *who* enfolds photographs and *who* unfolds and interprets them. After all, Chaplin (2002) recognises that photographs in sociology are *made*, rather than *taken*, its meaning constructed, instead of discovered (Felstead, Jewson, & Walters, 2004). This raises questions about the relative advantages and disadvantages of different photo-research methods particularly how to choose the most *appropriate* method(s). While there is no one 'right way' to employ a photographic research method, the researcher's choice of method is undoubtedly influenced by the research questions, the context, as well as any additional underlying philosophical foundations (Ray & Smith, 2011).

1.7 Photo-Elicitation

The most widespread application of photography as a research method is photo-elicitation. Photo-elicitation means to 'insert a photograph into a research interview' (Harper, 2002, p. 1472) and was first employed by Collier (1957) as an alternative method to open-ended interviewing. Photo-elicitation presents a unique attribute in that it almost *instantly* meets the same objectives as a well-prepared open-ended interview (Lapenta, 2011). By asking participants to view and interpret photographs with the researcher, perhaps similar to viewing a personal family album, the estrangement and distance so often attributed to traditional interviews fizzles (Schwartz, 1989), which stereotypical clipboards and audio-recorders are often argued to create (Woodward, 2008). People naturally appear to have a stronger familiarity with photographs than with clipboards or audio-recorders. Photographs have developed to be an embedded part of daily visual culture (Woodward, 2008). Photographs can also trigger sensory experiences within participants, which can be of intuitive, interior, or aesthetic nature (Warren, 2005); and photo-elicitation *elicits* such experiences and higher level values, assumptions, beliefs and cultures of participants.

1.7.1 Participant Insights

Photo-elicitation enjoys a continuous and increasing application in research in anthropology and visual sociology, mainly due to its emphasis on an ethnographic focus and its redirection and repositioning of authority from researcher to participants (Hurworth, 2004; Parker, 2009). Photo-elicitation does not presume an underlying objectivity, but instead acknowledges the powers of social constructions and individuals' unique elicitations and personal narrative after reviewing a photograph (Harper, 2002). Photographs are not neutral evidence and contain subjective meaning instilled in their make and use; therefore, a photograph is a subjective

composition of observation, production, reproduction and display (Rose, 2000). Adding a photograph to the interview process provokes more than a response from participants (Hurworth, 2004) and 'acts as a medium for eliciting the actors' perceptions, memories, concerns, and social constructions' (Parker, 2009, p. 1115). Photographs therefore can acquire multiple and unpredictable meanings by participants (Lapenta, 2011) and photo-elicitation supports those critical explorations, which holds the potential to uncover very specific, local or indigenous knowledges for researchers (Packard, 2008). The 'polysemic quality of images' (Harper, 2002, p. 15) allows for different interpretations by observers based on their views, local knowledge and insights, as well as the exchange of personal meaning and values that the images and their content might hold for them (Collier & Collier, 1986).

1.7.2 Research Relationships

A strong feature of photo-elicitation remains as its ability to redefine the research relationship between the researcher and the participants. Harper (2002) suggested that photo-elicitation is a postmodern dialogue based on the authority of the subject, instead of that of the researcher. For participants, this overarching approach offers more autonomy in the research project and process and being able to add topics to the research agenda important to them (Lorenz & Kolb, 2009). Collier and Collier (1986, p. 105) argue that the images and the new communication situation, which these images create, 'invited people to take the lead in the inquiry, making full use of their expertise'. This can create a foundation of co-creation of knowledge and build alliances with participants that can span throughout the entire research process (Lapenta, 2011; Lorenz & Kolb, 2009). In essence, the photographs and their elicitation become a vehicle of engagement between researcher and participant; those engagements can create alliances, which can be invaluable to researchers and participants alike and allows researchers to be able to consult participants in different stages of the research process. At the same time, those alliances can create opportunities to bring participants' and communities' *real lives* into a research process. The awareness and understanding of participants' challenges from their perspective can influence policy-making efforts intended by the researcher, collaborations with other nonprofit organisations or governments, or other methods that can lead to actionable programs to address their concerns (Lorenz & Kolb, 2009).

Photo-elicitation as an overarching research approach has remained a polysemous phenomenon and different research methods have emerged with which researchers can elicit information with participants through the means of photos. The next section outlines different methods of photo-elicitation. Those methods somewhat overlap; however, each method has its own objectives, participants and role of photographer (Warren, 2005). Despite their extensive coverage in the literature, it is important to summarise the different methods briefly in their general understanding to isolate their different uses and approaches. We further want to

outline their advantages and disadvantages to a research project, as this will be a useful guide for researchers in choosing their appropriate method.

1.8 Photo-Elicitation Interviews

Photo-elicitation interviews (PEIs) use photographs in interviews to either guide interviews, stimulate memories from participants or instigate dialogue about a particular subject of interest (Van House, 2006; Warren, 2005). PEIs rest on a fundamental assumption that the meaning attributed to images, the emotions they arouse in an observer, and the subsequent information they elicit, allow for participant insights that are significantly different from to those obtained in verbal inquiry (Bignante, 2010). By using one or more photographs in an interview, participants have the opportunity to comment on them, which actively involves the participant in the co-creation of knowledge (Bignante, 2010; Woodward, 2008). PEIs are employed in research studies that aim to understand how *both* the participant and researchers understand the world and uncover different ways of knowing (Torre & Murphy, 2015). This is particularly advantageous for researchers who are interested in the feedback from their subjects and in a counter-intuitive method that reverses the emphasis of researcher and researched (Smith & Woodward, 1998). The photograph in PEIs is not a *medium* of 'truth' or 'reality', however, one of communication and a catalyst between the researcher and participant (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004) to 'uncover perceptions, memories, concerns and social constructions' (Parker, 2009, p. 1115). This is not limited to specific or material constructions, but to interpretations that symbolise philosophies, ideas, cultural or other intangible beliefs of life. Photographs in PEIs therefore serve a dual purpose: to enfold photographs and elicit interpretations and meaning to gain insight into an overall phenomenon or to answer specific research questions by researchers, and to provide a unique approach in conducting interviews.

The photographs in PEIs can be taken or provided by the researcher or the participant. In PEIs, the researcher in general guides the interview process. An overarching definitive research relationship in PEIs is not possible, as each PEI will have different individuals involved in the process and different emphases (Woodward, 2008). For example, when photographs are taken by participants, this form of PEIs is called 'autodriving' (Bignante, 2010; Heisley & Levy, 1991; Hurworth, 2004), as the participant 'drives' and guides the researcher in the interview. Essentially, the camera in hand determines the relationship between researcher and participant in PEIs. The photographs taken in PEI always form a *point of departure*, instead of a point of arrival, in exploring the understanding and perceptions of participants (Bignante, 2010).

1.8.1 Advantages of Photo-Elicitation Interviews

Anthropologists and sociologists foremost praise PEIs for creating a platform for participants to share their stories. It offers a visual dimension for feelings, experiences and understandings of participants that cannot be observed otherwise (Richard & Lahman, 2015). As Bignante (2010, p. 11) notices, PEIs 'produce replies more closely linked to the informant's immediate social and emotional sphere'. This is due to its ability to access and facilitate a private research situation, which generates this social and emotional closeness (Bridger, 2013). PEIs have also been attributed to a non-threatening approach and a comfortable space, as participants express themselves through the photograph as a communication medium, reducing a perceived awkwardness by participants to be put on the spot (Bignante, 2010; Schulze, 2007). Participants can further fall back onto the photograph and direct eye contact with the researcher is not continuously required. Schulze (2007) has also noted the effectiveness of PEIs when working with focus groups and low literacy environments. The photographs can further act as metaphors of meaning, with participants referring to photographs metaphorically (for example, roads and dirt tracks being a metaphor of learners and teachers) and being able to continue in metaphoric language to accurately expressing themselves (Richard & Lahman, 2015).

Banks (2001) believes that PEIs allow people to access forgotten memories and seeing things in a new way. PEIs therefore challenge participants and allow them to reflect on their views, leading to new perspectives and interpretations (Hurworth, 2004) and the co-creation of new ones. This is not limited to individual interviews, but also to group interviews, in which collective memories, narratives and possible disagreements or differences can be accessed (Parker, 2009). PEIs, when used in a preliminary research phase, such as a pilot study instead of a main study, can further define and refine research objectives more clearly and adapt interviews accordingly (Bignante, 2010).

1.8.2 Disadvantages of Photo-Elicitation Interviews

Despite the growing use of PEIs in social research, the method itself remains interpreted in different ways, which causes it to be used and defined in different ways (Padgett, Smith, Derejko, Henwood, & Tiderington, 2013). As such, the nonstandardisation of this method presents challenges to researcher when using this method, for example, scoping out and determining the research boundaries, in terms of who is taking the photographs, who controls the interview, and based on that selecting appropriate analysis techniques. In addition, researchers have to critically ascertain the appropriateness of PEIs for their study. For instance, PEIs are not embedded in participatory or action-oriented agenda and are thus an unsuitable method, if the researcher's goal is community-based participatory action or policy changes. PEIs are also time- and resource-consuming for both researchers and participants.

Bignante (2010) advises researchers to only employ PEIs in situations when images can offer new validity, depth or opportunities to the study, or when participants are feeling comfortable with using cameras. Researchers need to deal with both preparations and practicalities, when intending to carry out PEIs. Allen (2009) found that in photo-elicitation research, participants would receive a camera and either not take any photos, or might not turn up for interviews. Torre and Murphy (2015) summarise a number of key logistical obstacles to PEIs, with participants losing cameras, limited areas and photo opportunities, missing key photo opportunities, and lack of usable pictures by participants to lack of practice. Ethical issues remain another concern, which can arise before, during or even after PEIs (Meo, 2010). Researchers have to ensure that participants are fully aware of how their taken images are used, how to overcome issues of consent and possible visual exploitation *by* participants (Torre & Murphy, 2015). A concluding factor to consider in PEI are the attributes and perceptions of participants towards a phenomena of interest. Not all information they provide is necessarily relevant, and information, which a participant provides, could prove irrelevant or even digress the research direction, creating additional challenges for the researcher (Bignante, 2010).

1.9 Reflexive Photography

Reflexive photography is a photo-elicitation technique, in which participant-generated photography is combined with semi-structured interviews (Covert & Koro-Ljungberg, 2015). Reflexive photography was inspired by the work of Paulo Freire, who with the aid of 'coded situations' (either photographs or sketches), invited participants to analyse their own situations (Schulze, 2007). What distinguishes reflexive photography is that it focuses on the individual–environment interaction (Harrington & Schibik, 2003). The method extends the notion of autodriving in PEIs and explicitly recognises that conversations around the participant-generated image generate research data, allowing both the participant and the researcher to be reflexive on their thoughts and feelings (Warren, 2005). Participants in this method *reflect* on their personal experiences and generate photographic images, which the participants themselves consider best evidence of their perceptions (Amerson & Livingston, 2014). The research topic and motivations are usually preset by researchers in this method (Rose, 2007); however, the participants themselves generate and select the photographs, which they wish to share with the researcher and bring these to either individual or group interviews (Amerson & Livingston, 2014). With the participants being able to reflect on their natural environment, researchers are able to generate more authentic data as they see the world through their eyes of their participants sharing their meaning and interpretation (Amerson & Livingston, 2014; Harper, 1988; Noland, 2006). Reflexive photography shares similar attributes with PEIs by its aims to invoke comments, memory and discussion (Schulze, 2007). It evokes feelings that 'leads the interview into the heart of the research…[giving] interviews immediate

character and help to keep them in focus' (Schulze, 2007, p. 540). Similar to PEIs, the photographs in reflexive photography form a starting point that enables researchers to collect interview data, from which codes and themes are developed, not from the photographs themselves. The goal of reflexive photography remains confined to data collection and interpretation (Wallace, 2015).

1.9.1 Advantages of Reflexive Photography

One of the key advantages is its empowering attribute. Respondents are able to articulate *their* emotions and feelings surrounding their socio-economic circumstances, as well as developing a strong sense of ownership around the photographs (Warren, 2005). Reflexive photography provides a means for participants to interpret their own lives and social context, increasing both their voice and authority over both images and interpretation (Lapenta, 2011). Those motivations provide fertile ground for participants to be involved in a study and depicting events as they see them, further reducing researcher bias when selecting images, as participants choose the images (Lapenta, 2011). The emphasis of reflexive photography for participants' to reflect on their thoughts and feelings also makes this method suitable to explore more 'invisible' social issues. Warren (2005) for example argues that invisible issues can be complex ethical and moral issues. Through reflexive photography, participants are able to anchor moral and affective constructs to the material photographs (Warren, 2005), which connects closely to the metaphoric power of photographs.

Finally, participants have reported a general enjoyment in participating in reflexive photography studies (see Hill, 2014). It promotes them to think deeper about the issues under the study, contemplating how to capture their ideas in images beforehand, and the meaning and the choosing of photographs. We therefore argue that this method is well suited, if the researcher perceives his or her intended participants to be enthusiastic and hands-on.

1.9.2 Disadvantages of Reflexive Photography

Some authors have commented on the time-intensity of reflexive photography (Schulze, 2007; Wallace, 2015). It can be exhausting for both researchers and participants to go through and talk about a large number of photographs. It is therefore advisable to agree with participants on a number of photographs to be selected for the interviews, with which both researcher and participant are comfortable.

Participants in reflexive photography have further commented on restrictions about photographing objects and events, most often due to access restrictions (Hill, 2014). There might also be a perceived awkwardness by participants to obtain written permission from their participants or when photographing illegal activities.

A final methodological disadvantage of reflexive photography lies in its very purpose of collecting and interpreting data. Though participants are involved to bring awareness or explanation to structural or social inequalities via reflexive photography, the method is not aimed to follow through with changes on either a political or other action-oriented level. Researchers must be cautious to not promise participants false hopes of change using this method. Other photo-research methods might be more suited to achieve this cause.

1.10 Interview Viz (Visualisation-Assisted Photo-Elicitation)

Another form of photo-elicitation is Interview Viz. This method also utilises participant-generated photographs, however, in larger quantities than the previous discussed photo-elicitation methods. In essence, this method uses a large number of images (hundreds and thousands) to ground interviews (Van House, 2006). This method so far has been used by Van House (2006) in her project with 70 participants to create photo-diaries and take photos that they find noteworthy. In Interview Viz, the photos are subsequently arranged by several different criteria (date and sharing participant) to stimulate memory and to instigate conversations about subjects (Van House, 2006).

1.10.1 Advantages of Interview Viz

A key advantage of Interview Viz is that the large number of photographs taken by participants allows for the discovery of patterns, which participants themselves might be unaware of (Van House, 2006). The sheer time commitment allows for visibility of temporal patterns, for example, strong periodic bursts of picture taking, average daily pictures taken and patterns of life chronicling (Van House, 2006). This provides rich material for researchers in follow-up interviews with the participants and participant activity, patterns of activity, memory lapses and other findings can be cooperatively explored with participants (Van House, 2006). This method is thus useful to any research inquiries where photo-diaries are employed.

1.10.2 Disadvantages of Interview Viz

One of the main drawbacks of Interview Viz appears to be its time-intensity; time commitments required by participants and researchers. Participants in this method are required to keep a photo-diary for a prolonged period of time and researchers

need to analyse hundreds, perhaps thousands of photographs. Van House (2006) study included 70 people keeping photo-diaries over a period of up to 10 months. The recruitment of enough participants for a study could pose a challenge for this method, as well as researchers' capabilities to organise and analyse photos effectively for interviews. The method itself so far has remained under-theorised and outside of Van House (2006) application and has not found resonance yet and it remains unclear, whether Interview Viz will prove itself as a viable photo-elicitation method.

1.11 PhotoVoice

Perhaps the most popular and widespread method of the use of photographs in research studies is PhotoVoice, or formerly known as Photo Novella (Close, 2007). PhotoVoice by Wang and Burris (1994) is a data collection method where participants are provided with cameras and control both the 'photo' and the 'voice' aspect of the research. The control of image-making and frame choice by participants with the camera in hand is independent from the researcher's choosing areas or objects of concern. While data collection in PhotoVoice can be attributed to similar to that in PEIs and Reflexive Photography, PhotoVoice is primarily motivated by bringing about social change and capacity building (Covert & Koro-Ljungberg, 2015; Padgett et al., 2013). As such, the method has been proclaimed as a strong means of empowerment in communities in the examination of social conditions, and in the influencing of policy-making to address structural inequities, including health care and mental health care, homelessness, youth population and issues, and rural and urban communities (Allen, 2012; Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016; Padgett et al., 2013; Plunkett, Leipert, & Ray, 2013).

Three distinct methodological directions of PhotoVoice emerged, namely phenomenological and grounded theory designs to understand and describe lived experiences, developing theories concerning experiences, and a participatory action research (PAR) approach seeking social change (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016). The PAR component of PhotoVoice to date has remained the strongest utilisation, which aims to involve community stakeholders and going beyond exploring and understanding community needs and structural constraints, towards *promoting* social change and achieving identified needs through the use of photo-texts (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016; Goessling & Doyle, 2009; Wang & Burris, 1994). PhotoVoice realised that language used by researchers in interviews often creates a mental frame or box, which forms the outer edges within which knowledge is constructed. The participant-driven photography in PhotoVoice decreases the influence and reliance on written words, which could decrease the depth and quality of data collected (Johnsen, May, & Cloke, 2008; Ryan & MacKinnon, 2016).

1.11.1 Advantages of PhotoVoice

The strength of employing PhotoVoice in a research project is that it places the participant (the researched) behind the camera, indicating a moving-away from reliance on researcher-generated images (Johnsen et al., 2008). Johnsen, May and Cloke (2008) argue that the popularity of PhotoVoice has been initially attributed to the dissatisfaction of researcher-generated images of studies of 'exotic' and 'others', which instead of generating authentic photo-data, had been accused of perpetuating stereotypes. It is argued that PhotoVoice transforms photographs into a strong resource for participants to tell their own story through images created by them that retain a strong sense of personal and social context (Latham, 2004). For example, Radley, Hodgetts and Cullen (2005) study used PhotoVoice to provide insights into the world from the perspective of homeless people in London. Providing the participants with cameras gave the researchers authentic and very differently emphasised insights into homelessness. Those insights ranged from perspectives of avoidance and estrangement, to perspectives of embracing being 'strange' in order to live in the city, and towards participants' rejection of their 'homelessness' label altogether (Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005). PhotoVoice fundamentally allows participants through the camera and their images to shed outside or self-imposed labels or perceptions bestowed upon them, and use this opportunity to reinterpret their own conditions and perspective. In another example, Yoshihama (2016) PhotoVoice project of the Great Eastern Japan Disasters, including earthquakes, tsunamis and the Fukushima nuclear accident, which struck northern Japan in 2011, revealed that the photographs taken by participants through PhotoVoice strongly differed to those shown across mainstream media outlets. Instead of destroyed buildings and bridges, the participants' photographs showed 'affection for their land, people, and community…interrogating the societal responses that they consider damaging to the nature/habitat, and in turn articulate visions for the future' (Yoshihama, 2016, p. 12).

PhotoVoice provides a more balanced relationship between researcher and researched, in which the latter are able to construct images and articulate meaning (Johnsen et al., 2008). Wang and Burris (1997, p. 381) attributed the acronym VOICE to the central issue of empowerment, standing for 'Voicing our Individual and Collective Experience', summarising both the ability and right to be heard. This characteristic of PhotoVoice can serve as a strong empowerment tool to recruit participants for a research project. Empowerment is the *shift* of power, the redefining and re-establishing of relationships and power differences in the access to resources (Baum, MacDougall, & Smith, 2006). Although the power relationship between researcher and researched will rarely be completely level, the participants in PhotoVoice *act* as researchers (Allen, 2016). Therefore, in PhotoVoice, individual or community members remain central in maintaining research agendas through their active participation (Johnston, 2016); they establish themselves as 'more powerful agents' (Baum et al., 2006, p. 855).

The potency of PhotoVoice is not only in its picture-voice but also in the dialogical interpretation of them (Plunkett et al., 2013). The dialogical nature of PhotoVoice allows both researcher and participant to offer interpretations to the taken images in subsequent interviews, a process which allows both parties to deepen their understanding and consciousness for the phenomenon of interest alike (Plunkett et al., 2013). With PhotoVoice, researchers also have the opportunity to further inquire to phenomena of interest, which can be helpful in the analysis of data (Plunkett et al., 2013). For example, sensitive social, cultural and contextual factors regarding images can be discussed with participants to elicit data pertaining to particular pictures (Plunkett et al., 2013). Wang, Yi, Tao, and Carovano (1998) attributed the SHOWeD acronym to this characteristic of PhotoVoice, asking: What do you *S*ee here? What's really *H*appening? How does this relate to *O*ur lives? *W*hy does this problem or this strength exist? What can we *D*o about this? In effect, PhotoVoice brings the participants' *intentionality* to the fore, issues important to *them*, and what *they* consider important or not (Johnsen et al., 2008). It is therefore well suited for researchers, who wish to employ a more 'hands-off' approach to their research project (Allen, 2016).

1.11.2 Disadvantages of PhotoVoice

Despite the broad acceptance of PhotoVoice among the visual research community, the method is not without its problems. While PhotoVoice overall talks about participant empowerment, Allen (2016) argues that PhotoVoice can, in fact, be disempowering to participants. For example, in Allen (2016) study of young Black middle-class male youth culture, the problem he faced was helping students understand that their photographs and their opinions mattered, in contrast to students' opinions that their photos had little value or were unimportant. He summarises that the social justice enthusiasm of the researcher is critical to counter this perception of disempowerment, as well the issue of stereotypical self-representation (Allen, 2016). The effect of 'cultural silence' sometimes produced by participants can develop into an *internalisation* of media discourses, in which the participants ultimately 'view themselves and their peers through the same lens' (Keene & Padilla, 2014; quoted in Byrne, Daykin, & Coad, 2016). Allen (2016) argues that PhotoVoice in his study, despite its empowering intentions, did not ensure that dominant discourses of power and domination were successfully challenged. This dilemma in PhotoVoice might pertain to studies of similar nature, especially working with marginalised or ostracised communities, which would have a strong predisposition to self-stereotyping.

The photography-in-participation, a unique feature of the PhotoVoice method, raises a number of important ethical issues. A number of researchers have raised different ethical concerns of participation in PhotoVoice designs, especially privacy, image ownership, photo selection, presentation, and publication, the researcher's influence over the photographs' subject matter and advocacy

(Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016, p. 3). Mitchell, de Lange and Nguyen (2016) also raise issues on the ethics of exclusion with participants with disabilities in relation to PhotoVoice. We discuss this issue in greater detail in Chap. 3. The two issues we want to raise here are the extent of the involvement of participants in the dissemination and analysing process, and the ethics that governs participants using PhotoVoice in the research process. From a dissemination and analysis point of view, it remains undetermined as to the decision and extent of involvement of participants in the analysis process in a PhotoVoice project (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016). Evans-Agnew and Rosemberg (2016) review of 21 studies using PhotoVoice found that in only half of them, the participants' voice influenced its coding and the selection of photo-text exhibits at local events. Earlier findings by Catalani & Minkler (2010) show an 85% involvement of participants in PhotoVoice studies. These findings suggest that engaging participants' voices in the analysis process appears to becoming more secondary to the study and call for researchers utilising PhotoVoice to rethink their analysis approach and privileging the voices of participants. The issue of co-authorship with research participants remains also completely unexplored (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016).

From an ethical standpoint, there has been little discussion on the ethical guidelines for participants in PhotoVoice. As participants are effectively co-researchers, they should be conversant to some degree about ethical guidelines. However, how participants apply ethical principles have so far been inadequately examined and understood, for example, how do participants approach subjects, ask for signed consent, what dictates their choices for pictures and how do they handle ethical threats in their fieldwork experience? (Hannes & Parylo, 2014). Hannes and Parylo (2014) study found that an introductory ethics session to inform participants with potential ethical issues proves beneficial, yet such a strict application of ethical guidelines has found avoidance behaviours and circumvention behaviours among participants, which can unintentionally have negative impacts on the study phenomenon. Fundamentally, the ethical challenges of outside researchers need to be addressed, beginning with *who* truly represents a community of interest (Minkler, 2004). These dynamics require 'constant negotiation of ideas, values, identities and interests among all who participate' (Yoshihama & Carr, 2002, p. 99). Unfortunately, this significant aspect of PhotoVoice has remained inadequately understood and emphasised, and a well-fit balance between project and principles could navigate this difficult terrain.

A final critical concern to the use of PhotoVoice is in relation to its PAR nature and commitment to social action. What is still not understood is to what extent social action plans are committed to and how to enact social action plans with PhotoVoice. Johnston (2016) argues that attempts of social change and outcomes of PhotoVoice projects are seldom documented. This raises important issues as what actual meaning the research holds for participants and what if there are no resultant practical political or social changes for them (Johnston, 2016). Some authors have raised the notion that PhotoVoice can raise false hopes for change, unless the method is tied to political or public outcomes (Tanjasiri, Lew, Kuratani, Wong, & Fu, 2011). Tanjasiri, Lew, Kuratani, Wong, & Fu (2011) argue that the success of

PhotoVoice is dependent on follow-up actions like sharing images with local policy makers to support campaigns. Harley (2012) argues that very few PhotoVoice studies evaluated the long-term impact on individuals and communities. Overall, PhotoVoice as a research method is criticised to lack a view of the 'bigger picture' of both inequalities and resourced required to enact changes (Harley, 2012). Higgins (2016, p. 671) concludes that 'PhotoVoice projects are still largely by and for the researchers'. It is important for researchers, who are committed to PhotoVoice projects, to create stepping stones for communities to follow through and continue their initiative, which they have started with the research. Otherwise, the method risks falling into disbelief and could provide false hope for participants, resulting in a stronger negative predisposition than when they started the program (Strack, Magill, & McDonagh, 2004, p. 57).

1.12 Portraiture

It might surprise the reader to find portraiture as a photographic research method in this chapter. The methodology of portraiture was first introduced by Sarah Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983) in an effort to blend social science research doctrines with aesthetic inquiry. Portraiture as a research method demonstrates a certain commitment from researchers to participants in its aim to contextualise the depictions of individuals and events, 'seeking to forefront the perspectives, voices, and experience…of the portraitist and the subject' (Dixson et al., 2005, p. 18). It therefore is provocative in that it challenges institutionalised norms of participant anonymity and presents a different perspective on the nature of 'voice' in photo-research (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). Portraiture is also innovative in that it emphasises interpretation of reality from both the researcher's experiences and the subject's portrayal of their experiences (Waterhouse, 2007).

The strongest feature of the portraiture method is its inherent *search of goodness*, which forms a unique 'counterpoint to the dominant chorus of social scientists, whose focus has largely centred on the identification and documentation of social problems' (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. xvi). Social research has historically concentrated more on the negative aspects or inequalities of people in their environment, denying both resilience and fortitudes that people have managed living in less than favourable circumstances (Cope, Jones, & Hendricks, 2015). Portraiture research aims to depict those examples of success, looking for strengths in the sites they encounter and how challenges are addressed by participants (Chapman, 2005), representing the essence of social science research through a subjective, empathetic and critical lens (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983), which is often overshadowed in the overall research process (Cope et al., 2015). With this approach, the portraitist listens to authentic stories as they are perceived by participants and retelling them by an almost 'folkloric' style of narrative (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), providing a great point of departure for researchers to engage in counter-narrative to negativity (Ngunjiri, 2007) that blends research, art, questions

and settings throughout the portraits (Cope et al., 2015). This blending method captures a snapshot of essential features and interpersonal experiences of participants, excelling as a powerful form of description capturing the participant's 'life world' (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2005). A final irony is that the more one moves to uncover unique characteristics of a place or a person in the portrait, the more one is able to discover the universal (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997).

1.12.1 Advantages of Portraiture

Portraiture positions itself as a research method, which inherently focuses on goodness and highlighting the positive perspectives of a person or phenomenon, presenting an overall framework of strengths, instead of shortcomings (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). This is particularly useful for social research, as one may gain more from examining and understanding successes than failures (Seligman, 1991). The 'Goodness' of portraiture also has empowering features (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1986) and has found strong application in critical race theory (CRT) in its desire to counter stereotypes of people of colour (Chapman, 2005). Portraiture and CRT work especially well in tandem, as both 'advance and highlight the sustaining features of cultures and communities that are rarely promotes' (Chapman, 2005, p. 31).

Portraiture as a method further allows *both* researcher and participant to relate their own educational and life experiences to narrate the participants' stories (Cope et al., 2015). It is able to capture and visualise the essential 'contract' between sociology and photography (Roberts, 2011), but also creates a reflexivity by the researcher that permeates in every aspect in the research process (Waterhouse, 2007). This constant reflexivity allows researchers to include full details and a certain systemic of their methodology, which in turn creates resonance, credibility, and authenticity, strongly adding to the validity of this research method (Waterhouse, 2007) and its collected data.

In addition, since the researcher is completely involved in all the aspects of the process in portraiture, this research method provides an opportunity for researchers to portray their ideologies and the ways in which the researcher tells them (Dixson et al., 2005). Despite this being a key challenge to not lose oneself in one's own biases, assumptions and values, researchers stand to create stories that make subjects feel seen (Cope et al., 2015) and allowing researchers to enter a private sphere to the lives of participants, which they would otherwise not be able to access or permitted access to.

Finally, the inherent focus of a success story by the portraiture method also adds a positive contribution to the literature and is a welcome change to research that often concentrates on sad, rather than happy experiences (East, Jackson, O'Brien, & Peters, 2010). Not every social research intends to explore, discover or understand structural and human inequalities. This method is very well suited for studies that are inherently optimistic in nature, or aim to employ success studies to validate a certain approach or lifestyle by communities.

1.12.2 Disadvantages of Portraiture

One of the main disadvantages of portraiture as a method is that it finds itself in opposition with ethical guidelines with regard to protecting the identity of participants. One of the provisions of visual research ethics is that research participants remain anonymous. The intention of portraiture is that the presence, empathy and voice of participants are fully recognised. Visual ethics requirements by the researcher's guiding institutions might not allow for the full implementation of portraiture and could require researchers to adapt their methods to meet ethics requirements.

Another disadvantage of the portraiture method is in relation to its reliability and validity. Portraiture is weak in regards to showing a research audience the methodological procedure in capturing portraits. There is little to concluding a research, if researchers cannot show their audience that the procedures involved were reliable and conclusions were valid (Waterhouse 2007). 'Unpicking the tapestry' to test the rigour of this approach is difficult (Waterhouse, 2007, p. 280).

Finally, the researcher's complete integration in portraiture is both a source of strength and shortcoming. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) acknowledge that the researcher's perspective, experiences and identities play an important role in the research in that they inform the story and portrait they produce. We have discussed a persisting reflexivity in the portraiture method to counter biases, assumptions or values by the researcher. Though we cannot argue that this has a negative effect on the validity of studies employing this method, we argue that the much needed reflexivity in this method to counteract biases creates an inevitable *tension* in studies employing this method, requiring constant sharing of perspectives and understandings. This creates further tension of whether the portrait is being honest and unequivocally one person's work, while fully including the voice of the other within it (Waterhouse, 2007). Portraits never present a subject as a whole unified self and as such, portraits are fractured, multifaceted and shifting (Higgins, 2013). Researchers must be aware that 'every portrait, even in its simplest and the least staged, is a portrait of another' (Higgins, 2013, p. 9). In portraiture therefore, researchers should be aware of the *provisional* nature of the photograph, the forming of a 'pose' in what is being presented and what is being 'masked' by research participants (Roberts, 2011). Researchers should be especially aware and perhaps explain the photographic practice and social process of how the image was taken in their interpretations to (Roberts, 2011) demonstrate a 'sharpness' in awareness that supports the portrait's validity and its contribution to its broader cultural and social shaping or context.

1.13 What About Researcher-Generated Photographs?

The different photo-elicitation methods have presented very empowering and incorporating methods for most participants to create, guide and promote their stories. Those methods in tandem the right enthusiasm of photo-researchers do have strong capacity for quality data collection and insights. However, there appears to be a pattern in photo-research methods that predominantly relies on participants enfolding their experiences into images as co-researchers for data collection. This is perhaps due to an overemphasis in the belief of the authenticity and truthfulness of participant-generated photographs. However, given that images are a product of folding, which is grounded in a set of assumptions, premises and dispositions, the participants' recorded images arguably present only one side of a phenomenon. As Peters and Mergen (1977, p. 282) noted, 'bias of the visual document, like bias of the written word, reflects the individual's perspective'. John Berger in his book *Understanding a Photograph* (1968) has understood that the photographer, be it the *participant or researcher*, professional or amateur, chooses particular moments that he or she wishes to depict, as well as choosing what is absent and what are important components for understanding the meaning of the photograph.

The literature acknowledges that researchers in their studies are also able to take their own images, often known as researcher-generated images (Tinkler, 2014), or researcher-only photograph production (Ray & Smith, 2011), which are either shared with other team members, or presented to participants for elicitation interviews. Yet, this method is often limited to simple ideas of 'taking photographs' based on research questions with little follow-up in how and where to take photographs and under which circumstances. Ray and Smith (2011) present some brief considerations into researcher-generated photographs in whether to have a structured shooting script, time restrictions on images, as well as selecting key activities or places to photograph.

Overall, there appears to be a lack of a comprehensive classification for researcher-generated photographs, with which researchers can embark on taking their own photographs to generate data, as well as the advantages of such an approach. Furthermore, the photographs themselves as *data sources* have been largely ignored (Chapman, Wu, & Zhu, 2016). So far, both participant- and researcher-generated images mainly serve as a channel for interview or other data, and seldom stand as data themselves. Instead of eliminating the effects of the researcher in their study (Freshwater & Rolfe, 2001), nor the effect of the photograph as data, we propose a researcher-driven photography approach called 'Snapshot' to add to the photographic research domain, which actively considers the view of the researcher in a study, founded on Kodak's idea of the snapshot and Henri Cartier-Bresson's idea of 'the decisive moment'.

1.14 A 'Snapshot' Approach to Researcher-Generated Photography

To date, there appear only vague and often fleeting references to researcher-generated photographs and even less so in published studies. In this section, we draw attention to a researcher-generated approach to photographic research that we call 'Snapshot'. We consciously choose the term 'approach' over 'method', as snapshot is nonspecific and can be translated into various methodological approaches.

A snapshot in its origins is a picture taken quickly and with a minimum of prearrangement (Coe & Gates, 1977). Snapshot photographs are characterised by a certain *spontaneity* of the occasion (Coe & Gates, 1977; Schroeder, 2012) and while prearrangements might not be evident, snapshots are achieved via, and sometimes even require considerable preparation. Historically, the term 'Snapshot' was constituted by Kodak and was one of two critical elements, along with 'photo album', built around photography, which actively encouraged people to capture important moments of their lives (Munir & Phillips, 2005). Snapshots in Kodak's eyes did not only serve as confirmations of family unity, but also as a preservation of otherwise fallible memories, or merely leisure photography (Munir & Phillips, 2005), snapshots quickly evolved to becoming 'the home version of history' (West, 2000). Historically, people who took snapshots were generally not trained or interested in photography, yet in its *ability* to create needed mementoes (Hirsch, 1992).

The time and spontaneity factor in snapshots is 'motivated by the simple wish to record and perpetuate…life and time' and has always placed people as the forefront of the principle subject (Coe & Gates, 1977, p. 9), which so inherently enjoys a strong focus in social research. A key aspect of snapshot photography is *authenticity* (Schroeder, 2012). Snapshots reveal a vision, which is not influenced by other models of representation; in fact, its detachment from traditional image-making values forms the foundation of the authenticity of snapshots (Hirsch, 1992). Its plain and unaffected attribute allows people, events and places to be recorded (Coe & Gates, 1977). Snapshots are photographs that are not artificially constructed in an elaborate photo studio, yet the lines between a snapshot and a 'good photography' are inconsistent, blurry and rather thin.

To use snapshot as an approach in photo-research, it is important to understand why people have turned to snapshots and moving the concept beyond 'what is' towards 'what for'. Snapshot does not come from a sensibility of pre-visualisation —thinking about and framing the photograph before taking it—however, an emphasis on the spontaneous relationship with the subject (Hirsch, 1992). The snapshot approach falls in line with Cartier-Bresson (1952) phrase of 'the decisive moment', which he defines as 'the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event, as well as the precise organization of forms which gave that event its proper expression'. In a research setting, we argue that the 'decisive moment' refers to a moment of a composition in the viewfinder of the camera, which tells the story just right and constitutes an important fragment in a

researcher's study. This can on the one hand be a single snapshot, for example Daniel Etter's photograph (see Sect. 1.1) that forms an important visual fragment of emotions felt by refugees, and on the other hand a series of photographs, which give more space for the attention to the subject and their surroundings than a single image could provide. A snapshot in a research setting captures a moment characterised by both private function and public meaning (Nickel, 2000); between the researcher's relationship with the subjects and its many interpretations.

The snapshot approach essentially places the camera into the researcher's hands to create memento about a phenomenon of interest or study. This happens on a spontaneous, unplanned level throughout the research process and allows researchers a serendipity to collect photographs without the inhibition of preset research boundaries and to simply see what is there and not be defined by fixed ideas about the phenomenon. It allows researcher to capture images from their point of view, a viewpoint no less valid than that of a participant. The lack of shooting script in a snapshot method also allows for diverse sociological explorations beyond a proposed study, and the discovery of new phenomena of interest. In the snapshot approach, the photographer tells the story and offers an implicit or explicit analysis of people, artefacts or activities in society.

There is also little reliance on formal schooling or specialist knowledge for the researcher or participant to express themselves and also ideal for people who are reluctant to express themselves verbal or in writing (Warren, 2005). Furthermore, the previously analysed photo-research methods to a large extent suggest a certain foundational control over *what* to photograph and *how* to do it. A snapshot approach presents an alternative to this control and encourages a certain lack of self-editorial control that is still able to produce photographs as intact and revealing as the researcher (or participant) intends it to be.

1.14.1 Advantages of the Snapshot Approach

A snapshot approach potentially balances photographic bias and a photographic singularity of research participants. Despite a participant's willingness to capture images on a topic given by the researcher, an internalised shame or self-stigma might prevent the participants to spatialise social or structural inequalities, which they might consciously or subconsciously try to hide. The snapshot method is able to surpass a fog of cultural silence to produce authentic insights of both scholarly value and striking images to initiate social change.

A second benefit from using the snapshot approach for researchers is the opportunity to explore a phenomenon of interest from a fresh and more etic (see Sect. 1.15) perspective. As researchers are often not pre-dispositioned to the research field, they are able to uncover new perspectives, observations and ideas, which have become routine for people in that environment and are ignored. We want to underline this with a practical example.

Fig. 1.2 'Chariot of Youth' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

The following picture, titled '*Chariot of Youth*' (Fig. 1.2), was taken in a district in Chennai, India, close to where we stayed during our field work. The image presents an elderly man, who is taking children from school in a paddle rickshaw. The photo was taken spontaneously on our way home and initially not regarded as an image of much scholarly value. When showing this image to our host family, they explained to us that they have seen this man for 25 years paddling the children to and from school. He has to do the work, as no social security exists in India for these workers. However, the point they were most curious about was that they have never noticed the man in the way we took his image, nor the happiness on his face and the daily role he fulfils. Our host family themselves said that often they miss those details in their daily surroundings, because it has become a constant and they are so used to seeing him daily, that no further attention is paid to him.

1.14.2 Limitations of the Snapshot Approach

A snapshot approach is a proposition that has yet to be tested and moved beyond its theoretical conceptualisation. Researchers have to be cautious that despite a more free approach to a research study, that their focus is not lost and the research topics forgotten altogether. As Bolton, Pole and Mizen (2001, p. 506) argue, photographs that are to be perceived as data have to move beyond 'happy snaps' and 'been

created as part of a sociological investigation; the visual element has been part of an active process of seeking and hopefully reaching understanding, rather than merely illustrating findings arrived by other means'. Snapshot photography is further argued to be too ubiquitous, too unremarkable and too personal and tends to be discounted by scholars in the artistic and cultural field (Zuromskis, 2013). Snapshot is dependent on a good eye and *Verstaendnis* (German: understanding, see Chap. 4, Sect. 4.6) by the researcher, to be sensitive to their environment and to recognise and spatialise decisive moments in a photograph. Otherwise, the 'decisive moment' risks becoming a series of 'un-decisive moments' (Higgins, 2013) in the snapshot approach, affecting data quality and resulting in misinterpretations.

1.15 Combining Emic and Etic Approaches to Research Photography—Narratives and Counter-Narratives

Our analysis on research photography methods and approaches, both participant- and researcher-generated suggests that research photography has emic and etic qualities. The terms 'emic' and 'etic' here are borrowed from the field of anthropology (Pike, 1954). Pike's idea was to examine foreign languages and cultures analogously to the *phonemic* and *phonetic* systems of linguistic theory Phonemic refers to the classification of sounds according to their *internal function*, whereas phonetic looks at its *acoustic properties* (Gothóni, 2015).

An 'emic' standpoint therefore represents the view from the actors themselves (the researched), while an 'etic' viewpoint refers to those of outsiders (the researchers) (Gothóni, 2015). The problematics involved with these two overall research approaches are opposites in their very nature and Gothóni (2015, p. 29) argues that 'neither of the starting-points provides an appropriate approach per se'. However, He and van de Vijver (2017) argue that the differences between the two are often overrated and are more complementary than often assumed. We want to first theoretically lay out the benefits of combining emic and etic approaches and then translate the concepts to the discussed photo-research methods and provide guiding research questions that aid researchers in determining the most suitable approach for their study.

A strong argument for the combination of emic and etic contributions in a research project is that both can stimulate each other in the most intricate ways, and are partly able to counter one another's theoretical weaknesses (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Lickel, 1999). Both emic and etic explorations and insights allow for later refinements of one though the other, which resultantly forms a dual-perspective account of phenomena of interest (Morris et al., 1999). Fundamentally, emic constructs can have etic components and vice versa (He & van de Vijver, 2017). For example, as soon as one begins to compare one emic study in relation to another emic study, this research approach becomes an etic one (Gothóni, 2015). Most importantly, the wealth of detail and 'thick description' from an emic

standpoint, and the broad outlines and a reliable signal from the etic standpoint (Morris et al., 1999) allows for a 'methodology, which combines rigor and insight, verification and discovery, accuracy and empathy, replicability and human relevance' (Gothóni, 2015, p. 33).

Translating these theoretical concepts to the application and choice of photo-research methods for researchers, we argue that a combination of photo-elicitation methods and the snapshot approach would provide a suitable approach, in which both methods would complement and counter each other's weaknesses. Researchers creating insights and data themselves and collecting photographs by and eliciting insights from participants are able to both document valid principles themselves, as well as take into account the images and issues that participants themselves describe as meaningful and important. Researchers have the opportunity to generate narratives and counter-narratives, images and counter-images, transcending two absolute standpoints, but fold two standpoints in relation to each other. This fold of approaches brings relevance to the participant and the researcher.

This is not to say that researchers should always combine and aim utilise both methodological orienta equally, however, as Berreman (1966) says, to discover a *bridge of methods,* which brings relevance to both the interests of the participants and of the researcher, and to both the specialist and the scholar. Berreman (1966) further argues that these discovery procedures need to be made problematic—to be made the subject of inquiry and analysis. In photographic research, we would include, but not exclusively, how to select research participants, whose photographs to accept and whose to ignore, whom to believe, what to observe and what to photograph. We want to add here that researchers should yearn for scientific rigour, even in something as subjective as photographic research, however, must not succumb to scientific 'rigor mortis' (Berreman, 1966, p. 353).

1.16 Conclusion

Research photography in the social sciences has a long history but has yet to become fully developed as an accepted and commonly used method. As an introduction to the field, this chapter has shown that not only does it carry great potential but also that there is room for new conceptualisations of photographs as 'data' as well as new approaches to research photography. The idea of the 'fold' suggests that photographs not only have multiple meanings but also are multilayered and have connections to the social world in ways that have yet to be fully explored. While there are many methods available to research photographers, in this chapter, an additional 'snapshot' approach is proposed. When combined with the 'fold' this might provide new ways for using photographs for accessing complex social realities in ways that provide original theoretical and practical insights.

Researchers wanting to apply photographic research might want to ask these questions when deciding how they will go about their study

- Which approach provides an appropriate level of *detached*, yet respectful standpoint, from which scholarly study can be made using photographs?
- Which approach provides a sufficiently *engaged*, yet respectful and effective standpoint, from which an original and authentic insight can be achieved?
- Which approach is appropriate to the photographic researcher, in relation to their temperament, personality and cultural frame of reference, so that they are best able to capture images that contribute to a relevant, constructive and perceptive knowledge and understanding?

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Chapter 2
Photography as an Art-Based Research Method

From its beginnings, photography has been a form of art in its approach and medium for examining society and an essential journalistic tool (Becker, 1974). Photography and sociology originated at around the same time in the early nineteenth century with Comte's work on sociology and Daguerre's invention of the Daguerreotype (Becker, 1974). Social research, journalism and the art of photography might articulate three different ways of working with photographs, but they are not confined to being produced by different individuals (Becker, 1974). Diane Ketelle (2010) recalls an argument she had with a colleague about Goldberg's (1985) photographic works, titled *Rich and Poor*. She would claim that 'this is social science research', to which her colleague would reply 'No! This is art'. It seems that photographic research exists within a transdisciplinary context that defies methodological and theoretical boundaries (Chilton & Leavy, 2014). It is therefore incumbent on those who employ photography in social research to have some understanding of photography as art.

To understand photography as art, it is important to understand the artist's interest in photography. Artists have historically been drawn to the photographic medium for its deliberate authorial disavowal, insofar that as an art form it relieves the artist of a certain artistic control (Snyder, 1980). The photographic process is a 'mind-independent' pictorial ready-made one (Costello & Iversen, 2012, p. 686) and limits the control its user has over the actual image making and enfolding of the photograph. This disavowal has been an important feature of modernist and postmodernist art practices in that it evades the preconceived, the given and the formulaic, with photography as a medium that allows a way of exploiting this feature (Costello & Iversen, 2012). Early philosophical and critical debates on the status of photography as an art form drew artists to employ the medium to further challenge a then status quo and 'to be in tension with its status as art … and photography's

The original version of this chapter was revised: Placement of the figures have been changed. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_7

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_2

promise of art' (Costello & Iversen, 2012, p. 688). The arts have long been perceived as a valuable means of communication complex social phenomena. In tandem with the arts being designed to *express* experiences, photography within its artistic medium is able to capture the essence of an experience, object or phenomenon, instead of interpreting or analysing it (Szto, Furman, & Langer, 2005). Furthermore, arts-based research methodologies broadened qualitative inquiry in that the inclusion of art forms in the inquiry 'provide a special way of coming to understand something and how it represents what we know about the world' (Free, 2009, p. 1). It is there where photography as art and research method overlaps and informs each other.

Research is separated from other ways of knowing in its utilisation of empirical knowledge and theory generation (Babbie, 2000). Creative and expressive artists ground their research in capturing essences, experiences objects or phenomena to generate theory. This may not be to the same empirical standards as traditional research paradigms, however, when successfully employed, captures essences that can be 'metaphorically generalisable' (Szto et al., 2005, p. 138). This penetrative potential lies at the heart of the arts with a means of expressive potential in contrast with traditional research paradigms (Willis, 2002).

2.1 Photo-Narratives—A Storytelling Approach

Photo-narratives form a storytelling approach to photography. Stories are distilled into one-off images or image series of multilayered information (Bright, 2015). Photo-narratives share a common ground with narrative inquiry, which is a type of qualitative inquiry, in that both focus on retrospective meaning (Chase, 2005). The term *story* forms an important component of narrative inquiry, as it provides a central mechanism to understanding why people choose the things that they do (Ketelle, 2010). Therefore, narrative inquiry is narration through storytelling, which offers an opportunity to examine a relationship between observer and observed (Krieger, 1991). Personal photo-narratives at the hand of the researcher/artist are both sociologically and artistically valuable. Narrative inquiry calls for authors to either tell their own stories or reconstruct a story of others. Despite those stories being deeply personal, they are shaped by global, social, cultural and historic contexts and communicate group values, social norms and boundaries of gender, race and class (Ketelle, 2010). A narrative inquiry invites researchers to delve 'into new ways of writing scholarship that allows for the imaginative exploration of ideas' (Ketelle, 2010, p. 551). In social science research, Richardson (1994) sees this approach as a way to push academic writing beyond traditional orthodoxies, in which the process of writing the story itself becomes a form of inquiry and a way for the author to understand the world (Richardson & Pierre, 2000).

It can seem odd that the terms 'narrative' and 'storytelling' are attributed to a photographic image (Bright, 2015). However, beneath the surface, photo-narratives are an active human process of intention and reflection on photographs, in which

both participants and researchers explore and make meaning of *experience* in visual and narrative ways (Bach, 2007). Photographs invite us to thinking more deeply about our own reflections of feelings, becoming an interpreter of them and exploring the different subjectivities and identities (Ketelle, 2010). For example, Ketelle (2010) argues that in her study of understanding the relationship between photographs as a research tool and their artistic content, that she *reads* the image of her students, which she took, looking for what is in the photograph and what her relationship with the student was of whom she took the image. Coming back to the idea of enfolding and the unfolding of photographs, a photo narrative is a *becoming* process and presents a selective unfolding of images by the viewer, which is preceded by a selective enfolding of meaning into text by the writer/photographer. In the centre of photo-narrative inquiry lies experience, which Bach (2007, p. 3) describes as 'an undivided and continuous transaction or interaction between human beings and their environments', creating different angles of vision and different stories. This transaction cannot be cut or separated, only enfolded and unfolded. The stories in visual narratives are selective unfoldings of those experiences, describing organic intertwinings between the observer and the photograph and composing a life story of a participant within the confines of the researcher's chosen study. Photo-narratives can be seen as the closest we can get to unfolding and enfolding experiences and the process of photography allowing both researchers and participants to emphasise on different events, people and other things in their individual experience (Bach, 2007) once more creates scholarly sociological and artistic value. In the next section, we are presenting examples from artist photographers, which we believe also employ narrative storytelling through photographs.

2.2 Sam Ferris:: Daily Life in Sydney, Australia

Sam Ferris's photo narrative uses photography as a means and approach to explore and connect to daily life in Sydney, Australia. His images present strong subjective perceptions of daily life and do not try to document what living in Sydney looks like, however, what *experience* living in Sydney means for him emotionally. Ferris's street photography is strongly motivated by the relatively democratic space of Sydney's infrastructure, being a point of connection and transition for people. In Ferris's own words, the Sydney streets for him are a point of 'correlation but not connection…disorienting, overwhelming, and incredibly isolating' (Ferris, personal communication May 17, 2016). Ferris chooses sequential photographs to tell his story. He believes that it is very difficult for individual photographs to achieve narratives with single images and in his works, the story emerges both from the editing and from the sequencing of images. One of his photographs, titled '*Erskine Street, Sydney, 2014'*, presents a woman with a striking pink bag, hiding behind a pillar of a building. This image has promoted different questions by different viewers. What is she doing? Is she hiding from someone? Is she playing a trick or

game on someone? The second image by Ferris, titled '*Market Street, Sydney, 2014'* is a very dimly lit street scene of people walking, possibly on their way home from work during the evening. Different occupations held by people are visible in the image, from the high-visibility outfit often worn by tradesmen and -women, to a man in a business suit in the background, suggesting a corporate or office career. The woman in the centre of the photograph appears to be in thought and the woman in the bottom left of the image having purchased flowers for perhaps a loved one or to improve the aesthetics of her home.

For social researchers, Sam Ferris's photographs provide great examples of narrative storytelling of daily life in Sydney. His images reveal very individual insights of one person's behavior, as well as presenting a more holistic picture of crowds in Sydney with an interplay of both micro- and macro-perspectives. Both images also capture the surroundings of the subjects, creating both abstract and concrete context to his exploration. Social researchers should not shy away from visualising metaphors or abstractions in their images, as they are rich in interpretation and communicating a story. Sam Ferris's work presents a *sample* series of photographic work, which means that a phenomenon, which in his case is Sydney life, is presented via a number of single cases (Marin & Roldan, 2010). It might not always be possible for researchers to tell a coherent or complete story from one research location only. Sample series, like Sam Ferris's one, are especially suitable for studies where one location might not provide enough or authentic insights, for comparative visual analyses of the same phenomenon at different sites, or where different locations provide different insights into a phenomenon altogether (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).

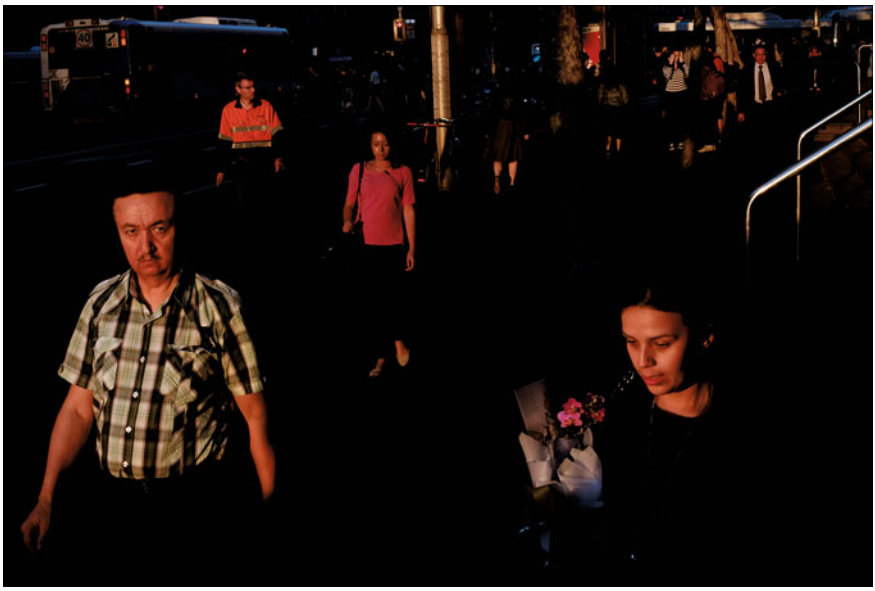

Fig. 2.1 'Erskine Street, Sydney, 2014' © Sam Ferris (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.2 'Market Street, Sydney, 2014' © Sam Ferris (reproduced with permission)

2.3 Moe Zoyari:: Life After War in Afghanistan

Moe Zoyari's photo narrative of life after war in Afghanistan is a beautiful example of examining Afghanistan's social landscape in light of an overwhelming media evidence of warfare. Zoyari's photographs display a vibrant civilian life in the midst of the hardship of the people, 'one that is equally religious, playful, and beautifully mundane' (Zoyari, personal communication August 25, 2016). The following images are an extract of Zoyari's photo narrative from Kabul, Afghanistan.

The first image, titled '*Untiled 1*', presents a street scene, in which a poor woman is sitting next to a *Noonwa ee*, a Persian bread shop. Two men are gathered in front of the shop, appearing to wanting to buy bread. The image shows a stark contrast of a place of food production and poverty, however, also a contrasting scene of relative 'normality' in relation to mass media coverages of the country. Zoyari (personal communication August 25, 2016) describes this contrast as his main subject and as though the shop vendors are likely to give her bread, it would not solve the underlying issues of that woman's poverty.

Zoyari's second photograph, titled '*Untitled 2*', presents a scene of partridge fighting in a park in Kabul. An interesting fact about this photo is that it was shot during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, which prohibits gambling. However, the photograph reveals that people still gamble and indulge in such activities, despite their religious precept. Zoyari (personal communication August 25, 2016) described that the cages are held over the birds and are released when the referee

Fig. 2.3 'Untitled 1' © Moe Zoyari (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.4 'Untitled 2' © Moe Zoyari (reproduced with permission)

starts the game. A winner is determined by the first bird who can harm the other bird and the winner gets money.

Zoyari's images of the social landscape in Afghanistan after the war reveal more than stereotypical insights into the daily life of people, hence our choice of the term *landscape*. Photo-narratives like Zoyari's generate valuable data for social researchers for authentic scholarly insights into life beneath a social surface. Those images do not only reveal social or structural inequalities or inequities, however, can simultaneously uncover local practices, which are counter-intuitive to an overarching culture, in which people live in. The photographs themselves therefore are not only valuable for their research 'data', but become artifacts of meaning that can raise issues and discover insights, which text-based narratives other arts-based photo approaches might not be able to capture or convey (Figs. 2.3 and 2.4).

2.4 Joyce Torrefranca:: Studying by the Lights of McDonald's

Joyce Torrefranca's photograph, titled '*Studying by the Light of McDonald's'*, depicts a boy studying underneath the lights of a McDonald's restaurant. This presents an interesting example of a single-image photo narrative. The photograph shows a boy, who appears to have only brought a small table and cowering over his books and studying late at night. Questions arise of why he has to study there and why not in school. Why is he studying so late at night, using the restaurant light as a source to do his homework? Torrefranca's image can be classified as an independent photograph. Independent photographs do neither formally, nor conceptually, stand in relation to other photographs (Marin & Roldan, 2010). A single image can be a strong tool for presenting direct and original data on a phenomenon of interest, or of contexts and people involved (Marin & Roldan, 2010). Torrefranca's image has received global attention on social media shortly after its posting. It does not only present a small boy defying and overcoming his lack of educational support, however, also serves as a visual example of a global phenomenon of different educational support systems among countries. The boy in Torrefranca's photograph, 9-year-old Daniel Cabrera, has received school supplies and a college scholarship from the Philippine government as a result of this image (Murphy, 2015).

For social researchers, generating and using independent images like Torrefranca's can be of tremendous scholarly value in that it raises important questions about social circumstances and/or phenomena. Researchers are thus able to use this genre of photograph as a point of departure for scholarly inquiry or to collect more photos or other data. The 'snapshot' property of Torrefranca's image can further serve a strong metaphorical purpose and support existing research or other data collected in the field. Photographic metaphors can serve as a strong point for generalisation, in this instance inequalities or circumstances, as it is unlikely that Daniel Cabrera's circumstance is an isolated one (Fig. 2.5).

Fig. 2.5 'Studying by the Light of McDonald's' © Joyce Torrefranca (reproduced with permission)

2.5 Documentary Photography—A Systematic Approach

Photographs and documents are virtually synonymous. The term 'documentary' was first applied to visual media by John Grierson in 1926, in which he distinguished films that moved towards realism and truthfulness, away from Hollywood fiction (Smith & Rock, 2014). Bright (2015) argues that each photograph is simultaneously a document and documentary photography remains an important approach to social research with its capacity to describe and analyse social problems (Szto et al., 2005). Historically, documentary photography has ties to both social exploration and social reform, in that 'documenting' social landscapes or unfamiliar ways of life can affect social change, citizen behavior and legislators (Becker, 1995). For example, Lewis Hine's documentary photographs of child labourers and their associated work-related injuries directly promoted introduction of laws to ban child labour in the United States (Becker, 1995). Alternative underlying assumptions about documentary photograph proposed by Sander (1986) draw attention to documentary photography as simply a way of documenting existing social orders rather than something that is intended to effect change. However, in contemporary social research photography, it is difficult to circumvent both exploration and investigation and simply 'document', mostly due to the idea that social researchers must *justify* their relations with the people they photograph (Becker, 1995).

What separates documentary photography from photo-narratives is that the former is curatorial, archival and anthropological in nature and does not rely on singular one-off images to convey a broader picture (Bright, 2015). As we discussed, photo-narratives focus on storytelling and rely on an imaginative interpretation by the researcher. Documentary photography by its nature claims a certain authenticity or truth. Bright (2015) argues that documentary photography is one of the most vital and engaging of the genres, bringing back a much-needed 'truth', driven by the scale of events in the 'real world'. However, documentary photography retains an interpretative component, which is shaped, framed and composed of variables chosen by the ideology of the researcher and is therefore more open to interpretation, more amorphous and therefore more wide-reaching (Bright, 2015).

For social researchers, documentary photography opens opportunities to answer and expand on questions about a particular subject (Suchar, 1997). Documentary photography has always been driven by criticism, self-doubts and the tendency to question, nevertheless, as an ostensible social interaction through aesthetic means (Aubert, 2009). Suchar (1997) attributes this *interrogatory principle* essential to documentary photography—using field observation and archival research to asking and answering questions. However, researchers utilising this approach need to employ systematic means when engaging in sociological analysis and Suchar (1997) proposes shooting scripts with a series of questions for a documentary photo project.

Documentary photography shares important commonalities with social research inquiry, yet it is different in terms of creating empirically credible images of culture and social life, framing those empirical observations to highlight new knowledge, and to challenge existing social theory (Wagner, 2004). Documentary photography can be a useful genre and approach for empirical social inquiry by systematic collection and analysis of real-world data and a distance of moving away from notions of 'true' and 'false' (Wagner, 2004). The credibility and utility of photographs as part of empirical social inquiry is not so much dependent on the extent to which the photographs reflect on the real world or represent 'the real', instead it is about the extent to which the world they depict are related to the questions we wish to answer (Becker, 1986). Documentary photography goes beyond common social science notions of illustrating and aims to provide analytically interesting content, thereby paying more attention to the challenges of their methodological approach and design than other social research inquiries (Wagner, 2004). The polysemic nature and the interpretative component of documentary photography, like other photography genres, would follow a dialectic and hermeneutic inquiry, placing the genre far from self-explanatory. We present two examples to illustrate the use of documentary photography for social inquiry and its interpretative nature.

2.6 Rochelle Costi:: Quartos [Bedrooms]

Rochelle Costi's documentary work focuses on private spaces that people inhabit and their daily habits, predominantly in Brazil. Gregos (2006, p. 68) describes Costi's focus work as an 'aesthetics of domesticity' to reveal both cultural signifiers in people's private spaces, habits and living conditions, as well as expressing a more indirect form of human portraiture. The project was developed inside the visual arts field and showing the research without losing its impact presented an interesting challenge for Costi (personal communication February 22, 2017). To overcome this problem, she printed 16 colour prints at 180 × 230 cm without frame or glass, hung 30 cm above ground and the mounting walls of the prints were constructed the same width as the photographs. This would create this space similar to a domestic geography for the viewers, giving viewers the opportunity to feel the intimacy of each place and opportunity to compare similarities and differences to their own places.

Two sample images depicted from her picture series 'Quartos' [Bedrooms] provide a glimpse into the personal tastes, social strata and living conditions of people in almost a matter-of-fact presentation (Gregos, 2006). The first image, titled '*Sao Paulo (10)*', presents a bedroom, in which the centre depicts a simple pallet construct as a frame for a mattress, as well as pallets being used as an overhead cover to hold a mosquito net. Above the bed are hanging clothes with makeshift clothing lines secured to a wall, tangled with what appears to be either a TV or radio cable. A pair of flip-flop sandals is placed neatly at the side of the bed. The background of the image reveals that this bedroom forms one part of a larger room,

separated with simple walling. A few electrical appliances on the left appear to be a kitchen connected to the bedroom. The image overall presents an abundance of beautiful visual detail while simultaneously revealing the living conditions of a person from a lower socio-economic status.

The second image, titled '*Sao Paulo (11)*', gives the viewer insight into a smaller bedroom that almost appears to be inside a tent, judging by the background. Clothes and other linen are cluttered on the mattress in the centre, accompanied by a bowl of pots and cups in front of a small television. A second mattress appears to be laid out on the floor in front of the bed. The image overall is not as abundant with detail as *Sao Paulo (10)*, however, presents a very indifferent way in which a person appears to assort his or her possessions, unlike the previous image where there appears to be an almost ritualistic quality throughout the image, every item having its place.

For social researchers, Rochelle Costi's documentary work presents a systematic anthropological insight into the social rank, economic status and identity of people (Gregos, 2006). Furthermore, her images encourage researchers to not discredit common occurrences, as Costi's images essentially present the simple things in everyday life. Exploring domestic settings of participants in the field can hold great scholarly value for social researchers for its very telling of a specific social universe around one or a group of individuals. Costi's approach to understanding and documenting peoples' domestic circumstances also presents a creative and playful way for scholars to tell stories about people without them being in the photographs. This is useful for situations, where participants wish to remain anonymous and also shift the focus from the individuals themselves to their surrounding environment. The photos can be presented either stand-alone, or as part of a photo series (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7).

Fig. 2.6 'Sao Paolo (10)' © Rochelle Costi (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.7 'Sao Paolo (11)' © Rochelle Costi (reproduced with permission)

2.7 Brian Finke:: Flight Attendants

Brian Finke's work of documenting the professional lives of flight attendants aboard different commercial airlines serves as a great example of a vibrant photo documentary approach. Finke did not merely attempt to capture the daily in-flight activities of stewards and stewardesses before, during, and after flights, however, also provide an insight into both the professionalism and training, which they have to undergo for their profession. The first photograph, titled *'Cathay Pacific Airways'*, documents a group of stewardesses, who appear to be preparing for distribution of an in-flight meal for the passengers. This dynamic photograph displays both a focus to each stewardess executing a different task, however, also illustrated their intuitive interplay to also work together as a team in a confined space. The second photograph, titled *'Icelandair'*, presents an interesting insight into some of the behind-the-curtain training of stewards and stewardesses at a flight attendant school. Complete with rising smoke and deployed emergency raft, this picture documents an insight to some of the rigorous and demanding training that flight attendants undergo. Finke cleverly framed the image in a way that captures both the preparation stage and execution stage of this exercise, providing a more complete insight to the viewer to the procedure of this exercise.

For social researchers, Brian Finke's documentary approach to the lives of flight attendants is a useful example and guide to documenting activities around a chosen phenomenon or profession. Although the two photographs are part of a larger photo series, both photos contain useful information to give viewers an insight into the professional lives of flight attendants. Researchers can choose to add photographs to their documentary approach until they believe that their story is adequately told, however, this example shows that a good insight can be achieved with few well-selected images, depending on composition and content. Finke has cleverly encompassed multiple activities and dynamics into single photographs by carefully enfolding as much information as possible within them (Figs. 2.8 and 2.9).

Fig. 2.8 'Cathay Pacific Airways' © Brian Finke (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.9 'Icelandair' © Brian Finke (reproduced with permission)

2.8 Portraiture—Constructing Identities

Portraiture remains a photographic genre solidly attuned to art (Cope, Jones, & Hendricks, 2015). In art, portraiture is a process of construction and representation, in which the artist recreates 'interpreting nuances of physicality and personality through artistic elements such as line, color, and composition' (Davis, 2003, p. 199). The resulting portrait presents an imprint of a relationship between the artist and the subject (Davis, 2003), its exploration literally of what someone looks like (Bright, 2015). Bright (2015, p. 20) describes the portrait as the most complex area of artistic practice, as identities are constructed, often a 'complex interplay of power, positioning, and performance'.

In its art-based context, portraiture is dependent on the photographer's own experiences and recognises that a person's true identity can never be fully captured.

A title changed underneath a portrait is able to change its surrounding context and the photographer's experiences, in which he or she presents a subject's identity, can create another version of meaning of identity of the subject (Bright, 2015). Portraiture and constructing identities therefore is a dance of different contributing elements, with its motivations and desires never truly being clear, whether we are exploitative, engaging, ethical, tender, informed or noble (Bright, 2015). Those tensions make portraiture a very captivating, yet also one of the most frightening endeavours of photographers. Cartier-Bresson describes the portrait as the most complex photographic endeavour, as a duel between subject and observer, in which one party must not injure the other (Cheroux, 2008). Portraits implicate questions of memory and time, identity and self-image, connections, mood and life (Roberts, 2011).

We have discussed the research implications of portraiture as a method for social researchers (see Chap. 1, Sect. 1.12). Here, we wish to draw together what the *genre* of portraiture (art and method) implies for social researchers. First, portraiture offers methodological advantages to social researchers by providing a different perspective of inquiry in its inherent 'search for goodness' and with that, an avenue to examine successes of participants and social phenomena, instead of shortcomings. Portraiture combines both the life experiences of researcher and participant, creating both bond and contract between the two individuals, sociological inquiry and photography. The resulting images can have strong metaphorical value, drawing together experiences, relationships and social issues. Second, the genre of portraiture addresses an ethical concern of the ethics of recognition, a point which we will discuss in greater detail in Chap. 3. Portraiture provides an avenue of recognition as an alternative approach to a both dominant and institutionalised ethical practice of concealment, a feature which could be desired by participants to prevent ethical frictions of disempowerment or voicelessness. We present two examples to illustrate the use of portraiture for social researchers.

2.9 Claudia Gaudelli:: Women Boxers in Argentina

Claudia Gaudelli skillfully uses portraiture to exhibit a perspective of women that broadens the limits of womanhood, being in a boxing ring (Gaudelli, 2017). The first image, titled *'Lusbelia, 23 years old'*, shows a female boxer in a defensive position, using her left arm to block an opponent's cross. Yet, her stance is already leaned slightly forward, preparing for a counter-attack, indicated also by her right arm. Her face does not present any signs of either fear or withdrawing. The second image, titled *'Ana, 25 years old'*, is a close-up portrait of one of the boxers. Her face reveals a strong confidence, security and a story. Gaudelli (2017) says that the women she photographed share a common environment of humble origins, need and poverty. Her intention was to make these women visible and with photographic titles revealing the women's names and ages, supports an 'ethics of recognition' (see Chap. 3), showing that they are real. She described the women's trainings as

daily, hard and intense, for a chance to compete in the world championships and as Gaudelli (2017, p. 2) noted, 'this dream is what keeps them standing on their feet, this dream has kept them from falling, kept them waking up, training, struggling and fighting'.

For social researchers, Claudia Gaudelli's work presents both an interesting and unique example to portraiture. Her entire focus is on the subject without much surrounding environmental contexts. Gaudelli's emphasis is on the women and specifically their facial expressions and body language. Social researchers in their own fieldwork might encounter situations or take portraits, which show very little or no surrounding environment. We urge social researchers to not discredit those portraits that at first sight might appear not 'vibrant' or 'alive' enough. Instead, we encourage close examination of exactly those portraits and elicitation of facial expressions and body language, which might hold fascinating details and insights about a phenomenon. In Gaudelli's images, too much surrounding environment would have perhaps even distracted from recognising their expression and body language. Bright (2015, p. 36) argues that images, which are stripped of contextual backgrounds, shift the viewers stance towards the image and 'to scrutinize the tiny gestures and facial expressions for clues into the portrait and the person's identity' (Figs. 2.10 and 2.11).

Fig. 2.10 'Lusbelia, 23 years old' © Claudia Gaudelli (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.11 'Ana, 25 years old' © Claudia Gaudelli (reproduced with permission)

2.10 Rineke Dijkstra:: Shany

Rineke Dijkstra skillfully used portraiture to exhibit a transformation of a young Israeli woman, Shany, and how her appearance has changed over a period of time. In the first image, titled *'Shany, Palmahim Airforce Base, Israel, October 8, 2002'*, Shany stands slightly to the side and not confident and individual. In the second image, titled *'Shany, Herzliya, August 1, 2003'*, Shany stands very firm and is looking directly into the camera with a sense of both confidence and self. Her posture is open and her body also faces the camera directly. Dijkstra noted that Shany appeared to be much younger the second time she photographed her, explaining that military service implies a conflict or tension between one's individual desires and the collective identity of the military (Bright, 2015). The younger looking appearance despite the more confident posture of Shany perhaps reveals that transformation from having grown up and being independent, to its sudden submission to authority once more (Bright, 2015).

Fig. 2.12 'Shany, Palmahim Airforce Base, Israel, October 8, 2002' © Rineke Dijkstra (reproduced with permission)

For social researchers, Rineke Dijkstra's portraits of Shany are a good example of a long-term photo project; in this case, emphasis is on Shany and her changes of facial expressions and body language before and during her military service. The long-term approach of Dijkstra's work is able to capture moments of transitions or vulnerabilities and is able to explore changes in individuals during and after those transitions or when vulnerabilities are overcome. In other words, Dijkstra's work spatialises the unfolding (and possible refolding) of individuals. The value of such long-term studies has been acknowledged in the literature (Pelton & van Manen, 1996; Yates, 2012). Social researchers might not find immediate use for the portraits collected during their first meeting with the participant, however, for example, when keeping in touch with participants or in subsequent meetings (for example,

Fig. 2.13 'Shany, Herzliya, August 1, 2003' © Rineke Dijkstra (reproduced with permission)

during the consent at re-contact stage; see Chap. 3, Sect. 3.7), additional portraits can be taken and information of the participants' development since the first encounter be collected. This approach would further be well suited for the PAR approach in PhotoVoice (see Chap. 1, Sect. 1.11) to document the changes in facial expression of participants and/or before and after changes as a result of PhotoVoice occurred in their lives. In Dijkstra's two photographs and in long-term studies of this nature in general, any surrounding environment to Shany would perhaps distract viewers from recognising the subtle changes in her expression and body language. Dijkstra's approach is a welcome addition to the possibilities of research photographers, who are involved in either periodic studies or interested in change in individuals (Figs. 2.12 and 2.13).

2.11 Tatsuo Suzuki:: Tokyo Street Portraits

Tatsuo Suzuki's photographs of seemingly ordinary people in the streets of Tokyo provide another striking example of how portraits of individuals, either stand-alone or as a photo-series can provide valuable insights into a society. The first image, titled '*Untitled'*, reveals a young woman sitting in a small alley, preoccupied with her phone and holding a cigarette. In front of her stands a can of 'Boss', a common ice coffee drink sold in Japan. The image appears to have been shot through a fence, indicating that the area the woman sits in is not readily accessible and private. Who is the woman writing on her phone? Is she talking to a friend? The image is strong in that it presents an increasing involvement of young people with digital media, social media and digital communication. Have we become a digitalised coffee-and-smoking nation? The image can further be seen as an effect of different underlying causes, for example, overworking, which is a big social issue in Japan (see Arima, 2016; Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994; Kawanishi, 2008; North & Morioka, 2016).

The second image, titled '*Untitled 2*', presents a close-up portrait of a man in front of what appear to be vending machines. He gazes directly into the camera, suggesting both an involvement and a rapport with Suzuki here. His posture is slightly slouched and his worn face holds an expression of either shyness or mental or physical tiredness. He appears to be wearing an old semi-buttoned leather jacket, a sling bag, and carrying an umbrella. This portrait presents a somewhat different angle to the often photographed busy business districts of Tokyo and reveals a more normal, perhaps even secluded life of people in Tokyo. The image gives rich inspiration to viewers of the story of a man, whose face has been worn with time and who developed and portrays a posture that reveals a lot to his surrounding circumstances.

For social researchers, Suzuki's portraits present an insight into both the honest and candid lives of individuals in Tokyo and examples of overt and covert approaches to portraiture. Though different in their underlying approaches, both photographs hold insights into the lives of people that raise a lot of interesting questions and can be nicely coupled into a photo-series. Suzuki's images also show that social researchers should not disregard portraits that might appear first showing a subject unfavourably, as a closer inspection might reveal this either not being the case, or finding strong points within the picture in support of the participant's circumstances. In the second of Suzuki's images, the man's slouch and to an extent either shy or worn look might shy researchers away from presenting the image, however, upon further reflection, can serve as a representation of a metaphorical and literal circumstance of many. Suzuki's photographs urge researchers to think about the ethics of recognition (see also Chap. 3, Sect. 3.10) when taking portraits and challenge a status quo by ethics institutions to not only recognising individuals in portraits as such, but also seeing them as a point of departure for interpretation. Portraits can also hold strong metaphorical meaning and a single portrait has potential to contribute to scholarly value as that (Figs. 2.14 and 2.15).

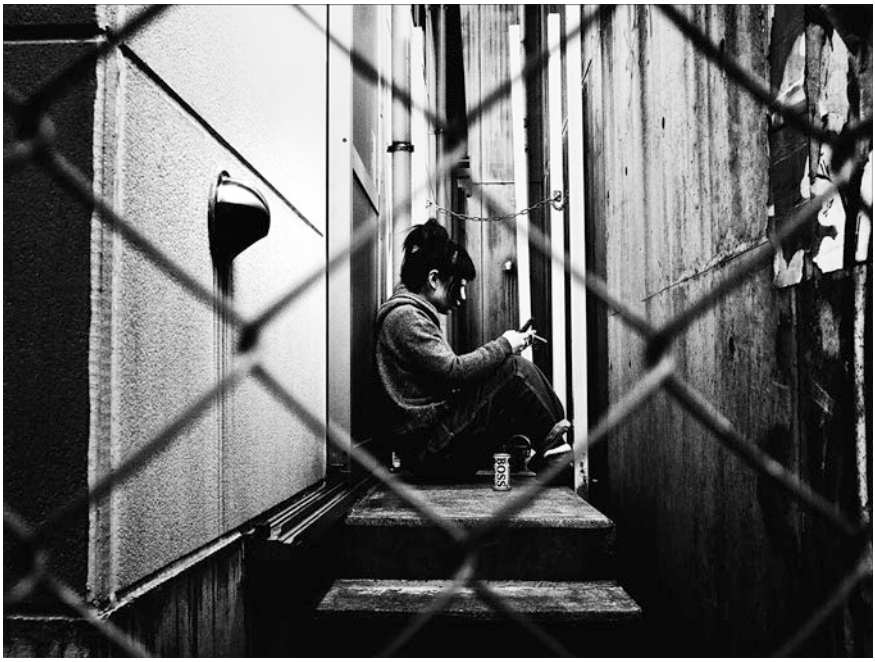

Fig. 2.14 'Untitled' © Tatsuo Suzuki (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 2.15 'Untitled 2' © Tatsuo Suzuki (reproduced with permission)

2.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, the connections of research photography to its artistic roots have been presented in terms of different genres that social research photographers can employ in their data collection practice. Each genre has its advantages and might be chosen in combination to enhance the quality of data being collected. By learning from artists in the field research photographers can benefit by being able to better capture the wide range perceptions, impressions and experiences that people have in the world and how they relate to and construct social worlds. Furthermore, this chapter encourages researcher photographers embrace the artistic element of their inquiry and to acknowledge that as social research they too are artists in their particular field of study.

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Chapter 3
Ethical Considerations in Photography as a Research Method

3.1 Ethical Considerations in Photography as a Research Method

This chapter introduces the ethical issues involved in producing and using photographs in social research. Photography as a social research method is far from simply taking pictures and the ethics of photography has since become a much debated topic. Images proliferate and social scientists unavoidably will grapple with various tensions and dilemmas in their research (Sweetman, 2009), bringing *ethical* and *moral* implications of photography as a social research method and a data source into the limelight. Despite the terms 'ethics' and 'moral' being used interchangeably in the literature, it is important to distinguish between them. 'Ethics' derives from the Greek word *ethos*, describing the character, nature or disposition of an individual. 'Morality' derives from the Latin word *moralis*, which means custom, manners or character. Kimmel (1988) argues that ethics and morality refer to accepted behaviours and that ethical problems naturally pose moral problems, however, are distinguished in context where codified principles of ethics are relevant.

For research photography, 'ethical' refers to rules and behaviours, which conform to set of principles of what photographs to take, and 'moral' refers to specifics acts of how to take them, consistent with accepted notions of right and wrong. Sontag (1977) in her groundbreaking work *On Photography* pioneered this exploration of ethical and moral challenges in photography. She described the camera as an object that is inherently predatory in nature. She sees photography inherently as an act of aggression, because 'to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed' (Sontag, 1977, p. 10).

Ethics has found a broad voice in photography, including the importance of understanding dignity (Langmann & Pick, 2014), how the photographer negotiates

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_3

with those who are being photographed, their motives, and ensuring informed consent (Barker & Smith, 2012; Rolph, Johnson, & Smith, 2009). While ethical research is a cornerstone of good practice (Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010), photography especially presents researchers with challenges when building an interpretation of who they are and what *ethos* they convey.

3.2 Dignity: The Ethical Foundation of Photography

A researcher working on examining the lives of poor people in Chennai observes someone dirty and in rags, lying on a pedestrian refuge used by people crossing the street. This person appeared to be poor and homeless and was surrounded by a noisy tumult of autorickshaws, cars and people passing by. This scene could provide the researcher with a valuable, contextual photograph about the raw disparities of wealth in Chennai. Should this scene be recorded by a photograph? In this case it was not. The person photographed would have clearly not been portrayed in a dignifying manner. Even if consent could have been obtained for this image, it would not have helped create an awareness of wealth disparities in Chennai and perhaps even sensationalised it as this was not a normal occurrence. This encounter between researcher and researched required consideration of dignity not merely as a foundation, but also as a source of inspiration, perhaps similar to Lawrence-Lightfoot's (1983) search for goodness. In an interview, renowned photographer Steve McCurry, famous for one of the most recognised photographs in history, titled *'Afghan Girl'*, said:

> I'm inspired by dignity, by human kindness, by people literally living in the gutter who will smile at you with no expectation. That can be New York or New Delhi. I'm not interested in discovering a new tribe – I just observe. The only thing that would worry me is if someone thought I was disrespectful. That, I'd look into. (Iqbal, 2010, p. 1).

Although the dignity of research participants has been considered in other research studies, the concept itself has not been the subject of close practical attention in research photography and conceptual theorisation. An all-inclusive definition of dignity is difficult to compose (Mehnert, Schroeder, Puhlmann, Muellerliele, & Koch, 2006). Perhaps the most sensible description of dignity is something that is inherent to every individual, a *Wesensmerkmal* (Being), independent of a person's character attributes, intellectual capacity, occupation, traits, skills, as well as their social status. With this in mind, the issue of dignity can be seen to be present in the use of photographic research from early examples through to the present. More recently, the protection of dignity has been paid particular attention to, for example, in general medical/social research (Berle, 2008; Clark et al., 2010; Creighton, Alderson, Brown, & Minto, 2002; Jones, 1994; Supe, 2003), and in research focussing on people with intellectual disabilities (Boxall & Ralph, 2009) and children (Close, 2007). With regards to dignity in photo-research, photography is a subjective process with a significant moral dimension in which

feelings and emotions are important factors in that the camera is a tool that has potential to be lenient and cruel depending on the motives and techniques of the photographer (Sontag, 1977). The research photographer has to listen 'to feelings, to gut reaction in the face of photographs' (Parsons, 2009, p. 290). When we used photography as a method to collect research data in Chennai, we asked ourselves about how we as investigators are able to determine what images to capture to convey accurate and authentic accounts of complex social relationships encountered in widely diverse field situations, and how a research participant's dignity can be protected.

One way is through the application of 'ethics-in-context' in which it is accepted that ethics cannot be exported from one cultural context to another (Riessman, 2005). Based on this idea, we argued for the concept of *dignity in context* for research photography (see Langmann & Pick, 2014). For example, dignity in one culture could be considered an indignity in another and therefore the researcher must be sensitive to the cultural norms of the communities being researched (Lickiss, 2007). That is not to say that certain cultural practices in which one group of people are treated with less dignity than another should be adopted by a researcher simply because it is a cultural norm. In a practical photo-research context, applying dignity in context means being sensitive to the relativistic nature of social and cultural norms and entering into dialogue with research participants underpinned by a set of clear research ethical principles that protect their dignity. These principles of dignity in context have two dimensions.

The first principle is dignity in outcome, referring to the need for those being researched to benefit from the research, to present an authentic view of the situation and to ensure that the research does not demean or reduce the person it involves. This assists in deciding who/what to photograph. For example, when researching communities afflicted by poverty, making sure researchers do not demean or reduce the people they are researching is important (i.e. do no harm to them). This is important in both the data collection stage and the interpretation/presentation stage.

The second is dignity in process that helps to decide how/when to photograph. Photographing people in their social environment is taking something from them they cannot defend. This forces researchers to consider how to involve research participants in the way images are captured, for example, choosing the right angle for an image, the right time to capture an image and the impression it will give if and when it is published. This concept is underlined by a contextual understanding in which the physical and emotional understanding and the overall sensitivity are described when the researcher approaches the subject and chooses the frames. This can be encapsulated by the German word *Verstaendnis* (discussed in detail in Chap. 4). The concepts of dignity in outcome and dignity in process are illustrated by the example below.

The photograph, titled *'Healing Touch'* (Fig. 3.1), was taken during our research in India, in which a doctor was accompanied in their work as they provided free treatment for people in rural areas of Tamil Nadu. In the rural areas of Tamil Nadu and other Indian states especially, many people face multiple health problems resulting from overwork in harsh conditions. Women often carry responsibilities for

Fig. 3.1 'Healing Touch' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

securing the household income, taking care of the home and caring for children. Due to these stresses being placed on them, women often do not seek medical advice and treatment. We observed more women than men seeking treatment at health centres, as they trusted the doctor. The challenge was to accurately reflect this situation through photographic images. Using an interplay of light and shadow (see Sect. 3.11), it was possible to meet this challenge as illustrated in the above image. The patient's identity is protected, yet a few lit details shed light not only onto the woman herself but also towards people in general who are coming and seeking treatment. The health camps were always set up in rural areas, as healthcare access remains a problem especially there. Despite the doctor treating around eighty patients in one day, each person is given individual care and attention, which is reflected in the doctor's face in the photograph.

3.3 Power Relationships

Photography is inseparable to power. Photography is a practice of power (Prins, 2010). Discussing power dynamics in research photography is important, because 'power' and 'photography' as social processes complement and constrain each other in intricate ways. Power and photography enjoy a constitutive relationship in which a photograph is closely linked to the possessing individual and a photograph being a product of power relationships. The act of photography itself has therefore

always been categorised as a social act involving power relations to a greater or lesser extent (Edwards, 2015).

One way of understanding of 'power' is to use Foucault's (2001) theorisations of power as a form of social control (Gallagher, 2008). Power as social control applies itself in daily life, categorising individuals, imposing a rule of law or truth in them, making individuals subjects (Foucault, 2001). *Subjects* for Foucault (2001), to another person by control or dependence, are tied to this identity by conscience or self-knowledge. Foucault (2001, p. 220) says that:

> In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise on the present or the future.

Power here is not understood as a forced action, but instead, a manifestation of conscious or subconscious conformation by people to imposed societal norms. These norms or 'microphysics of power' exist through all levels of social life, localised in social relations in the encounters of giver and receiver (Foucault, 1977); including the photographer and the participant, the researcher and the researched. Both conscious and subconscious conformation, coupled with possible dependencies and different socio-economic statuses can create an unequal power relationship between researcher and participant in a research. Rodriguez (1998) argues that the relationship between researcher and social scientist is *inherently* one of unequal power. Resultantly, power imbalances between researcher and participants raise complex ethical issues (Pittaway, Bartolomei, & Hugman, 2010) and research photography with an inherited and unavoidable practice of power, an act of recording and owning, needs to pay careful attention to these ethical imbalances.

Power relationships and photography are a twofold argument. On the one hand, photography enables people to *challenge* a historically dominant 'inspecting gaze', an interiorising gaze by which the researcher becomes his or her own observer, which so far defined what researchers constituted knowledge (Chambers, 1997). Researchers have the power to discover and uncover knowledge which was on the one hand inaccessible, and on the other hand if accessed, not deemed valid as it did not adhere mainstream scientific discourse (Foucault, 1980). Photography as a research method and its visual nature has representative powers, producing a different 'knowledge', which is able to influence policies, program designs and others (Prins, 2010). This power attribute of photography can be described as a *power-to* attribute, often described as 'presence' in photographs. Edward's (2015) states that presence is embedded in photographs, from its inception of chemistry or bytes, tracing a standpoint, a lived experience in time of an individual, positive or negative, happy or terrifying; their presence disclosed to the world, giving its photograph power and symbolic significance. As such, photography as a research method becomes a power *to* sociability and *to* affect fieldwork.

On the other hand, power relationships in photography also have contradictory potential in that unequal power dynamics in photo-research can negatively affect the data collection process. Intentional or unintentional visual exploitation by researchers can lead to resistance and refusal by participants to have their

photograph taken in the field, or refusing the researcher to use the photographs in subsequent publications. This power attribute of photography can be described as a *power-over* attribute. Power-over can best be understood by applying Foucault's (1977) idea that the camera is a tool of surveillance. It is susceptible to breed distrust and place researcher participants under an inspecting gaze, its weight interiorised by participants 'to the point in that he is his own observer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against himself' (Foucault, 1980, p. 155). Participants with past experiences of surveillance or betrayal may resultantly perceive photography by the researcher as that of structural and social control (Prins, 2010). The power-to and power-over attributes of the camera are not mutually exclusive and research photographer can easily carry one over into the other or exhibit behaviours of both powers.

3.4 Photo-Research with Vulnerable Groups

> Research with vulnerable groups should empower all participants involved, even if the process of getting there is difficult and perhaps uncomfortable. (Steel, 2003)

Ethical complexities in research with vulnerable groups have been discussed in different contexts in great lengths in academic literature (see Aldridge, 2012, 2014; Hannes & Parylo, 2014; Hugman, Pittaway, & Bartolomei 2011; Jacobsen & Landau, 2003; Sime, 2008; Steel, 2003). Research photography involving vulnerable groups, for example refugees, forced migrants and other marginalised communities, highlights the need for a separate ethical understanding of these. Finch's (1984, p. 80) recalls from one of her studies, in which she interviewed women who revealed private and intimate information, that 'I have emerged from interviews with the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me'. The capacity to harm, intentional or unintentional, is ever present in any research, especially so in photography, which is open to different means by researchers and interpretations by viewers, and researchers working with vulnerable groups must constantly recognise those capacities during their research.

Researchers may face complex ethical challenges by a combination of vulnerabilities experienced by participants and by researchers in that the ends may justify the means and/or creating ethical lapses (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). A research study itself has the potential to place these communities at risk of exploitation and harmful research practices, no matter how unintentional those might be (Hugman et al., 2011). Aldridge (2014) argues that any research with vulnerable groups creates inevitable ethical dilemmas. Vulnerability itself adds an additional dimension to the ethical research debate, as the 'the p-word', standing for 'poverty' and 'poor', can often be experienced as a stigma and factor of social exclusion (Sime, 2008), which in turn in the research process can exacerbate the disempowerment of

participants (Aldridge, 2014). Photography in its nature is inherently exploitative (Adler, 1996; Sontag, 1977), and when working with vulnerable people, it is crucial to be aware that people can perceive photography in a variety of ways (Thallon, 2004). Photographers need to be aware of these issues and be proactive in addressing them and choose appropriate 'photographic methods [that] can help challenge fixed perceptions and assumptions' (Aldridge, 2014, p. 50).

3.5 Being 'Vulnerable'

Vulnerability remains an elusive term, creating different meanings among people and varying according to the context in which the term is used (Aldridge, 2014; Larkin & Cooper, 2009). For example, vulnerability in health and social research implies susceptibility of participants to harm and risk, as well as positions of need, placing 'vulnerability' in relation to their self-care and capacities in the conduct of their affairs (Aldridge, 2014). Moore and Miller (1999) argue that vulnerability is an inherent lack of ability to make personal life choices, to be independent, to be self-determined. Larkin and Cooper (2009) draw important conceptual distinctions in vulnerabilities due to *circumstance* or *environment* and being vulnerable due to structural circumstances and influences.

Nevertheless, individuals, who are classified by researchers as 'vulnerable', might not describe themselves as such (Aldridge, 2014; Steel, 2003), which, by adopting generalising and overarching understandings in research processes, risks exclusion of those individuals or groups (Hurdley, 2010). Steel (2005) cautions us in that the reasons for peoples' vulnerabilities are not always overt. Photography can bring us closer to understanding this fragility and mortality of human life (Butler, 2005), by unveiling the personal to the visual, and by developing reciprocal relationships *with*, instead of *on* participants (Aldridge, 2012).

3.6 Vulnerability in Research Photography—Contradictions of Representation

In research photography, vulnerability presents an interesting representative contradiction—a direct and truthful opposition between two bodies of opinions, able to reinforce or destabilise vulnerability. On the one hand, the nature of photography has a strong fundamental disposition to vulnerability. The described 'predatory process' by Susan Sontag, in which people become symbolically possessed, adds a strong compound to this. In his work *Camera Lucida*, Barthes (1981) even speaks of the *insistence* of photography on human vulnerability. The nature of photography as a process and method is that a photograph is always *taken from* someone, *by* someone. Photographing people in their social environment is taking something

from them, which they cannot actively defend, nor actively can give. Research participants will always involuntarily relinquish a degree of authority to the photographer who captures their image, irrespective of the participant having given consent or being able to review the photograph afterwards. With informed consent and control over the publication of the image, this vulnerability is greatly reduced, yet part of the vulnerability through relinquishing something will always remain. For example, Adler (1996) in his essay *Photography on Trial* argues that Sally Mann's artistic work exploits this photographic quality by taking advantage of her children's sexuality for her own work. In some of Mann's pictures, her children appear injured and battered, and despite Sally Mann's photographs enjoying artistic admiration, some critics do pity her 'helpless, abused children' (Adler, 1996, p. 145). Adler (1996) argues that Mann's possible exploitation of her children reveals the inherent side of betrayal and violence in photography, as well as the medium's 'heightened sense of the real', promoting the viewers to see the issue itself, instead of the picture.

On the other hand, a contradiction of this vulnerability is that while photography is inherently able to undermine authority and empowerment, 'it could also produce [such] achievements on a grand scale' (Schwarzschild, 1996, p. 56). Numerous studies have reported the use of photographs among vulnerable participants as a success in both depth of visual data collected and equalising research relationships (Aldridge, 2012). Tewksbury and Gagne (1997) emphasise a strong, positive rapport with informants when addressing sensitive topics or working with a stigmatised population. A study by Sempik, Aldridge and Becker (2005) exemplifies this notion, in which the authors utilised participatory photography methods and focused on the social inclusion of participants, resultantly creating both richness and depth in the photographs collected, as well as positive outcomes for the participants themselves. Photography as a method has this potential to bridge gaps between researcher and researchers and provide a strong aid in developing reciprocal relationships and challenge perceptions and assumptions held either by researchers or vulnerable groups (Aldridge, 2012).

Any photo-research with vulnerable groups should empower *all* participants involved, despite this being a difficult and perhaps uncomfortable process (Steel, 2003). Empowerment is a *shared* attribute in photo-research between the photographer and the subject. Within any qualitative research process, Davison (2004) argues that all participants involved may experience vulnerability and conflicting emotions in the process. This quality of empathy and understanding can be distressing and hurtful, yet without that emotional resonance between researcher and researched, an analysis would be incomplete and fractured (Davison, 2004). Demonstrating interest in the lives of people being researched and respect for their dignity and vulnerability can minimise both the researcher's and participant's vulnerabilities and anxieties towards this research. Emotional reflexivity in the data collection process can ensure rigour and quality data results, while constantly being able to address ethical issues on the way. We believe that this is what Butler (2002, p. 243) describes as *empowerment*, 'in which respect for people's moral agency and beneficence is combined'. It will shape a photographic research approach that is

founded on negotiation and understanding between the researcher and the researched. This interplay transcends predetermined principles of vulnerability, with 'resolutions [emerging] from the situated and contextualized practices within which research happens' (Clark, 2013, p. 69).

3.7 Consent in Photographic Research

One of the most important ethical issues when researching humans is gaining informed consent. This does not imply that gaining informed consent is a burden or hurdle for research photographers to overcome, rather, that for the research photographer, the process of *informed consent* is in a constant state of flux. This means that there are numerous understandings, avenues and approaches that require careful consideration (Bhattacharya, 2007). The research itself could have its own contradictions and tensions, such as the researcher-researched relationship, a very unstructured or unplanned mode of inquiry, as well as the shaky meaning of 'consent' in the field of research (Bhattacharya, 2007).

Taking photographs without consent of participants can be interpreted as outsider arrogance (Spencer, 2010), which ethically distorts the research being undertaken as it unequalises the power relationship between the researcher and those who are being photographed. Ethical issues with consent arise when consent is circumvented or violated (Kimmel, 1988). Furthermore, technological advances and research with digital images, which can appear in public domains through the internet, have added an additional dimension to 'informed consent' and are therefore overall indeed in need of revision (Boxall & Ralph, 2009). The concept of informed consent therefore has attained new meaning and scope, and researchers must constantly constitute and renegotiate this meaning in research photography.

3.7.1 Informed Consent

Informed consent in academic literature and research practice is considered a central ethical norm to oversee the relationship between the researcher and the participant (Fitzgerald, Marotte, Verdier, Johnson, & Pape, 2002; Joffe, Cook, Cleary, Clark, & Weeks, 2001; Kimmel, 1988). In social and visual research, informed consent procedures are often less readily available, due to difficulties of ascertaining risk to participants and the extent to which participants are truly informed (Kimmel, 1988). This is particularly important as photographs alone provide only partial understandings of both meaning and experiences recorded. Photographs require further elicitation or discussion with others (Banks, 2008) and additional analysis and interpretation by the researcher. Additional informed consent difficulties lie within the reproduction of images and their presentation to different audiences in different

contexts (Pink, 2012). Photographs, which are intended to be non-issue in nature, can become issue-based when presented to the viewer (Thallon, 2004).

Lie and Witteveen (2017, p. 1) argue that methods of consent have also been less established in social science research and are often addressed as 'principles of good academic practice'. Despite the strong presence of consent in academic ethics literature and inclusion in many institutional codes of research ethics and guidelines (see Appendix 3.1, Table 3.1), the concept of *informed consent* in social research can be challenging, as it might not always be clear what a participant is consenting to, and more important, what participation in this project entails (Lie & Witteveen, 2017; Sin, 2005; Wiles et al., 2008). Becker (1988) summarises the problem of informed consent as one that unless the participant knows as much about the process of photography and the research process, he or she is never *truly informed*. Prosser (2000) argues that seldom will research participants be fully aware and informed of the intentions by the researcher. Therefore, an essential part of obtaining informed consent is the awareness of participant's rights to refuse to partake in a study, understanding the procedures and the extent to which confidentiality and anonymity (or recognition) will be maintained, and their right to renegotiate the terms of consent at any stage in the research process (Corti et al., 2000). Furthermore, the meaning of consent can vary across cultures and the significance of photographs can further vary across societal and cultural contexts (Pink, 2006). In other words, images can have different meaning and emphases in different contexts and 'yes' can have different meaning and inclinations. Studies in different cultural settings therefore require prior negotiated understanding of informed consent and its purpose (Fluehr-Lobban, 1994).

3.7.2 Written Consent

Written consent is an agreement, often via a form that participants sign to ensure validity of consent in a research process (Benitez, Devaux, & Dausset, 2002). A key advantage of signed consent forms is that they entail information to what the participant is consenting to in the data collection process and also address issues of confidentiality and anonymity (Wiles et al., 2008). Written acknowledgement of participation has remained the ethical standard when working with minors (Allen, 2002). Signed consent forms further protect the researcher from future potential participation disputes (Coomber, 2002). However, in research projects in countries with high illiteracy rates, written informed consent procedures may prove problematic, as participants may neither understand the written information, nor can verification of their understanding to the project be obtained (Fitzgerald et al., 2002). Furthermore, signed forms can be regarded as insensitive and show indifference by the researcher and ignores the participants' emic perspectives (Lie & Witteveen, 2017).

3.7.3 *Audio/Visual Consent*

Audio and visual consent are avenues that researchers can employ in their studies when written consent is not possible or inappropriate. For instance, Benitez et al. (2002) recognised issues with written consent in their study of the Guarani Indians and developed an audio/visual process of oral consent (ADOC), consisting of written steps, oral steps and photography to obtaining informed consent. Information documents were written out in both English and Spanish, and were translated into Guarani by an official translator. That information was read aloud to potential participants and questions by the audience were encouraged and answered. The participants, who stepped forward to signal their participation, gave oral consent, which was recorded in writing, audio and visually. When possible, participants signed a consent form or by fingerprint. The authors believed that this model did not only ensure full consent by participants but also allowed people to exercise their freedoms to deny participation by not stepping forward, which recognises Guarani social norms and customs, in which explicit refusal has no part.

3.8 Consent at Collection and Consent at Re-Contact—an Approach to Informed Consent in Photo-Research

Research photographs in relation to informed consent raise an important ethical issue (Boxall & Ralph, 2009), as photography mediates between 'viewer and viewed by authorizing staring' (Garland-Thomson, 2001, p. 348; see also Palmer, 2011). Additionally, consent is not necessarily confined to the data collection process alone (Wiles et al., 2008). The social sciences have witnessed shifts towards increasingly creative methodologies. Cox et al. (2014) have called for a reconceptualisation of informed consent as a fluid and continuously renegotiated mechanism with research participants. Therefore, researchers might find it appropriate to obtain consent by participants at different stages in the research process, namely before the data is collected and after interpretation or analysis of their photographs for presentation and publication.

We want to introduce a concept of obtaining informed consent via a two-step approach of *Consent at Collection* and *Consent at Re-Contact*. This approach to informed consent is in line with Miller and Bell's (2002) arguments that ethics in research is an *ongoing* process and ethical considerations can arise before, during and after the research. Our main proposition is that a two-step consent framework considers consent as ongoing and as a relationship with a participant and is able to accommodate to unforeseen ethical considerations, especially after the data collection phase when a research is complete. Pink (2012) argues that obtaining subsequent permission from research participants can be a challenging managerial task. Our framework offers different avenues for researchers to obtain subsequent consent, as in this way, the participants will be truly informed of both the purpose

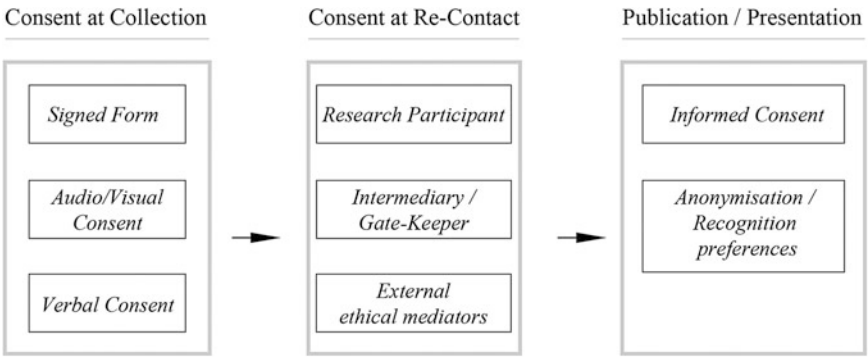

Fig. 3.2 Informed Consent Framework

and context in which their image is being used. Figure 3.2 summarises the Informed Consent Framework.

Consent at collection is the first consent stage, in which research photographers can choose from a variety of methods to obtain consent from ideally the participant or an authorised person to speak on their behalf at the point of data collection. Signed forms and audio/visual consent are suitable consent verification methods, however, we also want to add verbal consent as a viable method. Coomber (2002) argues that in some cases, a Research Ethics Council (REC) may need to trust and accept the researcher's word that verbal consent had been obtained. In some cases, even recording verbal consent can compromise principles of anonymity and confidentiality (Coomber, 2002). The key in this step is that in research involving photographs, informed consent can develop in a natural way and researchers should let the situation decide which consent method at this stage is most advantageous to a mutually beneficial data collection process. Building trust and rapport between researcher and participant is often the most vital motivator to agreeing to participate in a study (Lie & Witteveen, 2017).

The *consent at re-contact* stage forms the subsequent consent stage in our framework, in which the researcher is able to obtain consent for the collected photographs and for its interpretations and uses in publications and/or presentations. Depending on the accessibility or inaccessibility of participants after a study, we propose three avenues to obtain this consent at re-contact. The methods for obtaining consent remain the same. First, the most preferred avenue is to re-contact the research participant(s) of whom the picture(s) were taken and present both the image and context it will be used in. This way, participants have an opportunity to understand, agree on, withdraw from or refine the context and meaning in which the researcher is presenting their image.

Second, re-contacting direct intermediaries or 'gate-keepers' provides another avenue for researchers to present their interpretations and photo uses and obtaining consent for it. This approach is useful when the study focuses on people or groups who are in vulnerable positions or lack the capability to understand their

participation and can therefore not provide informed consent for themselves (Wiles et al., 2008). An intermediary, who has the best interest for the participant in mind, can make an informed choice about whether the photographs and their contexts benefit or authentically represent the participants. Alternatively, the intermediaries or gatekeepers have the power to stop the process if they feel that either the photograph or their representation is exploitative or misrepresenting.

Third, re-contacting other ethical mediators, with whom participants are in frequent contact with, or who are knowledgeable about the research participants, provides an avenue for consent for researchers. Researchers can fall back to this option, if participants are either not accessible anymore or cannot be located and when the photographs form a vital part of their studies or work. Despite extended ethical mediators not being a direct authority or having any sort of decision-making power for and in the name of participants, they can provide useful feedback, whether a participant *would* consent to their image and in which context it is presented, giving the researcher some insight to whether to use the image or not.

The two steps of consent at collection and at re-contact can have positive implications for the research process and lead to positive outcomes in *publications and presentations*. We argue here that a combination two stages to consent provides an overall stronger mechanism of informed consent for both researcher and researched than a singular mechanism at the time of data collection. Both the researcher and the participants have an opportunity to review the photographs and their interpretations in two separate consent stages which further might provide valuable information and feedback to the researcher how participants wish their images to be seen, refining their interpretation and presentation. The presentation and publication intentions of the images might be unclear to research participants and even the researcher at the time of data collection. In addition, this two-step approach also allows participants to choose and consent to their anonymisation preferences after the data has been interpreted. This allows both for ethical guidelines of anonymity and 'ethics of recognition' (see Sect. 3.10), providing an avenue for participants to choose to have their profile hidden or revealed for the final research publication or presentation, giving informed consent to either.

3.9 Anonymity in Research Photography

It is empirical to good ethical research photography to consider and respect the anonymity and wishes for privacy of participants. In research photography, this is a particularly a complex and debated topic, as photography is capable of creating 'highly detailed and intimate portraits of individuals …, which can be shared instantaneously and globally via the internet, often beyond the control of the researcher' (Cox et al., 2014, p. 9). Anonymity remains a key ethical challenge for visual research and researchers (Wiles, Coffey, Robinson, & Health, 2012) and a general agreement has emerged that anonymity in social research, especially in moving and still photography, is an impossible endeavour (Banks, 2001; Clark,

2006; Cox et al., 2014; Grinyer, 2002; Pauwels, 2008; Wiles et al., 2012a; Wiles, Coffey, Robinson, & Prosser, 2012b). The difficulty in assuring anonymisation sits at odds with most ethics review panels (Clark, 2013) and the management of anonymity might make or break a researcher's application for ethics approval (Wiles et al., 2012a, b).

We distinguish between anonymity and confidentiality, terms often used in tandem in a research process. Anonymity is the process of non-disclosure of *identity*, for example that of a research participant, or the author of an opinion piece (Clark, 2006). Confidentiality on the other hand is the non-disclosure of *information or opinions* to other parties, which were collected in the research process (Clark, 2006). While not denying the link between anonymity and confidentiality, our discussion will focus on anonymity.

3.9.1 Anonymising Research Participants

Anonymising participants in research photography appears to be a taken-for-granted ethical necessity, as a range of legal, ethical and governmental ethical pressures stipulate this before any research can proceed (Allen, 2015; Grinyer, 2002; Mertens & Ginsberg, 2009; Wiles et al., 2012a, b). Anonymisation is one approach to which researchers minimise harm to participants by preventing undesired consequences for involved research subjects (Pauwels, 2008). This is especially important when either sensitive, illegal or confidential topics are researched and data are shared (Clark, 2006). It can cause harm in different unforeseen ways, for example subsequent emotional harm by reliving events, unexpected confrontations of feelings by participants, possible later regrets of sharing personal information initially and the feeling of exposure and vulnerability to criticism of outside observers (Cox et al., 2014). Despite the strong ethical call of anonymising research participants, the process presents practical difficulties (Clark, 2006) and various techniques have emerged to anonymise participants in photographs.

3.10 Anonymisation Techniques

A number of practical approaches to protect the anonymity of research involve the manipulation of taken photographs to protect the anonymity of research participants (Pauwels, 2008). Popular manipulation approaches to anonymising subjects are techniques like blurring or pixilation of faces, cropping faces out of photographs, or applying blackout bars to faces (Allen, 2015; Clark et al., 2010). Another viable approach is to photograph the hands of participants or participants with their backs turned to the camera to conceal their identity. We will discuss these next and outline their advantages and disadvantages. It is to note here that the following

anonymisation processes are achieved only post-production of the photograph. This can cause a substantial amount of post-processing time for the researcher.

3.10.1 Pixilation, Blurring and Face Bars

Pixilation obscures the identities of participants by displaying parts of the photograph or the whole photograph at a considerably lower resolution, most often the areas displaying the face. Blurring involves a similar method to pixelating to hide certain elements within a photograph, however, done so by simulating the viewing of the image or parts of it through a translucent screen, instead of a lower resolution. We can still recognise a face, however, cannot truly identify the person being depicted.

The advantage of these techniques is that the image in its composition remains unaltered and no surrounding details or information is lost. For example, cropping a person's face out of a photo can involuntarily remove surrounding photo details important for the photograph's intended meaning or interpretation. Pixelating, blurring and face bars to surrounding bystanders in photographs also avoid collecting consent forms for publication.

Anonymising and obscuring people's identity with these techniques can cause a number of issues for both social researchers and participants. Blurring, pixilation and face bars risk participants being associated with and stigmatised to any predisposition of crime or being a victim of crime (Banks, 2001). As these techniques have been used in popular press and media primarily as a censorship tool, photo-researchers run the same danger of 'censoring' their research participants. For social researchers, although blurring pixilation, and face bars do not alter the image, *some* detail, most importantly the person's facial expression, becomes lost, undermining the purpose of collecting some photographs (Wiles et al., 2008). One can go as far and argue that the absence of people's faces and the association with crime provides an all too easy avenue to not treat the participants with respect and dignity. The integrity of the photograph as *data* also becomes questionable, as the presented result had been altered and it becomes unclear, which parts of the photo remained unaltered.

3.10.2 Cropping Images

Cropping refers to the removal of outer, mostly unwanted parts of an image, often to improve its framing, accentuating its subject matter or in this context, to remove information which reveals identities of subjects. Once an image is cropped, it is not possible to reverse the process and without the original image. The information is lost permanently.

The advantage, which cropping techniques have over blurring, pixilation and face bars, is that the remaining information in the photograph remains unaltered and every detail remains visible. This is particularly useful when the research emphasis is not on the participants per se, but their surrounding environments. It further provides opportunity to improve the overall composition of the photograph, removing distracting elements, and leading the viewer's eye towards important details relevant for the study. The de-humanising argument of anonymisation techniques overall remains a concern, however, cropping allows for such in a more aesthetic and artistic manner. Cropping can also be useful for presentation and publication purposes, as it allows a photograph to be shaped to different aspect ratios, which might be required.

The disadvantage of cropping is that researchers might involuntarily lose details and data of the surrounding areas of a photograph, which they are cropping. As cropping is done linearly, any photo information on the same lines with the information to be cropped is lost. Unlike other anonymisation techniques, cropping can only be achieved from outwards an image towards the inside and would be unsuitable if the subject's face for example is in the middle of the photograph.

3.11 The Ethical Dilemma of Anonymisation and the Ethics of Recognition

> The acknowledgement of the other as a person and not a thing is a precondition for any good ethical engagement (Sweetman, 2009, p. 8).

Anonymisation as an ethical requirement by most research and government institutions presents an interesting problem. Ethical guidelines on anonymisation appear to be based on the premise that research participants not only deserve identity protection, but that they actively *desire* it (Grinyer, 2002). However, this might not be the case for all participants that the researcher encounters. A study by Grinyer (2002) with parents of young adults with cancer revealed that all participants preferred their real names in publications, instead of pseudonyms. One participant especially voiced her concerns towards the pseudonym for her son when she saw her words attributed to the name of another. *Gabrielle* (her real name) said that 'even though my words were there, I felt as though I had somehow lost ownership of them and had betrayed Stephen's memory … without our real names I did not feel part of it' (Grinyer, 2002, p. 4). Sweetman (2009) argues that contemporary visual research offers little alternative approaches to anonymity and the possibility of images as a contributions to an *ethics of recognition*, instead ethics of concealment, is not addressed. Indeed, anonymity as an ethical requirement and the lack of recognition can backfire and create an ethical problem, which anonymisation tried to inhibit in the first place. This is the ethical dilemma of anonymisation.

To illustrate this problem practically, we turn to Allen's (2015) project concerned with sexual cultures in schools and post-structural understandings on the idea of schools as sites of sexual meanings and identity. The study used a combination of photo-diaries and photo-elicitation methods to capture the participants' emphases of sexuality, potentially accessing mundane and unofficial sexual meanings, allowing for discussion of issues and elements they identified as most important (Allen, 2015). Allen (2015) argues that in her study, the ethics committee's directive to anonymise participants, as well as the application of anonymisation techniques, was actually *unethical*. This dilemma occurred much later to Allen (2015, p. 302), when a colleague responded to her book chapter 'I saw your chapter in there, it's the one with the boob pictures'. The lack of recognition of participants, especially their faces, created a de-humanisation effect to those participants via a disproportionate emphasis on their bodies and their meaning changing and becoming difficult to control. Allen's (2015) pictures ran danger of becoming fetishised and adopting a different meaning than intended by the photographer. Allen (2015) therefore argues that due to the anonymisation process in her study, which was intended to protect participants, the meaning of her photographs became somewhat undignified, 'reduced to boobs', potentially realising serious ethical problems associated with unintended sexualisation and exploitation of young people.

3.12 Planning Anonymisation and Planning Identity

The different methods of anonymisation, its contradictions and potential pitfalls call for a different perspective on anonymisation. We propose applying a planned, purposeful approach and present alternative artistic techniques to anonymise participants without de-humanising them or accidentally changing the emphasis or meaning of a photograph. As a fundamental concept, we encourage research photographers to *plan anonymisation* prior to entering the field and taking photographs and continuing to consider this at the time when photographs are taken. A favoured approach by social researchers is to present images in their unaltered entirety, and planning in which way participants are going to be anonymised beforehand can aid in minimising the loss of potential data in the post-processing stage of the study.

3.12.1 Planning Anonymisation

Planning anonymisation means that researchers must be clear on the issues they want to photograph. For example, some studies or insights might not need identifying features of the participants in particular photos, in which the surrounding

circumstances are more important and understanding that prior to the research can help the researcher photography in ways, in which the subject's identity is not present when the photo is taken. This can be done either by photographing the person without identifying features, mostly their faces, composing the photograph in a way that participants have their backs turned, a clever artistic interplay of surrounding light and shadow, or via the camera settings themselves.

For example, Ian Flanders in his project *By the River,* in which he documents the struggles of sex workers in Phnom Penh to draw attention to the sex slave industry in Cambodia, has used a skilful application of light and shadow to anonymise the women he photographed. In one of his photographs, titled *'Untitled'* (Fig. 3.3), the woman and her surroundings are clearly visible, yet Flanders' emphasis of shining light on her surroundings, and his emphasis of shadows on her face effectively anonymises her, without removing the personality and bestowing character of the woman. There is no disproportionate emphasis between the woman and her surroundings, yet one can argue here that this light and shadow approach to anonymisation in the photograph makes the image much stronger, as the focus is on the woman's situation, to which she presents both a real and symbolic character.

In a separate example, street photographer Diego Bardone has actively questioned the often legal restrictions associated with photography and their implications for candid street photography. Despite those restrictions, his pictures and creative approach to anonymisation present a marriage of unrecognisable, faceless people, which nevertheless have a presence and an identity. In the first photograph,

Fig. 3.3 'Untitled' © Ian Flanders (Reproduced with Permission)

Fig. 3.4 'Time goes slow'. © Diego Bardone (reproduced with permission)

titled *'Time goes slow'* (Fig. 3.4), the identity of the person is concealed by the umbrella, yet the posture and body language create a certain presence in tandem with the person's surrounding environment. Bardone further did not have to fall back to post-processing anonymisation techniques to conceal the subject's identity, leaving the image and composition intact, and preventing loss of valuable image details.

In the second photograph, titled *'Frecciarossa'* (Fig. 3.5), Bardone uses motion blur to conceal the running man's identity. This technique presents a creative way to anonymise the subject and creates movement. This effect is achieved by reducing the shutter speed of the camera via its shutter control setting. Even without facial identity of the man in the picture, the man's body language and the motion blur in the photograph create a presence of hurry. His suit indicates a business profession and it appears he is running to catch a train, which fills the background.

Research photographers could emulate the creative approaches used by both Ian Flanders and Diego Bardone; by finding avenues to hide the participants' faces or identifying features within compositions, by utilising strong sunlight to create a contrast, or by deliberately long shutter speeds and camera movement to create motion blur in the image. This is especially possible, when researchers have opportunity or time to compose the scene or composition, which is very likely, once trust and rapport has been established with participants.

Fig. 3.5 'Frecciarossa' (red arrow). © Diego Bardone (reproduced with permission)

3.12.1.1 Planning Identity

In tandem with planning anonymisation, we want to propose *planning identity*, which is based on Sweetman (2009) ethics of recognition. Planning identity considers research participants, who might want to be actively featured in the researcher's study and we encourage researchers to ask participants, whether they want their identities to be revealed or not. If participants actively choose to reveal their identity, the researchers can underline this with a consent form or audio/visual consent at either the data collection stage, or at a potential re-contacting stage. We encourage researchers to think about those approaches and processes before entering the field. The careful planning of both concealing and revealing identities does not only show respect to the identities of participants, however, can also be a convincing point for any ethics panel to approve a researcher's endeavour.

3.12.2 Intervention in Photo-Research

Photography can become a very abstract and distanced approach of interacting with one's surrounding world. Research photography, despite its strong involvement with participants, is no exception to this. Harley (2012) argues that the camera, however momentarily, creates a distance between the photographer and the

participant. Susan Sontag's arguments in *On Photography* speak of photography as an act of non-intervention, with the camera acting like a social and political shield, and that 'the person who intervenes cannot record; the person who is recording cannot intervene' (Sontag, 1977, p. 12).

However, Kevin Carter's iconic photograph, titled *'Girl and Vulture'*, of a cowering young Sudanese girl, naked and starving, being closely watched by a sitting vulture in the background, questioned the gap between the still photograph, and the active practice of photography, between the printed image and the photographic event (Geurts, 2015). Carter's photograph was first published in the *New York Times* for an article on a deadly famine in Sudan. Instead of the viewers forming an emotional connection to the photographed subject, their attention focused on the only thing not visible in the photograph: the photographer (Geurts, 2015). Many readers inquired whether Carter had helped the suffering girl. When revealed that Carter had not helped the little girl, he was broadly criticised by the media for (a) not helping the child, and (b) for prolonging her suffering in order to take the photograph (Geurts, 2015). When the image won the Pulitzer Prize in 1994, public reaction overall remained the same. One journalist criticised Carter to be no different than a predator, the same as the vulture depicted in his photograph (Stamets, 1994). Kevin Carter tragically committed suicide in the same year.

It is not our intention here to condemn or support the actions and inactions of Kevin Carter, however, to bring the debate of intervention into a research photography context and discuss whether researchers are mere observers or active participants in the process—and whether intervention can be expected of them. Pittaway et al. (2010) in their studies with refugees and IDPs argue that a lack of action by a researcher can result in harm or death to participants. In one of their earlier field studies, Pittaway et al. (2010) recall how they intervened in the case of a sexually abused 9-year-old girl, who did not receive adequate treatment or support.

Both Kevin Carter's and Pittaway and Bartolomei's juxtapositional cases of intervention raise the question of the *ethics of intervention* for both theorists and practitioners: 'When should a journalist or documentarian cease to occupy the neutral position of observer to intervene in the lives of his or her subjects?' (Williams, 1997, p. 79).

3.12.3 The Ethics of Intervention

Despite our initial argument of photography being able to foster a certain detached abstract interaction with the surrounding world, we cannot ignore the ethics of intervention of the process, as the 'the production of images (i.e. photographs) exist within wider networks of social behaviour' (Anderson, 2011, p. 5). Marion and Izard (1986) specifically question when journalists (or in our case, researchers) should cast aside their cloak of objectivity and fulfil their function as human beings

within that network of social relations. After their intervention in the case of the 9-year-old girl in 2003, Pittaway et al. (2010) in a later publication conclude that if a human being is in need of treatment or support in a research study, and if a researcher is in a position to respond to such demands, non-intervention for objective research is ethically untenable.

Maizland (2013) in one of her studies recalls her struggles and dilemma to document a Tanzanian Bushmen tribe and the juxtaposition of their wealth and the poverty of the tribe. While she watched and documented the women and children finding their own food while the men quickly ate what little birds and snakes they could find, she asked herself how she could help them. Maizland and her family at that point decided to share some their snacks with the tribe, but upon later reflection, regretted for not having done more (Maizland, 2013). She later concluded that sharing her food with the tribe was an ethical response to the dilemma, as there were no other options of immediate help to the tribe at the time.

Ultimately, the answer to the ethics of intervention for photo-journalists and documentarians may rest on *it depends* (Kim, 2012; Maizland, 2013). Researchers need to be able to read the situation and decide whether the photograph or immediate action will serve a greater purpose to the affected individual or communities. Their response should be built on that assessment. Kevin Carter's choice of taking the photograph of the starving child, despite its public backlash, had led to major financial and non-financial support by many organisations, and 'the photograph itself endures as an indelible symbol of the famine and suffering in the world and as a call to action to the rest of the world' (Witko, 2011, p. 1).

3.12.4 Conclusion

In reflection, the ethical consideration in photography as a social research method pose challenges both to the design and process, and many ethical questions pertaining research photography remain unanswered pose more than one approach. Despite global standards and various RECs (see Appendix 1, Table 3.1) addressing continuous and new ethical challenges in visual studies, which are often *situated* in nature, they cannot always be resolved by simply adhering to predetermined codes or universalistic principles (Pink, 2012). Nevertheless, before embarking on studies involving photography, researchers should consult their associated institutions and their ethical guidelines.

Appendix 1

See Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Summary of major RECs and codes of ethics

Research ethics council (REC)	Code of ethics	Country of origin	URL
American sociological association (ASA)	ASA code of ethics	United States	http://www.asanet.org/about/ethics.cfm
British sociological association (BAS)	Statement of ethical practice for the British sociological association	United Kingdom	http://www.britsoc.co.uk/media/27107/StatementofEthicalPractice.pdf
European science foundation—All European Academics (ALLEA)	The European code of conduct for research integrity	European Union	http://www.esf.org/fileadmin/Public_documents/Publications/Code_Conduct_ResearchIntegrity.pdf
International sociological association (ISA)	ISA code of ethics	International	http://www.isa-sociology.org/about/isa_code_of_ethics.htm
International visual sociology association (IVSA)	IVSA code of research ethics and guidelines	International	http://visualsociology.org/about/ethics-and-guidelines.html
National health and medical research council (NHMC)	Australian code for the responsible conduct of research	Australia	http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/r39.pdf
The Australian sociological association (TASA)	TASA ethical guidelines	Australia	https://www.tasa.org.au/about-tasa/ethical-guidelines/
The European charter for researchers	Charter for researchers	European Union	http://ec.europa.eu/euraxess/index.cfm/rights/europeanCharter

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Chapter 4
Research Photography in the Field

4.1 The 'Exposure Triangle' of Photography

The importance of the technical aspect of photography is perhaps best understood by Ketelle's (2010) constant competition with the camera and her struggles with utilising the camera to take good photographs, experiencing an almost panic-like state of mind in the field. So eloquently, the question would pop into her head 'what if I could not remember anything Lucas had taught me?' (Ketelle, 2010, p. 1). Fortunately, digital photography has evolved to high-capacity flash memory and being able to see the captured image on the back of the LCD screen immediately, making photography not only more affordable, but also less daunting (Lowe, 2010). This immediate production of images and the reduced cost factor of using photography is attractive for researchers, who are using photography in their current research, as well as novices who see the potential of photographs as valuable interpretative texts and want to understand the world of others. However, some fundamental operating knowledge in the basics of photography is required. We specifically want to present the 'exposure triangle' as a conceptual tool for research photographers to control their image exposure, which is controlled by three essential camera settings—sensor's light sensitivity (ISO), aperture (F-Stop), and shutter speed.

Exposure is the process of recording light onto the digital sensor of the camera over a specific period of time (Lowe, 2010). The amount of exposure can be adjusted by the photographer to suit different lighting situations to get the right amount of light for correct exposure. 'Correct' exposure is understood as a photograph that is neither too light nor too dark, with visible details in both its highlights and its shadows (Marsh, 2014). A camera's ISO, aperture or *f*/stop and shutter speed can control this exposure for its optimal setting. Those contributing elements have to be understood.

ISO: This camera setting controls the sensitivity to light of the camera's chip or light sensor (Lowe, 2010). The lower the ISO number (e.g. 100 or 200), the less sensitive the chip is to light, and the more light is needed to obtain a good image.

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_4

This is especially useful in cases of strong illumination, for example, during daylight and when the sun is shining. On the other hand, in poor lighting conditions, such as dimly lit rooms or evening settings, a higher ISO setting is required; however, the image could become 'noisy' or 'grainy' (Lowe, 2010), as the sensor would need to compensate for the lack of light. Cameras can be set to adjust the ISO automatically, but can also be set to a fixed value by the photographer.

Aperture or f/stop: The aperture setting is one of the most important camera settings and its controlled use can be tremendously useful for researchers in the framing of an image. Aperture does not only control the amount of light that hits the sensor by the size of the opening of the lens (its exposure value [EV]) but also is a determining factor in the photograph's depth of field (DOF). The aperture is a set of rounded blades near the front end of the lens, which open and close evenly, always forming a circular opening that lets light through. As such, 'aperture' is the physical size of the opening (Marsh, 2014). The size of the opening then is measured in full '*f*-stops', such as *f*/1.4, *f*/2.8, *f*/4, *f*/5.6, *f*/8, *f*/16, *f*/22 and so on. For example, at *f*/1.4, the aperture is open the widest, letting in the most light. At *f*/2.8, the aperture only lets in half the light than that of *f*/1.4. The amount of light entering at a setting of *f*/4 is again halved to that of *f*/2.8, and so on. Modern DSLR cameras, however, are able to further subdivide *f*-stops into increments of thirds between each full *f*-stop. Though three factors affect the DOF, namely the *f*-stop, the choice of lens and the camera-to-subject distance, we can generally argue that the smaller the physical aperture (achieved with higher *f*-stops), the greater the depth of field (Marsh, 2014). Anything outside the DOF becomes increasingly blurry (also known as 'bokeh') and both artists and social researchers have utilised this effect to draw specific points of attention to the fore, yet not taking them out of context of the whole.

Shutter speed: The shutter speed is the time set, which allows the light to reach the sensor inside the camera. Simply speaking, two curtain shutters inside the camera travel across the sensor places; the first shutter revealing the sensor and the second shutter closing it, set by the time that the user wishes the sensor to be revealed (Marsh, 2014). So, for example, an exposure of 1 s will open the shutter for one second and then close it. A faster shutter speed of 1/250 will only reveal the sensor for 1/250th of a second. Although in the past, shutter speeds were in one-'stop' increments—1 s, 1/2 s, 1/4 s, 1/8 s, 1/15 s, 1/30 s, 1/60 s, 1/125 s, 1/250 s, up to 1/8000 s—modern DSLRs finer control and choices of shutter speeds, similar to the choices of *f*-stops in third increments. The faster the shutter speed, the shorter the sensor exposure to light, and the less movement will be recorded, making the picture appear 'sharper'. A longer shutter speed allows more light to hit the sensor and any movement in the composition will appear blurred in the direction it is moving, also known as 'motion blur'. We have discussed motion blur in Chap. 3 as an effective anonymization technique; however, this technique can also be used to create a desirable effect in other research situations, for example, to illustrate crowds or movement, depending on what the study wishes to achieve.

Conceptually, this forms the exposure triangle. Figure 4.1 presents the exposure triangle. The triangle is a suitable representation of the interrelationship between the elements in the exposure triangle, as they interact together and a change in one of

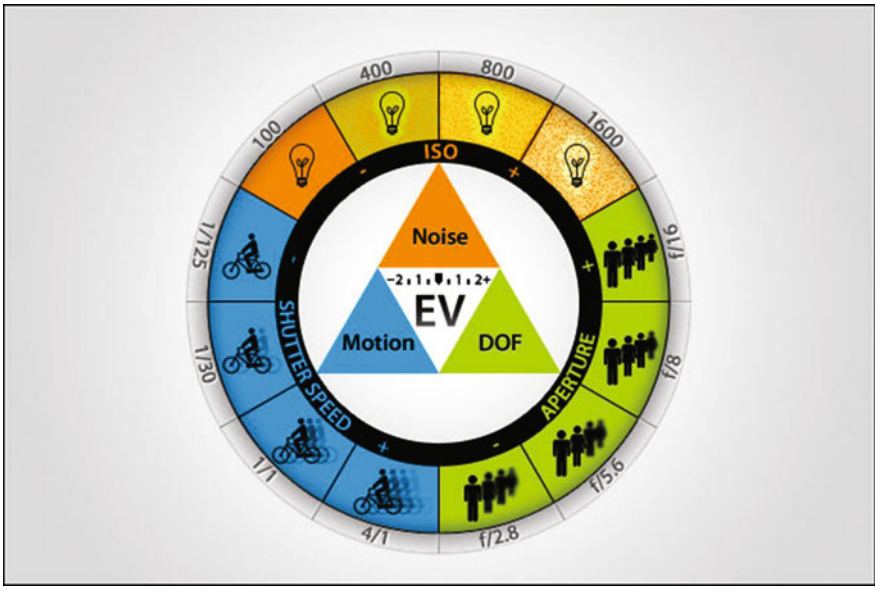

Fig. 4.1 Exposure Triangle by bangdoll CC-BY-SA-2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/bangdoll/8055784454

the settings effectively affecting the values of the other two settings. In this relationship, shutter speed and aperture are the tools that directly affect the photograph in sharpness and DOF with the ISO acting as the 'breathing space' that allows photographers to creatively work with the other two. Therefore, in every situation, there is more than one combination of exposure settings to achieve a 'good' exposure. This takes a little time and practice, however, when properly applied, can be of tremendous help to researchers to focus on their research process and constructive thoughts of composition of photographs, instead of continuously worrying about and battling with the camera settings.

It is probably a good idea for research photographers to keep all their images, even the 'bad' compositions, blurry, grained or out-of-focus photographs. Those images can still hold important data and research value; after all, they are still images of the world and allows to let chance enter the work and the discovery of the unexpected. As clichéd as this might sound, our own research experience with photography has revealed interesting detail in images that were initially seen as mundane, irrelevant or poorly taken (e.g. overexposed or underexposed). We want to illustrate this with a practical example.

4.1.1 Example: Crowded Trains

The following photograph, titled '*Crowded trains*' (Fig. 4.2), at first appears grainy, underexposed and quite mundane. A high ISO and low aperture

compensated for a medium shutter speed to have the image as sharp as possible. One evening in Chennai, India, we were unfortunate to be caught in rush hour and public transportation was utilised to a maximum. The photo is a snapshot of the crowded environment in the train car and was originally taken and kept for personal memories. However, after printing the photograph in a larger scale format, a few, but interesting details, emerged.

The most striking feature of the image is the man standing in the centre, his eyes closed and appearing to be in thought and mentally detached from the tumult around him, in conversation with a fellow passenger. Another man standing in the background is looking directly into the camera. His facial expression does not appear stressed and he also appears to be contemplating, perhaps why we chose to take this image. The rest of the image is too underexposed to capture any striking details, apart from the dim lights and the ceiling fans attempting to blow the hot air out of the train.

The photograph bears an overall reflection of that people have accepted the crowdedness in trains and even find space to reflect or conclude their busy days in it. It appears to be part and parcel of the peoples' daily commute and the underexposed composition overall appears calm. This in turn we believe provides, though, only a glimpse of insights of how people have accepted and adapted to an overpopulation in combination with a slower developing infrastructure, as India experiences with its current population in relation to its railway services.

Fig. 4.2 'Crowded trains' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

4.2 Photographs as a Social Enabler and Research Enabler

In this section, the possibilities of photography as both an effective social enabler and research enabler are examined. Photography as a *social enabler* refers to a methodological tool to enhance and ease access to desired social settings, enabling both a deeper and more authentic understanding to the lives of potential participants. The social enabling aspect of research photography lies in its creation and distribution, which becomes an implicit reflection of social exchange within a society at large, with photography being the language of communication between researcher and participant. Gregory (2014, p. 1) in her article about photo-based social practice asks: 'When does photography become a social engagement act? What are people getting out of this? And what are people putting into it?'.

We argue that photography can be a social engagement act in fieldwork, especially when involving participants and sharing images with them. Sharing of photographs in the field can be either done by showing participants the photo on the back of the LCD screen of the camera, or by providing copies of the photo to the people depicted in the picture. Showing participants the image on the LCD screen has a certain immediacy and allows the participant to decide whether or not to allow the researcher to keep this image as data. While this approach does provide a certain return to participants, it is not lasting and the image is likely to fade from the memories of the participants. Another approach for researchers in the field would be printing and sharing of images. This might be a little more time- and resource-intensive; however, we have found that this approach provides a more permanent return for participants and has resulted in increased access in the field, as participants were more trusting and willing to have their photos taken. It is advisable to source a photo lab in the vicinity of where the research is taken place.

Since photography has been introduced as a social enabler and tool of communication to gain authentic insights into the lives of participants, it seems only natural that it could gain the same momentum as a *research enabler* in fieldwork. Photography has recently regained research momentum within the social sciences via three concurrent trends within the practice. Winton (2016) summarises these trends as (a) the re-emergence of visual methods in social science, (b) a new found focus on memory and imagination in research practices and (c) the emergence and emphasis on participation research practices within social research. When we talk about photography as a research enabler, we refer to its utility as a methodological tool to *enhance and ease* access to research sources and participants, thus enabling a richer and more qualitative collection of data. In the previous section, we discussed this in relation to individual participants. We want to expand this concept towards collecting data from organisations and underline this with a practical example from our own research experience. During our data collection period in Chennai, we had secured an interview appointment with an NGO. Our appointment fell onto a time, where the same NGO also hosted a workshop for children of poorer families with the

aim of teaching the children aspirations and the importance of education to achieve those aspirations. We were asked if it would be possible to photo document this workshop for them, as our expertise and practice with the camera would allow for better photographs than they would take themselves. We agreed to this task and generated photographs that focused on the interaction between the students and NGO workers, as well as their changes in reactions during the workshop. The workshop was for children of poorer families to learn ambitions and ways to fulfil those that will help them get out of poverty. For example, when initially asked what profession the children wanted to follow when they grow up, many gave children answers of becoming a housemaid or an auto-rickshaw driver. When asked why they chose those professions, they replied that their parents were working those jobs and there is little else for them. The workshop then focused on the building of a mindset and that the path of the children's parents does not automatically become their own. We observed and documented their increased engagement in the workshop, understanding why school is important and listened to their aspirations of becoming doctors, of helping others in their situation and of becoming involved with NGOs. We then gave the photographs to the NGO by transferring the images onto one of their computers. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 are two photographs from the event.

The NGO subsequently gave us an interview appointment, leading us to a further source of information and perspective on lack of education as a trapdoor into poverty. Furthermore, our practice was further witnessed by members of another visiting NGO, who approached us and inquired about our project. We described our project and research intention of creating a knowledge sharing for development framework, based on an in-depth understanding of practices by NGOs. We were

Fig. 4.3 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

Fig. 4.4 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

invited for an interview with one of the directors of that NGO, which lead us to an increased understanding of homelessness in Chennai, which they also supported by giving us annual reports and statistical data, which they have earlier collected. Finally, the host NGO invited us to visit one of their 'safe houses' and talk to the sex workers, who come and seek shelter there. Although no photography was permitted to keep the location of the place hidden, our conversations with both the volunteers and the sex workers themselves gave us insights into gender-specific hardships when living in poverty. We learned of a 'double burden' suffered by women in India, for both that they are women and that they are poor. This insight would have been near impossible for us to obtain otherwise.

From our own experiences, we argue that more socially engaged practices in photography allow for the use of photography as a research gateway that can either provide an ease to collecting data in that participants are willing to provide additional information, or as a gateway to access different types of data to underline a chosen research. By taking photographic fieldwork as a staging ground for interaction, photographic data generation and collection becomes a socio-scholarly activity and a space for dialogue and exchange, allowing photographs to 'create those reference points, and can propose and realise new ways of seeing, understanding, and being within the world' (Gregory, 2014, p. 2).

4.3 Stigma and Consciousness

In practical fieldwork, especially when researching social inequalities or marginalisations, photography as a research method has potential to negatively affect perceptions when the researcher—consciously or unconsciously—contributes to perceptions of a negative social identity. In addition, experiences of *felt* stigma by participants via the actions of a photographer confirm that obvious forms of discrimination are not necessarily required for individuals to experience a threat of stereotyping. We introduce two types of stigma associated with the formation of a negative social identity, which are public stigma and self-stigma.

4.3.1 Public Stigma

Public stigma refers to an endorsed stigmatising perception by a general population, which is perceived undesirable or socially unacceptable (Vogel, Wade, & Haake, 2006). In other words, stigma disqualifies people from full social acceptance, with the stigmatised individual being 'reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one' (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). From a cross-cultural perspective, Link, Yang, Phelan, and Collins (2004) describe public stigma as a shared existential experience among a group of people. However, across cultures, the meanings, practices and outcomes of stigma differ to preferred responses to illness, disability and difference (Yang et al. 2007). Public stigma comprises of three separate components: stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

Stereotypes refer to both social and efficient knowledge structures, which are learned by members of a social group (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Krueger, 1996; Ryan, Judd, & Park, 1996). Stereotypes include a social component because they represent collectively agreed upon notions of types of people. Simultaneously, they also provide an efficient manner for people to organise their complex world, allowing them to quickly generate impressions and expectations of individuals, which belong to a designated stereotyped group (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996).

Prejudice describes the endorsement of negative stereotypes, which in turn generates negative emotional reactions within people (Devine, 1989; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Krueger, 1996). Stereotype includes awareness of negative labels, while prejudice includes both awareness and agreement, leading to negative emotional responses, i.e. disgust, anger, fear and blame (Allport, 1979; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Discrimination describes external behavioural reactions connected to the internal negative emotional responses produced by prejudice (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Prejudice includes awareness and agreement of negative stereotypes, while discrimination includes both prejudice and an action connected to negative emotional reactions produced by prejudice. Prejudice, which yields disgust, anger, fear and blame, leads to hostile reactions, avoidance and/or behaviours of

withholding resources and opportunities for individuals (Corrigan, 2000; Corrigan & Penn, 1999).

Negative external perceptions and public stigmatisation by research photographers, for example, in the form of fixation on certain participants' circumstances or sensationalisation, can have a harmful impact on a person's internal sense of self. In other words, self-stigma can occur as a result of and is explained as a person's internalisation of an outsider-enacted public stigma (Vogel, Wade, & Hackler, 2007).

4.3.2 Self-stigma

Self-stigma occurs when individuals internalise public stigma by accepting and applying negative stereotypes to themselves (Vogel et al., 2007). Individuals experiencing self-stigma face reduced self-esteem, lower social interactions, diminished relationships and increased unemployment (Allport, 1979; Corrigan & Penn, 1999) and may endorse and demonstrate self-stigma through harmful self-thoughts and negative behaviours turned inward (Larson & Corrigan, 2010). Many members of stigmatised groups are aware of the stereotypes attributed to their group, however, by endorsing these notions and turning them inward, leading to minimal self-esteem, self-efficacy and confidence, which may lead to the lack of pursuing life goals all together (Larson & Corrigan, 2010). Ultimately, those individuals will believe that they are less valued in society and exhibit behaviours of this belief.

Participants' perceptions of their negative social identities are often derived from behaviours exhibited by others (enacted stigma) or through what they described as just a feeling (felt stigma) (Scambler, 1984). Stigmatising experiences can originate at the hands of family, friends, neighbours, strangers and agencies, in both interpersonal and institutional contexts (Lott, 2002). However, enacted stigma can also originate at the hands of a researcher.

4.3.3 Stigma and Research Photography

Research photographers need to be especially attentive when working with marginalised individuals and/or communities due to the inherent inequalities in power between the photographer/researcher and the studied population. Concurrently, research photographers should take appropriate steps to mitigate these inherent power differences, in order to facilitate a more ethical treatment and experience of the individuals or communities being researched, as well as to enable more authentic photographs to be acquired. An *enacted stigma* exhibited by research photographers—consciously or unconsciously—can contribute to the perceptions of participants of a negative social identity. Being bombarded with public

stigmatising images and behaviours by the researcher can contribute to the perception of a negative social identity of participants.

However, there exists evidence that people tend to view their problems without attributed stigma if they (a) are given information that their problem is not their fault, and (b) that their situation is reversible (Rosen, Walter, Casey, & Hocking, 2000). Therefore, have the power to impact on participants' perceptions of their social identities and social standing and can reduce the degree of stigma experienced by the individual at the hands of another. This in turn allows researchers to gain authentic insight into a chosen situation in the field.

4.4 Perceived Realities

Perceived realities occupy an important role in photographic fieldwork. The pictures we take and the compositions we choose reflect a photograph of a perceived reality by the researcher. However, the camera always looks both ways. Whenever we take a picture, we also spatialise our relationship with the subject. In a photographic research context, this means that good research relationships with participants directly affect the quality of good photographic data. Those relationships are indispensable to conducting photo-research beyond collecting photographic data, as those relationships (or their lack of) can impact people's perception of their social identities and social standing in their local and larger social context. Bakan's (1958, p. 98) argument about contrast awareness in relation to this photographer–participant is helpful, as the quality of the photographer–participant relationships distinguishes between *possibility* and *actuality*. This is similar to Sontag's (1977) and Solomon-Godeau's (1994) notion of knowing *objectively* and knowing *authentically*. In research photography, this *actuality* or *authenticity* is achieved by the photographer applying a social contextual understanding in which the physical and emotional understanding and the overall sensitivity are described when the researcher approaches the subject and chooses the frames. In German, these qualities are explained and encapsulated by *Verständnis*. With Verständnis, we are proposing a theoretical concept that encapsulates the notion of gaining understanding and empathy for research participants, in which the researcher understands how other people in their situation see themselves. His concept is based on Max Weber's idea of *verstehen*.

4.5 Max Weber's Verstehen

Weber's conceptual scheme of *verstehen* describes an interpretative understanding of social action (Weber, 1947). Social action for Weber means the partaking of individuals in social relationships with those actions being only social as far as 'it takes account of the behaviour of someone else' (Weber, 1946, p. 113). Verstehen

therefore qualifies as social behaviour, which is intentional, meaningful and subjectively understandable, oriented towards to that of others (Tucker, 1965). Yet, one does not need to immerse oneself into the same or similar actions of others to understand them. Instead, one must understand the *nature of the situation* in which individual action occurs for any meaningful explanation (Tucker, 1965). Without the nature of the situation, any behaviour observed or photographed by researchers cannot be analysed sociologically or adequately to give it meaning. It is important to note that Weber's Verstehen remains a methodological tool relating to behaviour of a strictly social nature (Tucker, 1965).

4.6 Verständnis

It is important for photographic researchers to have an awareness of a contextual understanding of, and sensitivity to, the circumstances and situations of research participants in the field. Spending time in the field before collecting photographic data allows researchers to develop *Verständnis*, ensuring that ambiguities and/or irregularities in photographs taken are minimised, that no stigma is consciously or subconsciously enacted, and that informed consent can be obtained. In other words, Verständnis is an awareness and understanding through social interaction and behaviour of how people in their situation see themselves. By being considerate and by being astute to those often unstructured relationships, Verständnis holds potential to strengthen the use of photography in qualitative inquiry. This quality of empathy and understanding can be sometimes distressing and hurtful for the researcher, yet without that emotional resonance between researcher and researched, both data collection and data analysis would be "incomplete and fractured" (Davison, 2004, p. 362). People are composites of their social circumstances. Those compositions include their parents, their molecular structure, and both their emotions and their history. To authentically capture participants' experiences within their social circumstances in the field, we need to turn to *Verständnis*. Our theoretical framework of Verständnis is visually explained in Fig. 4.5.

Within the photographic data collection process, the photographer's perception of his or her reality in relation to what is researched becomes important. That perception is strongly influenced by the researcher's positionality (see Sect. 5.3). The perception of reality of the researcher (subject) in Fig. 4.5 is labelled R-S. However, another reality, equally important, is that of the participant. Their perception towards their reality is labelled R-O. It is important to note that reality is understood here as an interpretive device which does not separate reality from the observing individual researcher, bringing 'such subjectivity to the fore, backed with quality arguments rather than statistical exactness' (Garcia & Quek, 1997, p. 459). Therefore, differences in the perceived reality of R-S and R-O will exist. By applying a contextual physical and emotional sensitivity to the photo-research approach, we argue that the time the researcher spends in the field allows for the development of Verständnis of the researcher with regard to a participant's reality. This means that gained insights

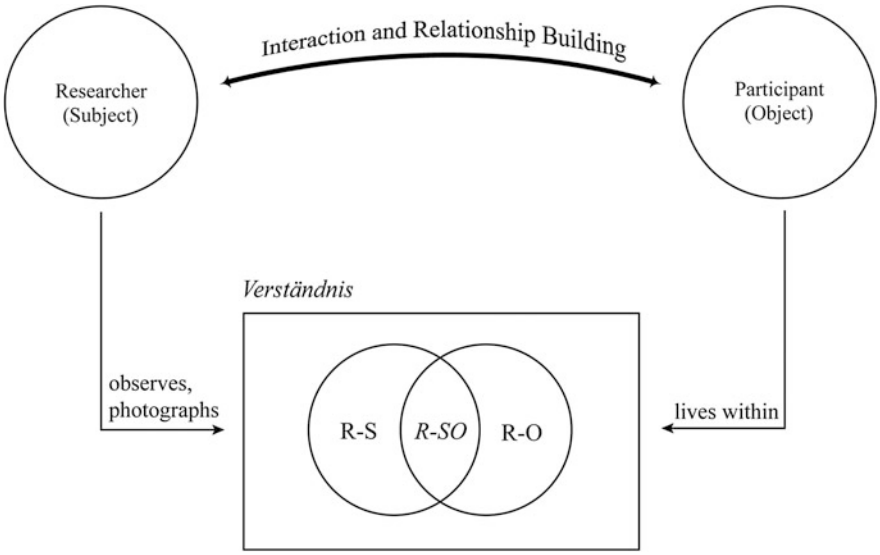

Fig. 4.5 Verständnis framework

will reflect in his or her perception, creating an *awareness* of that reality which directly influences the photos taken, becoming more authentic than objective as the perceived reality of the sender and receiver with prolonged exposure will increasingly overlap, shown in R-SO. This does not only allow for increased quality in photographic data being collected, however, but also bridge the ethical component of research from theoretical outline in a research proposal to real-life in-the-field application without compromise. It is and will be difficult to find common ground in the future of research on this debate, as Dachler and Hosking (1995) claim that these viewpoints and approaches are highly dependent on their epistemological assumptions, united, however, in their goal to understand the nature of social occurring.

Verständnis can also serve as a useful foundation with any research involving vulnerable, stigmatised or emotionally avoided topics and people. A researcher might feel uncomfortable or distressed by their insights into participants' worlds and oppressions (Davison, 2004). Within any qualitative research process, 'all the players involved carry their own personal vulnerabilities' (Davison, 2004, p. 386). The capacity to harm is ever present in any research, and both the researcher and the informants may experience vulnerability and conflicting emotions in the process (Davison, 2004). Verstaendnis in the field can help researchers overcome these conflicts and help create further awareness of the vulnerability and disempowerment of the researcher in this study, which in turn is helpful to manage painful encounters and cope with resulting anxieties.

Photography and Verständnis therefore can be powerful methodological tools in the field to facilitate Weber's understanding of social action. Furthermore, the unpredictable nature of capturing images for research requires collaboration with the subjects that provide not only an active examination of contemporary society

but also enhance both historical and cultural awareness by the presence of one's own experiences (Keim, 2001).

Generating photographs also takes social power (Tagg, 1988), as researchers *define* identities, relationships and creating histories (Flick, von Kardorff, & Steinke, 2004) with their participants at the point of engagement. Sociologists and anthropologists have historically assumed a certain right to photographing people within their study interests, as well as their presentation as academic subjects. The taken images have become markers of colonial imbalanced power relationships, reinforcing relationships of superiority and inferiority (Flick et al., 2004). We suggest that researchers try to avoid these situations and turn to developing a Verständnis for their field situations first. This allows both the researcher and the participant to show their own aspects or 'reality' of a certain situation, adding creative dialogue when conveying images (Keim, 2001), becoming 'dialogical' in nature and becoming less confrontational and more conversational interpersonal in nature (Saukko, 2002). Therefore, social scientists must be aware of the relations they enter with taking photographs in their fieldwork to balance unequal power relationships and perhaps use their fieldwork to inspire reflection and generate data that others put to use (Flick et al., 2004).

For researchers, we argue that Verständnis in combination with digital technology makes the capturing of a photo in the field a collaborative process of exchange. With digital technology, there is an immediacy of the image in that a photograph can be presented on the LCD on the back of the camera at the time when the image is captured. This empowers the participant to see the image and decide whether or not to allow the researcher to keep this image as data. This sharing of knowledge that the photographer just received about them and the power they have over the image lifts the symbolic possession of the image as an item. This changes the relationship in that presenting a participant with the captured image provides the subject with greater power over that image. The photograph becomes a product, based on interaction, no different to a recorded interview; a frame transformed into an image qualitative as viable as a recorded interview, and avenues appeared to satisfy the *moral* implications of taking a photograph.

This approach to photography in the field increases the accuracy of the reality depicted by the researcher in combination with a proposed applied Verständnis which is built on relations and interaction with the subjects. It can be tempting for researchers to capture apparently powerful images to illustrate issues; a practice employed by photojournalists, but as a researcher one has to be careful not to confuse what is *imagined or assumed*, to what *is*. These situations can unconsciously create unbalanced power relationships in which the photographic researcher (subject) becomes predator, the participant (objectified) the prey. Verständnis is an aid to ensuring this trap is avoided.

We want to present an example of this approach, using a photograph from a part of a larger study we did, concerned with poverty reduction and capacity building in Tamil Nadu, India. We also wish to present another example, in which we failed in Verständnis of the situation, and realities of photographer and people were in opposites.

4.6.1 Example 1: The Authentic Portrait

In this example (Fig. 4.6), we are using a portrait taken as part of a larger study on poverty reduction and social development in Chennai, Tamil Nadu. A young person is dressed in a traditional sari, sitting on a small chair playing a game with stones on the road. Her surroundings describe very typical 'slum' circumstances of pots and pans, cloth, and other possessions being sorted against a wall according to a system. In Chennai and other places within Tamil Nadu, this is not an uncommon scene with kitchen utilities and other tools and belongings being kept outside the house, stacked against the wall. The intention of this photograph was to capture the girl with her surroundings as well as her physical and emotional (content) being within that environment.

The digital photoThe pressing question in this debate is how researchers can equalise the power relationship between themselves and their research participants, lifting perceptions of dependencies, and most importantly, *convincing* the participants that their say and decision carries weight and does not affect benefits or services they might receive. Pink's (2003) argument, where the ethical use of visual methods requires the researcher to engage in collaborative processes with subjects or research participants, provides a good point of departure for this approach.

Photography component of a camera has the potential for bringing the relationship between the researcher and the participants closer and making the capturing of an image a collaborative process of exchange instead of collecting and taking a possession. The LCD screen at back of the camera can be utilised to show the participant the image of them that has just been captured. Power relationships are bridged when this process becomes a conscious and active process by the researcher, instead of a 'nice-to-have' by-product of collecting data. This approach gives power to the participant not only to see the image but also to decide whether or not to allow the researcher to keep and use this image as data. The sharing the image lifts the symbolic possession of the image as an item owned by the photographer alone, convincing participants that they have indeed a say in the research process. This changes the relationship in that presenting a participant with the captured image provides the subject with greater power over both the possession and use of that image, countering Sontag's previous view of a camera as a tool of aggression and invasion. Digital technology transforms the camera into a tool of communication, a medium showing human interactions in research encounters (Woodward, 2008). This avenue is constantly available, empowering the subject to examine each of the photos taken and having his or her photo deleted, which was not possible with analogue photography before. Nevertheless, this approach is 'highly dependent on the commitment to social justice by the researcher' (Allen, 2012, p. 10).

The photograph shows a young woman, dressed in a traditional sari sitting on a small chair playing a game with stones on the road. Her surroundings describe very typical poorer circumstances of pots and pans, cloth, and other possessions, being sorted against a wall according to a system. In Chennai and other places within

Fig. 4.6 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

Tamil Nadu, it is not an uncommon scene with kitchen utilities and other tools being kept outside the house. The intention of this photograph was to capture the girl with her surroundings as well as her physical and emotional (content) being within that environment. The photograph was not spontaneous or staged, but emerged as a result of interaction, conversation, and mutual curiosity between the people and ourselves. The initial start to this conversation and interaction was the question if she would allow her portrait to be taken. After the initial shot, the photo was shown to the girl and her family on the LCD screen of the camera who gave positive reactions and asked to take photos of her little brother also. Following conversations moved on to their lives in Chennai, about my life in Chennai, why the interest to understand their circumstances. With the taken photograph at hand,

questions about the photo's content arose, for example the stone game that was being played, the utilities in the background, and the family's daily activities. The interaction allowed not only for consent of the picture that was just taken, however allowed for dialogue about its content, verifying or falsifying the captured interpretation of it. More pictures of the family and their home were allowed to be taken after. The subject-object *relation* formed quickly into a sender-receiver *interaction* as there was as much curiosity of them towards an outsider and vice versa. Both parties held knowledge, held power that the other wanted, and shared. The picture, in combination with interaction, respected their dignity as people, and equalised a perceived power-relationship or predatory role as a photographer, that would not have been possible without the digital component in photography. A one-way subject object relationship became a two-way sender receiver relationship with this approach with both sides being presented with input and output. In summary, the *digital image* forms one approach that can practically transform the power relationship between photographer and subject.

4.6.2 Example 2: No Relations and Misleading Perceptions

This example presents an anti-case, a situation we experienced and which illustrates the consequences of a failure to fully grasp Verstaendnis. The photograph cannot be shown here for ethical reasons. The scene is a pedestrian underpass used during daytime by the people of Chennai to cross a busy road and by night as shelter by people who apparently have no home. The picture was taken at around two o'clock in the morning. It exemplifies the many city underpasses. The photograph depicts silhouettes of people sleeping on the ground and is intended to visualise the issue of homelessness in Tamil Nadu. However, when presenting the photograph to people who know and understand the homeless situation very well in Chennai, their response was somewhat different. It is often the case that immigrant workers from the north of India move to Chennai seeking work. They have a home in Chennai rented from the government for roughly 2500 Indian Rupees per month (around US $45). However, they can make a little extra by sub-letting this home and sleeping rough. This supplements their daily wages also allowing them to save extra money to take back to their homes in the north of the country.

The photograph taken that night did not authentically reflect the homeless situation in Chennai. While confidentiality was assured as the identities of those in the photograph could not be established, there was no dialogue between the researcher and participants. This means that the image was captured without the full context of the situation being understood at the time. Without the benefit of a digital image though, the discussion about the photograph could not have taken place and important contextual knowledge would have remained undiscovered. For these reasons the photograph could not be used.

4.7 Conclusion

When in the field, research photographers must deal with multiple issues. There are three main technical considerations that are necessary to master that can be summarised as the 'exposure triangle'. This will ensure that the images collected are of a good quality and will be useful. A second important issue is that of bringing the social and research enabling aspects of research photography together. Photographic images do not only just provide rich research material that allows the production of valuable research stories but also enable social action through the power of the image. A photographic image has the potential to capture a problem and galvanise a broad audience into action. It can change perceptions. This is the third issue covered in this chapter. Photographic images have the potential to shape and sometimes even create social realities. This places much responsibility on the research photographer when undertaking data collection in the field and emphasis on their perception and understanding of their research environment. Verständnis in turn provides a theoretical framework that will help social researchers understand and bridge differences in perception to their participants and see how people in their situation view themselves, creating authentic photographs and countering any intentional or unintentional public or inherent self-stigmas held by participants.

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Chapter 5
Photographic Analysis

The act of looking at and interpreting photographs is profoundly impure. This impurity arises from the nature of how the visual is created from interpretation within dense social embeddedness (Edwards, 2012). Thus, the role of the research photographer in the creation and analysis of images is never neutral. This chapter outlines the analytical possibilities that photographs present to researchers. Photographs are open to qualitative and quantitative interpretations, ranging from content recordings to symbolic representations of a reality, counting and categorisation (Siegesmund & Freedman, 2013). Interpretations of photographs are multiple and shifting, depending on the researcher's purpose, perspective of both participant and audience, and the chosen *interpretive approach.* Photographs represent enfolded multiplicities and are able to engage all of the researcher's senses in the unfolding process. Photographic analysis and interpretation therefore forms a process that unfolds and elevates the photograph from content to meaning and then to mattering. It is a methodic search for pattern and meaning, both complicated and enriched by 'complex reflections of a relationship between maker and subject in which both play roles in shaping their character and content' (Collier, 2001, p. 36). This makes it essential that researchers are aware of different analytical approaches and the ways in which meaning can be interpreted from scholarly visual images (Siegesmund & Freedman, 2013). Each analytical lens holds different significances in understanding a photograph.

5.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis historically describes a number of strategies and flexible methods to systematically categorise large amounts of text by frequency and occurrence of words, symbols, summary judgements or comparisons (Cho & Lee, 2014;

The original version of this chapter was revised: For detailed information please see Erratum. The erratum to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_7

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_5

Neuendorf, 2016; Starosta, 1984; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013; White & Marsh, 2006; Zaidman-Zait, 2014). Content analysis as a scholarly analytical method has been traced to 1743, where it was applied to 90 hymns called *Songs of Zion* by counting and comparing religious symbols in the hymns to established songbooks, in order to ascertain an accusation of the Swedish state church of subversive content (Boréus & Bergström, 2017). However, the popularity of content analysis arose after its application during the Second World War by British Intelligence in the analysis of Nazi propaganda, which was directed at the German people to gain more insights into new German weapons of mass destruction—with good results (Boréus & Bergström, 2017; Hao, Wu, Morrison, & Wang, 2016; Krippendorff, 2012).

As such, the method was introduced as a deductive objective means to quantify phenomena of interest (Krippendorff, 2012). However, content analysis has since developed into a method applicable to both quantitative and qualitative data analyses, deductive and inductive (Bengtsson, 2016) and expanded its analytical approaches to impressionistic, intuitive and interpretive to organise and elicit meaning from the data and drawing realistic conclusions (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The specific type of content analysis chosen is dependent on both the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher (Weber, 1990).

5.1.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis counts and measures criteria of interest against a data set and presents those frequencies as either percentage or actual numbers. This approach is empirical in nature (Boréus & Bergström, 2017) and allows researchers to test hypothesised research relationships (Altheide, 1987). The quantitative content analysis approach produces numbers, which with the help of statistical tools generalise, represent, falsify and validate existing theories (Mayring, 2000; Zaidman-Zait, 2014). Quantitative content analysis primarily is a deductive process that operates on the basis of existing knowledge and the purpose of the study for the pre-determination of codes and categories to test theories against the data collected (Elo & Kyngaes, 2008). Coding is essential to this approach and each coding category must be chosen carefully, as otherwise no good deduction can be made. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) split the qualitative deductive content process into two steps: (a) the development of a category frame and (b) coding the data according to the developed category frame.

However, a quantitative content analysis to photographs might be an oversimplified and distorting analytical method (Cho & Lee, 2014) because of the difficulties in breaking photographs down into quantifiable units of analysis. Researchers utilising quantitative content analysis need to ensure that the categories they select are well researched and valid, as quantitative content analysis 'stands or falls by its categories' (Berelson, 1952, p. 147). Although this initially presents a disadvantage against quantitative content analysis, which predetermines the codes and categories applied to the data based on prior knowledge and theory, a pilot

study or periodical revision of the developed category system (also known as 'looping') can help to ascertain whether they are adequate to answering the research question (Mayring, 2015). Kracauer (1952) therefore pioneered a qualitative approach to content analysis, which would allow for elicitation of more holistic meaning of texts and images.

5.1.2 *Qualitative Content Analysis*

Qualitative content analysis does not count or measure anything in the data; instead, it systematically elicits *meaning* of qualitative data by assigning and breaking down parts of the material into codes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Schreier, 2014; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Qualitative content analysis is based on naturalistic inquiries that involve rigorous coding to identify themes and patterns in data sets (Cho & Lee, 2014) to generate theory, to explore their meaning and perhaps most importantly, to experience participants in their world (Zaidman-Zait, 2014). The purpose of qualitative content analysis is to examine 'who says what, to whom, and with what effect' (Vaismoradi et al., 2013, p. 400).

Qualitative content analysis is unique in that it can be done both deductively and inductively, or as a combination of both (Cho & Lee, 2014). Inductive means that categories and topics are developed by and with the specific data material with respect to a research questions that a researcher is trying to answer (Mayring, 2015; Zaidman-Zait, 2014). In deductive content analysis, although the category framework determines the initial data analysis, the structure and categories can be altered at any time to improve their relevance, but also to not divert from the purpose of the analysis (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014), to test, to adapt, to expand and to overall improve existing theoretical frameworks (Zimmer, 2006). Deductive qualitative content analysis therefore is by default at least partly inductively driven, as although the researcher might start from broader pre-established research questions or themes, the data coded allows for the possibility of additional categories emerging from the codes (Boréus & Bergström, 2017). Researchers can also start qualitative deductive content analysis with very few preconceptions or coding frameworks and coding and categories are then extrapolated based on the data evidence (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014).

The goal of this type of content analysis is to present data in words and themes, which overall allows the researcher to interpret the results and draw a range of possible conclusions. Especially when conducting exploratory studies with little established knowledge, qualitative content analysis maybe suitable for discovering and reporting common issues from the data (Green & Thorogood, 2013). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) differentiate between three distinct approaches to qualitative content analysis, each suited for different research purposes: conventional, directed and summative.

Conventional content analysis also refers to inductive content analysis, which we have previously discussed. This approach is suitable to exploratory research purposes where little or no established literature or prior theories with categories and codes emerge from the data (Elo & Kyngas, 2008).

Directed content analysis refers to deductive qualitative content analysis and is useful when there is existing theory or prior knowledge of the subject and when prior knowledge is essential to expand on existing theories or phenomena (Zaidman-Zait, 2014). In essence, earlier theories allow data analyses to move from pre-set generalisations towards specific insights, which in turn offer confirmatory or disconfirmatory evidence for either a theory or a model by evidence and examples of the data in the categories.

Summative content analysis is quantitative in its beginning stages and becomes qualitative in its latent stage. This analysis begins with the initial counting of words or content and proceeds to its meanings and themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Although the analysis starts out as quantitative, its analytical goal remains to explore the phenomenon in a qualitative inductive manner (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

5.1.3 Photographic Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis has become popular and important in the interpretation of research photography in that it analyses the content of the photographs, classifying them into different groups (Hao et al., 2016; Rose, 2000). In a photograph, content refers to 'the appearances and signs captured in a photo in their totality' (Stepchenkova & Zhan, 2013, p. 591). In photographic content analysis, however, the meaning of the image is constructed from a predominantly metonymic perspective where all appearances and signs in a photograph stand for themselves and are interpreted at face value (Stepchenkova & Zhan, 2013). Although predominantly qualitative in nature, both quantitative and qualitative, deductive and inductive approaches to content analysis are relevant to photographic data. Stepchenkova and Zhan (2013) suggest that for quantitative content analysis, categories have to be developed and formulated in a way that photographs can be coded unambiguously. In quantitative photo content analysis, Rössler (2005) argues that the categories to analyse the photographs should be at least exhaustive to be able to capture every data aspect of the photographs, and exclusive in that no categories overlap to support both analytical conclusions and priorities of content in the images. A research by Hao et al. (2016) on content analysis and photo interpretation on outdoor tourism in China presents an interesting example. The authors used quantitative deductive content analysis to analyse 296 photographs of an outdoor cultural tourism performance in China, based on 27 visual criteria. Those criteria were guided by goals and questions of the authors; however, the analysis categories were based on cultural expressions and locally sourced information (Hao et al., 2016). The insights and variable frequencies among the images became core conveyors of destination imagery by tourists. The authors discovered that natural backgrounds are very effective to communicate destination imagery, as local scenery was strongly presented in many of the taken photographs by tourists at the time of performance (Hao et al., 2016). The authors therefore concluded that

cultural performances with an outdoor scenery background change peoples' perceptions of that scenery and suggest that this understanding can aid tourism marketing strategies that would enhance destinations, such as Yangshuo Guilin, the Li River and Guangxi Province.

In Van House's (2006) study as another example, although the images were analysed qualitatively for their content that formed the foundations for interviews with participants, quantitative deductions were also elicited from image-taking frequencies that allowed for collection additional material from qualitative interview data. The data revealed that most participants would take the most amount of photographs during leisure times and the least amount of photographs during the middle of the semester when major assignments were due. Furthermore, the picture taking of participants revealed patterns of periodic bursts, possibly indicating newsworthy events, which stood out against a relatively low, but continuous level of picture taking indicates possible life chronicling (Van House, 2006). These quantitative temporal patterns allowed for behavioural insights of participants, which they themselves were not aware of and could not be elicited qualitatively and in the interviews had the opportunity to reflect on that behaviour, generating quality data.

The validity of content analysis in photography remains a challenge that preoccupies researchers, especially with regards to the objectivity of defined values and categories (Bell, 2011). So far no well-proven or reliable method to code photographic content has been established, mostly due to the polysemy of photographs and their different contexts and meanings (Bock, Isermann, & Knieper, 2011). Bell (2011) suggested that it is best to take these values as *conditional*, meaning that they hold true in relation to their theoretical and methodological contexts, while at the same time being open to new theories and new propositions of variables. Photographic content analysis overall is not designed to prescript content values against selected images, however, reveal certain priorities of some variables over others. For example, it can reveal which images are connected and uncover visible directional patterns (Bell, 2011), from which a degree of reliability of resulting theories can be established.

5.1.4 Qualitative Content Analysis Example

Content analysis is used in connotation with either a research question or hypothesis. The question that we aimed to answer with the support of photographs was: How useful are current theorisations of poverty and current development issues?

We used inductive qualitative content analysis in Fig. 5.1 and created codes based on people shown and subject matter. The unit of analysis in this instance was not the entire photograph, however, its depicted individuals and relevant points of attention. We coded the particular instances from which we developed categories (see Table 5.1). We kept reliability in mind as we coded the images and sought second and third opinions of colleagues and friends for it. One of our categories

Fig. 5.1 Qualitative photo content analysis 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

Table 5.1 Coding units and categories—qualitative content analysis

#	Codes	Category
1	Women handwashing clothes	Washing
2	Pregnant woman	Hardship
3	Clothes to be washed	Washing
4	Washing bucket	Washing
5	Woman washing	Washing
6	Roadside	Hardship
7	Roadside rubbish	Environment
8	Water bottles	Resource
9	Small temple	Environment
10	Auto rickshaw	Environment

('hardship') has an underlying emotional tone and may therefore be more subjective and might not be as easily agreed upon as others. It is important that with a qualitative coding approach for photographs, there is enough time for any additional coder beyond the researcher and that he or she has adequate training in content coding as well as an understanding of your research aims.

5.1.5 *Quantitative Content Analysis Example*

The following is an example of quantitative content analysis. The analysis is visually shown in Fig. 5.2. Although this perhaps works better with an image series, we wish to demonstrate this technique using the same image. The most sensible categories to analyse would be the number of people in the image, as well as the number of men and women. Table 5.2 summarises the data collected.

Fig. 5.2 Quantitative photo content analysis 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

Table 5.2 Gender presence in photograph

#		
1	Number of women [(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)]	5
2	Number of men	0

5.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis allows researchers to identify patterns and themes within data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Content analysis and thematic analysis bear certain similarities, which often results in thematic analysis losing its credibility as an independent research method and often being mistaken for other analysis methods (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2013, 2016). A 'theme' itself reveals a pattern of meaning within data sets in relation to a chosen research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For researchers to discover themes, the data material does not necessarily need to be broken down into values and categories like in content analysis and, however, can unfold as variables and 'stripped bare of its things that sustain it in a here and now context' (Blumer, 1956, p. 685). Themes therefore can, but not exclusively, be either an attribute, descriptor, element or concept (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). It is the investigation by the researcher that both determines and contributes to the prevalence of a theme, with the interpretations and explanations of those themes becoming a descriptive baseline (Emmel, 2015). Each theme is able to have subthemes and subdivisions, which allows researchers for more comprehensive views of data and uncovering of sub-patterns (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

Thematic analysis stands further distinguished as a separate analytical method in that it explores and identifies common themes and threads across *entire* data sets. In contrast to content analysis, which aims to provide rich description about a phenomenon of interest in a data set, thematic analysis applies minimal description to different data sets, yet also assesses the interplay between them (Noland, 2006), providing a broad understanding of relationships and identities between themes and data sets. Themes and patterns in thematic analysis can be identified either inductively, which is from the bottom-up and reflectively data-driven (Maratos, Huynh, Tan, Lui, & Jarus, 2016; Patton, 1990), or deductively, which is theoretically and analytically driven (Boyatzis, 1998).

An important debate in thematic analysis remains whether themes *emergence* in thematic analysis or whether they are *discovered*. This presents a twofold argument, which is dependent on the researcher's ontological and epistemological standpoints. For Fugard and Potts (2015), themes are to be discovered and captured by researchers from data sets. This essentially presumes themes as ontologically 'real', resting on a research's positivist–empirical assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2016). On the other hand, scholars argue that themes are *crafted* by researchers with their personal experiences and perspectives influencing the interpretation of the data and the *choices* of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2016; Emmel, 2015; Maratos et al., 2016). If themes could only be discovered from reflections of data extracts, then those reflections of 'domain summaries' would present both poorly conceptualised and underdeveloped themes. The significance of a theme then would be directly related to the prevalence of a theme. However, while Braun and Clarke (2006) advise that more debate is needed in how and why we might present the prevalence of a theme in the data, they simultaneously question whether that prevalence is important. The

significance of a theme is not necessarily dependent on the repetitiveness and prevalence of the patterns in the data, however, its significance to the overall research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

5.2.1 Photo-Thematic Analysis

An important question is how researchers can engage in photo-thematic analysis eliciting themes without losing the significance of the images themselves or their stand-alone data value. One way to deal with this challenge would be to present a combination of both themes and photographs that conditionally claim a thematic direction and relationship. Braun and Clarke (2006) provide steps to thematic analysis that can help researchers thematise their photographs. First, *essentialist or realistic* thematic analysis aims to capture experiences, meanings and realities of data sets. Second, *constructionist* thematic analysis aims to understand in which experiences, meanings and realities are effects of a range of interplays within a society. Third, *contextualist* thematic analysis sits in between essentialism and constructivism, becoming a critical realist approach that acknowledges how individuals make meaning of their experiences, but also the ways that broader social factors affect those experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In essence, photo-thematic analysis can be done from a micro-, meso- and macro-perspective and in combination depending on the research question or study objectives.

5.2.2 Photo-Thematic Analysis Example

The following provides an example of a contextualist photo-thematic analysis. We analysed our example photograph against four key themes emergent from our overall data sets, termed the basic social problem (BSP), which we deemed important to the overall understanding of poverty as a lived experience. Those key themes, which together captured the contributing elements of the lived experience of poverty that make people more prone to trapdoors into poverty, were not driven by any particular research question, however, based on the prevalence of what the images showed in combination of what we learned from supporting interviews. Although thematic analysis is more suited to an image series, we analysed a photo series against those four themes in our research. Figure 5.3 presents the four key themes and their relationships in the BSP. Figure 5.4 visually presents our analysis of one of the photographs against the themes. Our example photograph qualifies against two of the four proposed criteria. This way of presentation allows researchers to communicate the themes of their chosen photographs and to convey the photographic richness beyond the theme in support for a compelling story.

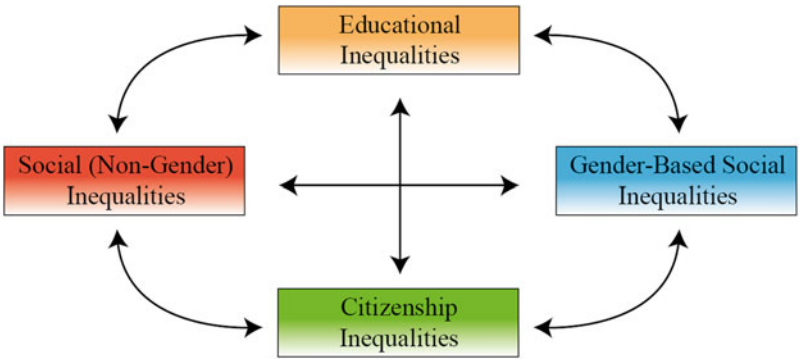

Fig. 5.3 The basic social problem (BSP) overview

Fig. 5.4 Photo-thematic analysis 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

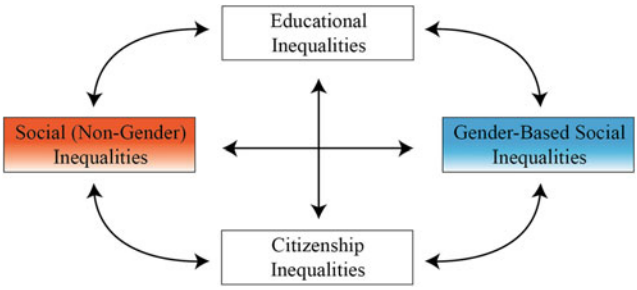

Fig. 5.4 (continued)

5.3 Semiotic Analysis

Semiotic analysis elicits meanings and signs from photographs by analysing the 'detailed accounts of the exact ways the meanings of an image are produced through that image' (Rose, 2000, p. 106). Even the most qualitative and detailed content analysis of photographs is unable to determine a photograph's symbolic meaning about a depicted place or object (Stepchenkova & Zhan, 2013). The goal of semiotic analysis is to discover enfolded cultural knowledge and significations and explain those discoveries to the reader in order for him or her to understand the photograph (Penn, 2000). Semiotics only studies the image itself, as well as similarities and differences of signs and meanings (Sonesson, 2015), however, in doing so, 'treating cultural meanings as a given currency' (Van Leeuwen, 2004, p. 2). Semiotic analysis focuses on the image as a whole, investigating how signs and symbols within an image communicate intended messages (Stepchenkova & Zhan, 2013). The semiotic approach is therefore characterised as highly interpretive. Analysed hidden or concealed cultural meaning by the researcher may be different from the intended meaning of its creator (MacKay & Couldwell, 2004) and Duriau and Reger (2004) note that those hidden meanings can be over-interpreted sometimes. Semiotic analysis therefore requires some analytical experience and cultural knowledge of a researcher.

5.3.1 Semiotic Analysis in Research Photography

The most popular analytical approach about signs and photographs remains that of Barthes (1972), who introduced a two-level semiological analytical system of *denotations* and *connotations* within photographs. *Denotation* is the first-level semiological analysis, which deals with the literal or immediate meaning of photographs in relation to what can 'objectively' be seen in it (Aiello, 2006). This process is a rather simple analysis of what the image is showing (Pennington, 2017), easy to decode and does not require extensive cultural knowledge. For

example, a woman in a wedding dress (often white and elaborate) symbolises a bride. *Connotation* is the second-level semiological system that aims to interpret the higher and more abstract levels of meaning in photographs with the support of cultural knowledge (Pennington, 2017). On this level, researchers aim to uncover a range of possible symbolic or ideological meanings of photographs, which can be associated with different connotative meanings, or through different denotative meanings in the same or other images (Aiello, 2006). Connotations can be *metonymic*—associating the picture with something else, or *synecdochal*—one part in the image conveying something else (Pennington, 2017).

Penn (2000) provides a useful step-by-step guidance for researchers who pursue semiotic analysis with their photographs. First, researchers should select the photographs that they wish to analyse. The images should not be chosen in order to have a representative sample (going for quantity), however, selecting *purposeful* images to convey meaning (going for quality). Second, researchers analyse the photographs by listing what is denoted in them, as well as any supporting or associating text to the images, if possible. Third, researchers must draw together those denotations and identify the connotations in the images, interpreting what cultural knowledge these connotations bear. Finally, possible relationships within denotations and connotations in the photograph are used to support researchers in answering their research questions (Penn, 2000).

5.3.2 Semiotic Analysis Example

In this example, our initial research question remains dealing with poverty as a lived experience, so we chose not to examine the image for colour, layout or space in any detail. Instead, we aimed to analyse the image (Fig. 5.5) for cultural and contextual denotations and connotations.

Denotations

The central focus of the image is the group of women who are sitting on the roadside (1) near a public water tab (2) and washing their clothes. This indicates a subsistence of these women to have to utilise government-given resources to fulfil basic needs and chores. The women have brought their clothes in washing buckets (3), indicating they had to travel a distance on foot to reach the public water tab. One of the women is pregnant (4), however, attending the washing process. They have brought water bottles in a bowl for drinking (5), indicating that they will be occupied with washing for several hours.

Connotations

The photograph overall indicates that women of a lower socio-economic domain face hardships that translate into their daily work. The fact that they are photographed sitting on the roadside near a public tab is a strong indicator of their less-than-favourable living circumstances, in this example, no access to water from their homes. The women are all wearing full sarees, which is a strong cultural

Fig. 5.5 Semiotic analysis denotations 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

indicator of all of the women being married (unmarried women in Tamil Nadu would generally not wear a full saree but a half-saree with a Punjabi suit). Another connotation, which is triangulated with findings from one of our other data sources (an interview) when explaining the photograph, is that those women are very often the first to rise and the last to sleep. This indicates long working hours with little personal free time or rest. Our own observations to see the women washing from early morning (7 a.m.) to very late at night (1.30 a.m.) confirm the overall connotation of the image as a symbol of women in poverty experiencing a life of long working hours and chores.

5.4 Iconography/Iconology

Iconography/iconology is a qualitative analytical method aimed to the content and *communicative intentions* of a photograph, as well as its ideologies and cultural meanings in its narrow and broader contexts (Christmann, 2008). The analyses of both content and meanings of visuals in this approach are 'influenced by cultural traditions and guided by research interests originating both in the humanities and social sciences' (Müller, 2011, p. 285). The terms iconography and iconology are often used interchangeably by researchers; however, iconography, from Greek

graphein, serves as a descriptive method of describing and classifying primary and natural meanings called *motifs*, where iconology on the other hand, from Greek *logos*, forms the method of interpretation from synthesis, instead of analysis (Müller, 2011; Panofsky, 1955). In other words, iconography contends itself with visual motifs and articulating particular meaning to them, whereas iconology uses those visuals as sources and evidence for 'wider social, political, and cultural analysis of the time in which the visuals were produced and used' (Müller, 2011, p. 288).

Iconographical/iconological analysis and semiotic analysis both share a commonality in that they are concerned with investigating different levels of meaning within a visual image (Pennington, 2017). However, iconography/iconology at heart are forensic in nature, similar to a detective story, weaving together various threads of both *content and interpretation* to gain a full picture of a given photographs and its contextual period. Historically, iconography/iconology has its origins within the Warburg Institute, especially Erwin Panofsky. Panofsky (1955) outlined a three-stage framework of both iconographical and iconological analyses, which serves as the core to iconographical/iconological analysis. Panofsky's framework distinguishes between the stages of pre-iconographical description, iconographical analysis and iconological interpretation. All three phases focus on different levels of meaning within an image (Meijer, 2011), however, overall form an integrated process with the aim to gain a holistic interpretation of an image as evidence to support either particular hypotheses (Müller, 2011) or to answer specific research questions. For example, Panofsky's (1939) famous depiction of a man raising his hat as a form of greeting, the pre-iconic description is recognised as the physical gesture of the man raising the hat and the socially embedded iconographical meaning of greeting in Europe, as well as its iconological meaning, when soldiers historically removed their helmets to indicate and underline values of peaceful intentions. Imdahl in 1988 added an additional fourth step, iconic interpretation, to Panofsky's framework, focusing on an image's overall perspective and logic (Ruck & Slunecko, 2008). The steps are explained here in greater detail.

The first step, pre-iconographical description, focuses on *formal meaning* or *factual meaning* in photographs and is looking into objects and events, as well as *expressional meaning*, which is the identification of expressed emotions (Meijer, 2011). For example, photographs may depict human beings, animals, houses, their interrelationships classified as *events*, yet facial expressions, poses, gestures and surrounding atmosphere form *expressional* qualities (Panofsky, 1939). In this step, all details in the photograph are systematically described, focusing on the content of the image alone (see Sect. 5.1). Those content descriptions form primary or natural meanings and according to Panofsky (1939) are called *motifs* and an account of these motifs of a photograph forming its pre-iconographical description.

The second step, iconographical analysis, attempts to elicit initial references about the photograph (Lenette, 2016), as well as ideas and concepts attached to it (Van Leeuwen, 2004). Fundamentally, this step looks at *secondary meaning* of photographs by uncovering socially constructed meanings in the photograph, drawing on outside knowledge (Lenette, 2016). Iconographical analysis requires a

certain cultural knowledge foundation by the researcher (Pennington, 2017), which aids the analysis in 'how representations speak about what is present as well as what is absent' (Subedi, 2013, p. 282). The researcher's cultural knowledge is a strong influence on drawing together and combining different motifs and their interpretation with themes and concepts, creating what Panofsky (1939) calls *images* within a photograph, which combinations are the overall *story* of the photograph.

The third and highest level in Panofsky's framework is iconological analysis, which is looking at intrinsic meaning and content and symbolical values (Meijer, 2011; van Leeuwen, 2004). This step essentially focuses on perspective and iconic meaning, combining its structure and standpoints (Lenette, 2016). In a photographic research context, iconological analysis interprets the photograph as a reflection of something external to it (Meijer, 2011). This step is arguable the most subjective and may include interpretations, which the creator of the image might not intend (Pennington, 2017).

The fourth step by Imdahl, *iconic interpretation*, remains focused on perspective and aims to understand the photographer's intent, logic and composition of a photograph (Lenette, 2016). In this step, the researcher's interpretation of an image aims to assess in what ways a photograph is a representation of a situation and perhaps 'what socio-cultural or historical understandings…was the photographer trying to respond to or influence through this photograph?' (Lenette, 2016, p. 6).

Coming back to the distinction between iconography and iconology, iconography has few prerequisites and is mainly concerned with the first step, where iconology comes in the last step and focuses strongly on their contextualised interpretation, which is dependent on available textual and visual sources (Müller, 2011). Panofsky (1939) and Meijer (2011) stress that for iconographical and iconological analyses, researchers need to be familiar with contemporary literature and cultural and traditions and norms of a society depicted in the images and that limited or non-existent information makes this analysis problematic.

5.4.1 Iconographical/Iconological Analysis in Research Photography

Müller (2011) provides a useful step-by-step guideline to perform an iconographical/iconological analysis, which we translate here into the context of research photography. First, Müller (2011) suggests to collect images and generates research questions. Lenette (2016) proposes researchers to set one specific question corresponding to each step of the four-step framework to help them facilitate their photographic interpretations into the directions of their research. This analytical process heavily focuses on tagging, indexing, archiving and the constant categorization sharpening a researcher's analytical understanding of a chosen visual study

(Müller, 2011). In the second step, iconographical analysis, researchers collect all available external knowledge to unravel socially constructed meanings of the photographs they are interested in. The photographs themselves are then analysed in light of the researcher's understanding of the sources, attributing meaning to photographs to their original and temporal context (Müller, 2011). In the third step, iconological interpretation, the meaning of the photograph is interpreted in a wider context and meaning attribution of particular groups studied (Lenette, 2016; Müller, 2011). This step is guided by questioning what aspects, perspectives, outlooks and attributions does this photograph present about a particular community or group under study. The fourth step looks at the researcher's own social positioning or that of the participants who took the image, analysing why this photograph is of particular importance to themselves or to the research topic. Interpretation of the photographs intent, combined with composition and underlying logic, forms the core of this analysis (Lenette, 2016).

5.4.2 *Photographic Iconographical/Iconological Analysis Example*

The iconographical/iconological analysis of our photograph is inspired by Lenette's (2016) previous analytical approach to iconography/iconology, in which she distinguishes the analysis into four separate steps.

Step 1 Pre-iconographical description: Instead of a narrative, we chose to present the results of this step in a form of a table, as it allows us to (a) distinguish better between formal/factual meanings and expressional meanings and (b) use as anchors for later analysis and description. We presented formal/factual descriptions with red boxes and expressional description with blue boxes to aid in easy visual understanding by viewers. Figure 5.6 presents the analysis and Table 5.3 its results and reporting. A point of interest in the table is that the pregnant woman nurturing her baby (4) (5) is mentioned as two separate codes, as her pose and gesture suggest both factual and expressional qualities.

Step 2 Iconographical analysis: The women appear to regularly come to the spot to wash their clothes. Both their features and the 'routine' impression this photograph gives of their activities indicate that the women are from Tamil Nadu and live in the area. An assumption can be made about the image that the women are part of a poorer community and have to rely on public tabs provided by the Tamil Nadu government to wash their clothes. Women's perceived low social status in society often manifests in household inequalities with unequal distribution of resources, decision-making, unfair and unequal distribution of work, and even basic nutrition (Krishna, 2011; Mehta & Shah, 2003). This perceived lower status of women in society and within their own households makes them much more vulnerable targets to physical and psychological violence, which have 'serious

Fig. 5.6 Pre-iconographical description 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

Table 5.3 Pre-iconographical analysis results and reporting

#	Description	Factual or expressional
1	Women washing clothes	Factual
2	Public tap (hidden from view)	Factual
3	Washing buckets with clothes	Factual
4	Pregnant women nurturing her baby	Factual
5	*Pregnant women nurturing her baby*	*Expressional*
6	*Women sitting on floor washing*	*Expressional*
7	*Content and concentrated washing*	*Expressional*
8	*Roadside rubbish*	*Expressional*

repercussions on women's self-perceptions and on their evaluation of roles and statuses' (Krishna, 2011, p. 59).

Step 3 Iconological analysis: The women look content and concentrated as they are washing the clothes. The scene appears a normal scenario for these women and it is most likely not the first time that they wash their clothes at this spot. The photograph does not depict a sensationalised haunting image of poverty as a lived experience, however, it conveys a more matter-of-factly outlook of poorer women

being pragmatic in everyday life and utilising services provided by the government. The lack of any underlying caption of the image indicates a clear intent of portraying this group with as little bias as possible to the viewer and not present the women in either a favourable or from a despairing standpoint. However, the lack of caption also indicates that a *full* understanding of the meaning of the photograph was absent at the time that the image was taken.

Step 4 Iconic interpretation: The photographer took this photograph purposefully to present the circumstances in which women from poorer communities wash their clothes. The overall nature of this depiction indicates that the photographer was conscious of the less-than-ideal circumstances of the women and wanted to convey these circumstances and hardship through this photograph.

5.5 Photo-Elicitation Analysis

Photo-elicitation analysis does not only recognise the participant as a source of data but also as a source of analysis, and involve researchers and participants *discussing* the photographs with the analysis itself emerging from the interaction (Jenkings, Woodward, & Winter, 2008). Traditional photo-elicitation analysis regards the photograph as a supportive tool for interviews, however, only treat and analyse the interview transcripts as data themselves (Torre & Murphy, 2015). Other approaches involve the additional content analysis of the images to gain further insight onto the motives, perceptions and psychological states of participants (Torre & Murphy, 2015). This does not suggest that the researcher bears no contributions to the analysis, however, indicates that the process of photo-elicitation as an analytical process is a collaborative one (Jenkings et al., 2008). The photograph in this analytical method is both an anchor point and a facilitator to an in-depth interview that allows resolutions of interpretations between a researcher and a participant, in which their understandings are coming partially together (Jenkings et al., 2008).

The photographs in photo-elicitation are either generated by the researchers or by the participants and are related either to answer a broader topic of interest or specific research questions. However, in a decontextualised photo-elicitation setting, the photographs may not be related to any particular participants, topics or settings (Richard & Lahman, 2015). Decontextualised photographs serve a role of *context*, creating different analytical meanings for different participants, which in turn raises the potential of interview questions as a guide for participants in their decision-making processes (Richard & Lahman, 2015).

Bettina Kolb (2008) recognises the potential of an integrative analytical photo-elicitation approach to social reality and proposes a three-step analytical framework—involving, sharing and analysing—which elicits 'influences and patterns of data quality [that] can be filtered out and considered in interpretation and analysis' (Knoblauch et al., 2008, p. 4).

Involving research participants in photo-elicitation to contribute their ideas towards images and research questions is not new. However, in Kolb's (2008)

involvement in photo-elicitation, researchers are urged to involve respondents in the establishment of new themes and research questions from their own viewpoints, based on their ideas and their localised knowledge. In essence, local relevancies perceived by participants become one crucial analytical anchor of the research and therefore the respondent assumes the role of 'partner' instead of 'participant' as research questions and directions are co-designed with the researcher, taking into account the participant's own issues of interest and topics relevant to their communities (Kolb, 2008). In this type of interview situation, an initial 'co-produced' version of meanings of photographs is generated via the images themselves, audio recordings and written transcripts (Jenkings et al., 2008).

Sharing represents the phase where decoding of the visual images begins and two separate *authentic* data forms are collected—the images themselves and the interview text (Kolb, 2008). This phase opens up a level of engagement between the researcher and respondent, in which respondents interpret the images from and for their viewpoint (Kolb, 2008). Photographs in this phase serve a special role. On the one hand, the photographs stipulate a balanced conversation between researcher and participant (Kolb, 2008), in which the participants introduce the researchers to their life worlds. On the other hand, the photographs thematically guide the interview with respondents being able to freely talk about their viewpoints and interpretations in a storytelling and episodic nature (Kolb, 2008). The involvement of participants in this process also opens possibilities of self-reflection, with new information and new insights becoming visible through the image, for the participant who shares those insights with the researcher (Jenkings et al., 2008) and for the researcher who is able to initiate discussions about problems that would otherwise not be discussed (Kolb, 2008). This reflective unfolding of photographs draws out unintentional contributions to the overall understanding of a social situation. The researcher's role in those situations demands to be reflexive towards the emerging information, its fit into the broader study at hand and the research question, and in which directions the interview should steer (Jenkings et al., 2008). This in turn creates a common knowledge between researchers and respondents, 'embedding the research results in a civil society process that may improve implementation and sustainability of any potential solutions or actions suggested by the research' (Kolb, 2008, p. 11).

Analysing forms the final step in Kolb's (2008) framework, in which the researcher interprets the visual data and interview text together to create a holistic image in response to either specific research questions or an intended study as a whole. Kolb (2008) suggests both categorisation and content analysis of the images, as the images themselves are further 'responses' towards a researcher's study or questions, in addition to the aforementioned interviews. Grouping photos into categories can provide an initial overview of data and clues, especially either places or activities, irrespective of the photographer, and content analysis contributes to a more in-depth understanding of problems and challenges of said places or activities (Kolb, 2008). The final data sets, both textual and visual, elicited by the photo interview, produce a dense and holistic character, produced with both logical and emotional motivation by respondents to communicate a specific topic to the researcher (Kolb, 2008).

5.5.1 Photo-Elicitation Example

In this example, we used the photograph in a decontextualised context for photo-elicitation. This photo with many others was shown to research participants either as part of an interview or in casual conversation outside the interview. This has two reasons. First, it is unlikely that the researcher can engage the depicted people in an interview at the time of the photograph; the snapshot-like flair of the photograph indicates a rather spontaneous situation. We have spoken to the women and their children on many occasions and showed them their pictures and discovered that they live in the slums just close by. Second, photographs create different meanings for different participants, which in turn can provide unexpected insights and in turn raise the potential of interview questions not initially thought of. When shown the photograph, two participants said the following:

> PD1:[Women] face a lot of general issues, because they are women, and number two, it is because of the gender identity that the poverty situation worsens. The woman faces the burden of providing good livelihood, good career options, low productivity skills, low income, literacy and health. It's a vicious cycle.
>
> PM12:If you look at the lower caste, lower anything, the woman is taking all the shit.

An interesting final statement with regards to social inequality and this photograph is provided by a participant, shedding light on an overall public ignorance of the issue:

> PP9:Those issues exist, but it is people like us who do not listen to them.

However, beyond a general decontextualised photo-elicitation approach, the researcher can also elicit the image for him/herself first and generate interview questions from it. We present an example here in Fig. 5.7 of how such an analysis could look like and present questions for interview participants, based on the analysis.

In this example, we are specifically focusing on (1) the pregnant woman, (2) the public tap (hidden from view here), (3) the women washing clothes and (4) on the overall photograph to generate interview questions. The questions against the specific focus are presented here:

(1) **Pregnant woman**

- *Do pregnant women often participate in daily chores?*
- *Are there any public support systems in place for pregnant women of poorer communities?*

(2) **Public Tap (hidden from view)**

- *Are public taps usually occupied by women who are washing clothes?*
- *What other functions do public taps serve?*

Fig. 5.7 Photo-elicitation analysis 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

(3) **Women washing clothes**

- *Is communal washing common in poorer communities?*
- *Are the clothes scrubbed on the floor or is there a device like a washing board used?*

(4) **Overall photograph**

- *Is the scene in the photograph a common one in Chennai, India?*
- *What occupations would these women typically have?*

5.6 Interpretive Engagement Framework

A special analytical framework primarily concerned with making meaning of participant-generated images is Drew and Guillemin's (2014) interpretive engagement framework. We have previously analysed the importance of verbal discussion of photographs with participants and its potential to retrieve rich interview data for analysis; however, Drew and Guillemin (2014) argue that in this elicitation process, the value of the image itself as data gets lost and its contributions diminished. Interview analyses by the researcher as a result of the interviews are further

critiqued to present both a singular perspective and resultantly a singular reading of the images by the same researcher (Piper & Frankham, 2007).

To balance the perspectives of both the participant and the researcher in the elicitation interviews, the interpretive engagement framework proposes a coherent and systematic three-step framework, which focuses on interpretation as *ongoing* with multiple interpretation possibilities and understandings (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). The framework is divided into (1) meaning-making through participant engagement, (2) meaning-making through researcher engagement and (3) meaning-making through re-contextualisation.

Stage 1, *meaning-making through participant engagement* focuses its analytical emphasis on the stories, experiences and representations of participants, which by the participant is expressed as either an individual image or a set of images that they took, reflections on their images and their production context, and any guidance to the researcher of how their images should be interpreted (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). This step overall for the researcher underpins the first understanding of *intentionality* by the participant and their images, repeated with each individual and potentially with each image they have produced (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). Essentially, this step allows the researcher to discover each participants' analytical lens and an overview of their collection of data, which in turn provides guidance and background for their own analytical insights and interpretations in the next step.

Stage 2, *meaning-making through researcher engagement*, involves a close analysis of images, their content and any accompanying participant explanations (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). This stage is entirely researcher-driven and therefore adds a separate new data set to the images, which involves a deeper reflective process that involves documentation, coding, categorization and theming of collected data from Stage 1. Emerging patterns and relationships through this analysis create depth to the analysis, however, reliant on the analytical skills of the researcher (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). The second step avoids danger that researchers get carried away by romantic or literal notions of participants' voices in Step 1, taking them as special truths (White & Drew, 2011) and overburdening participants with the 'weight' of their voices (St Pierre, 2009). Instead, each voice (the participant's and the researcher's) claims its place as a data source, shifting interpretation beyond the perspectives of one or the other and co-constructing meaning between them in Stage 3.

Stage 3, *meaning-making through re-contextualising*, is concerned with re-contextualisation of the data by the researcher and locating and re-locating their interpretations into new or existing framework (Drew & Guillemin, 2014). The data itself provides the conceptual directions for contextualization and theory generation; however, additional theories and directions are permissible depending on discoveries in the data. Stage 3 works on the basis of a completed coding and analytical analysis, and explicitly focuses on 'working theoretically and conceptually to finalise a robust analytic explanation' (Drew & Guillemin, 2014, p. 64). Stage 3 further allows for opportunity to consider intended audience and the audience image engagement, which on the one hand broadens the scope of interpretive engagement by the researcher, as well as serving as a new interpretive focal

lens that assists in the re-contextualisation of images and data for and towards those audiences.

Drew and Guillemin's framework presents photo-researchers with a systematic and rigorous way to analyse participant-generated images, each step informing another in a nonlinear and interrelated way. The analytical benefit of the interpretive engagement framework is that it does not rely solely on the participants' own interpretations, making the social researcher redundant. Instead, it emphasises the researcher's central role in the *overall* analysis, as well as the *production and articulation* (our emphasis) of theory derived from those interpretations (Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006). On the other hand, this analytical process can be very time- and resource-intensive, especially Stage 1, which might require individual meetings with each participant.

5.6.1 Interpretive Engagement Framework Example

This hypothetical example is based on our selected photograph and meanings we have elicited in the semiotic analysis, as well as research participants' points of view in the photo-elicitation analysis section. We translate this information here into the interpretive engagement framework.

Meaning-Making Through Participant Engagement

The meaning of the photograph was elicited by participants via a decontextualized photo-elicitation analysis. Participants described the social demands faced by women, as depicted in the image, as one of unequal power relationships that form part of a gender-based social inequality, which leads to a double burden faced by the women in India. This double burden can be described as burdens women have, based on gender and specifically with regards to women living in poverty, the 'double burden' often manifests itself in the household. Two participants described the situation as follows based on the overall image (1) in Fig. 5.8. In other scenarios and with other participants, participants might focus on specific content or aspects in the photograph.

> PD1:[Women] face a lot of general issues, because they are women, and number two, it is because of the gender identity that the poverty situation worsens. The woman faces the burden of providing good livelihood, good career options, low productivity skills, low income, literacy and health. It's a vicious cycle.
>
> PM12:If you look at the lower caste, lower anything, the woman is taking all the shit.

Meaning-Making Through Researcher Engagement

Our meaning-making of the photograph in this example is based on our semiotic analysis previously. A group of women is pictured as they wash clothes on what appears to be a public water tab at a roadside. An assumption can be made about the image that the women are part of a poorer community and have to rely on public tabs provided by the Tamil Nadu government to wash their clothes. The photograph

Fig. 5.8 Meaning-making through participant engagement analysis 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (reproduced with permission)

overall indicates that women of a lower socio-economic domain face hardships that translate into their daily work. The fact that they are photographed sitting on the roadside near a public tab is a strong indicator of their less-than-favourable living circumstances, in this example, no access to water from their homes.

Meaning-Making Through Re-contextualising

The opinions of participants and the researcher's engagement with this photograph have strongly influenced our theoretical framework of a basic social problem (BSP) (Fig. 5.3, Page 112). Although the photograph contributed to the conceptualization of the BSP, the BSP in this example simultaneously provides a contextual framework, in which the photograph can be fitted. The participant interpretation and the researcher's own understandings ensure an accurate co-created contextualization of the photograph in the framework.

Both our own interpretations and participant information unfolded this photograph as evidence of an overall subsistence of women in Tamil Nadu, as the clothes are washed by hand and in this picture especially emphasised by the pregnant woman joining the task. These inequalities have been found to carry over towards educational deficits, caste, healthcare deficits and violence committed against women. A Tamil proverb overall emphasises the gender inequality in the photograph and says: '*akathi peruvatu penpillai atuvum vellil poruttam*', which

means 'The destitute of woman bears a female child and this happens under an evil star' (Alex, 2009, p. 127).

Despite the strong shortcomings and deficits suffered by women in Tamil Nadu, other data and photographs revealed change and uplift in the status and lives of women in Tamil Nadu. Women are becoming involved in and are successful in politics, and in glamorous fields like business and finance, films and sports. In daily life, women are also increasingly observed in the roles of professional sales personnel in shopping malls and bookstores, as taxi drivers and petrol pump attendants. Given the opportunities, those inequalities can be overcome.

5.7 Positionality in Photographic Analysis

Positionality of the researcher in analysing photographs remains an issue strongly linked to attributing meaning and making assumptions about photographs. Deutsch's (2004) experiences and challenges with her positionality as a social scientist highlights that any analysis or meaning attributed to photographs originate from a researcher's own personal standpoint. In other words, aspects and assumptions in relation to content and social context analysis of photographs are dependent on the researcher's own socio-cultural positioning (Lenette, 2016) and their standpoint becoming part of the analytical method. This in itself is not a drawback to an analytical process that a researcher chooses, however, should be explicitly acknowledged as part of the analytical process (Lenette, 2016). In fact, Knoblauch and colleagues (2008) argue that photographers subjectively fashion the visual analysis with their collected data and researchers subjectively examining and analysing the data. It is not unlikely that in many photographic research studies, except for participatory photography, the photographer and the analyst are the same person.

We therefore urge researchers to consider more than one analytical approach to the analysis and understanding of their photographs. A combination of analytical processes allows researchers to unfold the multilevel meanings, metaphors, themes and significances of photographs. Understanding and unfolding different socio-cultural parameters of photographs via a combination of analytical methods enrich the analytical process of social researchers and ensure that 'the viewer—including the author—remains conscious of the multiple layers of complexity… within a specific photographic reality' (Lenette, 2016, p. 7).

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the different analytical methods and emphasised the importance of different social analytical constructions of how a photograph can be interpreted and its meanings to be discovered. It is important to be cognisant of the ways that analytical method affects the researcher's gaze. A photograph seems to be multilayered in meaning and therefore applying multiple analytical approaches might help in providing more accurate results. Beyond the discussed analysis tools, the only other ingredients needed by the researcher are their imagination and creativity.

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Chapter 6
Publishing and Presenting Research Photographs

A compelling story is critical to good qualitative work (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) and an image can bring that story to life. This chapter introduces and discusses the storytelling potential of research photographs and how they can be effectively presented. This includes associated copyright and permission processes. While it is the ambition of every researcher to publish their findings, research photography is fraught with overly cautious publication practices leading to a preference to present narratives that explain the content of photographs, rather than presenting the photographs themselves (Holm, 2014). Banks and Zeitlyn (2015) offer two explanations for this: first is 'the problem of images' in that visual images are less well accepted than written narratives as valid research material and second is 'the problem of multivocality' of images, which refers to the idea that a single image carries different meanings to differing audiences. There is consequently a degree of nervousness among researchers to use their images in their publications out of concern that the polysemic nature of photographs invites misrepresentation and misinterpretations; as such they often revert to using words and numbers (Newbury, 2011).

Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus in the social sciences that scholarly research can be enhanced by the inclusion of visual images (Newbury, 2011). Part of this shift is attributable to the emergence of digital publication, which makes the inclusion of photographs easier and more economical. However, this carries new and increasingly complex processes for acquiring and seeking permission for the use of photographs. Those responsibilities and liabilities have become important to both researchers and publishers (Rowe, 2011). Academics often remain absent from this discussion and 'fair use' appears to be the popular argument used by academic researchers for justifying freedom to reproduce images. Researchers are now faced with questions about what kind of photographs to include, how many and for what reasons. This demands ever greater attention being paid to the publication potential of photographs.

The original version of this chapter was revised: Placement of the figures have been changed. The erratum to this chapter is available athttps://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_7

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_6

6.1 The Publication Potential of Photographs—Telling a Story

On 5 December 1979, the University of Provence in France awarded a Ph.D. to French photographer Lucien Clergue for his collection of photographs *Langage des Sables* (Language of the Sands) (Rowe, 1995). Dubbed '*The Wordless Doctoral Dissertation*', the scholarly value of his photography series without any accompanying text emerged through the ordering of images of sands and progression of its form to a process of 'becoming'. Clergue's photographs unfolded from 'streaming water to man-made object, on to debris of some plastic…as a substance endowed with plasticity' (Rowe, 1995, p. 21). Clergue's photographs were awarded this recognition, because they set out to tell a story of discovery from the sands and through it, the story of mankind and the progression of life on this planet (Clergue, 1980).

The publication potential of photographs lies in their ability to help tell a compelling story and contribute to a much more engaging storytelling process by the researcher and discovery process by the audience that makes interpretations and findings more engaging that rigorous scientific findings or narrative alone. The becomings of photographs with their enfolded layers of information draw audiences to interpret and unfold them, which in turn enables photographs to tell stories, rather than being simple anecdotes of a chronicle recorded (Bell, 2002). Although it might at first seem counter-intuitive to attribute *stories* to both research inquiries and scholarly value, dismissing 'stories' as its sole function of fictional narrative ignores the potential of photographs to communicate wider social issues and therefore demand the viewer's close attention. Stories unfold the layers enfolded in a photograph, with the support of the researcher's own imagination to fill in the blanks. With photographs, readers can see the findings for themselves, can stand in midst of the findings, rather than on the outskirts of it in terms of their interpretations. Participatory photography especially realises the storytelling potential of photographs, as its communication of lived experiences allows viewers and readers to enter the *spaces* of the participants' lives, material that is otherwise inaccessible and engaging viewers in socio-spatial lives of participants, enhancing our understanding of it, locating those spaces and viewing them in new ways (Winton, 2016).

However, to simply claim the storytelling potential of photographs by asserting that 'a picture is worth a thousand words' misses the true purpose of photography in scholarly publication and presentation. If we follow this claim, then a photograph used in scholarly presentation and publication merely indicates a strong unidirectional, monological medium of *transmission* for large volumes of information (Jessop, 2008; Rose, 2007). Photographs in scholarly publications then would only predominantly serve as *support* for written text, instead of becoming a carrier of information in their own right (Jessop, 2008). The far greater storytelling ability of photographs is its dialogical visual perception, which can be used to create, discover and present new knowledge (Jessop, 2008). Photographs are thus able to punctuate, impact and arrest the viewer more immediate than any of the following explanatory narratives (Warren, 2005). Once researchers realise the storytelling

potential of photographs and recognise them as *primary* means of presenting visual material, then photographs will become more commonly used in scholarly publications (Newbury, 2011).

In order for photographs to acquire a social life in publication and presentation, they need framings, storylines and human spokespersons (Warren, 2005). The power of a photograph therefore lies not only within the photograph itself but also its ability to provoke a response of wondering and questions within audiences. A photograph therefore is able to create narrative in the audiences' minds in that 'narrative' does not imply drama or the intention to create a deep emotional response within its readers (Olsen, 2017). Instead, a photograph creates a 'forward motion' in a narrative that places it in the context of larger, deeper questions (Olsen, 2017).

Presenting and publishing a photograph as more than a successful image or image series that capture data require the understanding of narrative in photographic storytelling, as developed narrative is a key success factor to good storytelling. Photographs can form narratives in different ways, such as photo-narratives, multiple still images grounded in text and individual images with or without texts (Soutter, 2000). In the next section, we are discussing photo-narratives and single-image narratives for research publications, as well as specifically using photographs in academic conferences. The question that researchers have to ask themselves is which storytelling approach will help the readers become more intimate with the participant's or the researcher's experiences.

6.2 Single-Photo Narrative and Multiple Single-Photo Narrative

A successful single photograph invites the viewer into its world and to travel through its different meanings (Scott, 2016). Nevertheless, the fact that a single photograph is able to tell a story does not immediately imply that the photograph is in and by itself a narrative (Speidel, 2013). A single-photo narrative can influence how researchers are seeking and composing research photographs. It can further serve as an anchor point around which a narrative draws specific attention to various aspects of the photograph or how it was taken. This can be done quite effectively via single-photo narratives being presented as vignettes to draw attention to larger inquiries and other contexts at hand. Furthermore, drawing multiple single-photo narratives together can further support or elicit overall points and directions, in which each photograph alone does not reveal. For example, in one of our earlier publications on dignity and photography in a research context (see Langmann & Pick, 2014), we presented a framework of dignity-in-process and dignity-in-outcome and to support this framework, we initially submitted accounts for three different vignettes without photographs and only provided textual descriptions. In their review letter, however, the publishers asked whether it is possible to send the photographs for possible inclusion to the manuscript. The final version of the article was published with both the photographs and accompanying

narrative, which shows that for the editors, the images drew additional value to the situations we described outside the narrative. We present these three vignettes here.

6.2.1 *Single-Image Narrative Examples and Multiple Single-Image Narrative Example*

Vignette 1: Chariot of Youth

The second case is that of an early afternoon on the streets of Chennai, where an elderly man was riding a bicycle rickshaw, transporting 11 preschool children back to their homes through the traffic and pollution (Fig. 6.1). Applying the principles associated with dignity-in-process, discussion with the man led to him agreeing that his photograph be taken, which was then shown to him and, with his consent, to the eager and curious children he was transporting home. The ensuing discussion about the photograph with the man resulted in additional data being collected about his visible happiness in taking the children to school and back home, and coping with the difficult working conditions in Tamil Nadu. Considering dignity-in-outcome raises the important consideration that research photography should not prettify people and their situation captured in an image as it could compromise their dignity. The situation captured in the photograph was not only data rich but also had an aesthetic quality in that the researcher and the participant were satisfied that it was a good photograph—a highly subjective but important aspect in protecting or

Fig. 6.1 'Chariot of Youth' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

enhancing the self-esteem of the participant. This demonstrates the task of the research photographer in taking into consideration the aesthetic quality of an image alongside the need to collect data about the phenomena they are researching. The photograph, accompanying the narrative contributed to achieving greater understanding of an issue in Tamil Nadu, is authentic in its depiction of the situation (it is common for elderly people in Tamil Nadu to engage in demanding physical work) and did not demean the participant, as they were the main focus of the image.

Vignette 2: Family Gathering

The application of dignity-in-process in the production of ethically sound and dignifying research photographs is illustrated in this photograph. The photograph, titled '*Family Gathering*' (Fig. 6.2), was collected as a result of many visits to housing projects and slum areas in Chennai. Regular visits to the slum areas and being approached by children, young people and adults for photographs and engaging in dialogue gave us a mutual understanding of where we stood in relation to the people being researched and vice versa. The photograph shows one of many scenes typical for a weekend including families taking their meal outside their house sitting on plastic chairs or a wall, elders gathering and chatting at the local temple, people enjoying chatter on the street, children running and playing with toys and tyres, and families gathering at weekends to socialise. Ensuring the dignity of participants was preserved demanded that the data collected about them be authentic. One particular aspect of dignity-in-process that emerged was the angle at which a photograph is taken. This is because verbal and non-verbal cues have a role in determining and reinforcing power structures (Hall, Coats, & LeBeau, 2005) not

Fig. 6.2 'Family Gathering' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

just in real life but also in how people are portrayed in images (Tiemens, 1970); thus, the angle of a photograph (from above, from below or horizontally) affects how people evaluate the social status of the person being photographed.

Vignette 3: Trades People

The photograph, titled '*Trades People*' (Fig. 6.3), presents another dimension to dignity-in-process in that this photograph arose from visits to the slums in which data were gathered about trading and occupational practices in which people engage in front of, or in their homes. The photograph shows a woman sitting in front of her home putting together flowers from a basket on a string for the temples in company of her spouse. In this case, it was important to consider what impressions were being conveyed about the participants and their social environment as well as the value of an image to the research project before capturing an image. Experiencing the poorer areas of Chennai, it became clear that care must be taken to collect data that accurately and authentically portray their situation and dignify whatever they are doing. In this case, for example, it was found that collecting photographic data in this way provided valuable detail about work environments and practices, the context dependence of situations, and protected the dignity of participants.

Drawing these three cases together as a multiple single-image narrative in the original publication, we argue for an overall point that taking photographs of people in their social environment is something they cannot truly defend and that by spending time with people being researched and using the camera as a communication tool as well as a data collection tool, the barriers between the researcher and participants can be reduced helping to preserve and enhance their dignity. By being

Fig. 6.3 'Trades People' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

shown the photograph taken on the LCD screen at the back of the camera in all three cases, the person photographed can see exactly how they are being portrayed in that particular moment, allowing them to raise concerns about a particular image of them or their situation (which might end in the participant asking that the image be deleted). To do this, it was necessary to give as much time as participants wanted to view relevant photographs. While this might not apply to spontaneous snapshots of fleeting moments, time previously spent on understanding the social and cultural contexts of the scenes being photographed will help in the exercise of discretion when taking ethically sound research images. By adopting these approaches, the authenticity of photographs is ensured, while at the same time safeguarding the dignity of participants.

6.3 Photo-narrative

A photo-narrative is defined as a collection of photographic images that are arranged in sequence to present a story or create a storyline (Baetens and Ribière, 1995). The difference between a photo-narrative and a single- and multiple-photo narrative, as well as the general practice of photography lies in its framed and out-of-frame context. In single-photo narrative and photography, the edges of the frame represent an absolute break, spatialising and enfolding a unique moment, much done so by Henri Cartier-Bresson (Baetens, 1995). In photo-narratives as a presentation approach, the frame breaks transform from *absolute to relative*, as each photograph becomes a fragment, that is, 'preceded, surrounded or followed by other fragments' (Baetens, 1995, p. 283). Within photo-narratives, each photograph preserves and stabilises a fragment of the narrative experience signifying its specific moment in time (Riessman, 2008, p. 181). In that regard, photo-narratives present a movement from presence of a fragment to its absence and back again to another fragment. The careful arrangements of these fragments in photo-narrative create visual structures that allow researchers to communicate their interpretations and thoughts and for viewers to unfold those patterns and relationships (Jessop, 2008). Bell (2002) suggests that this arrangement can be either be in a chronological order of events or via a more abstract approach that combines related ideas. Although chronological ordering is the most common form of photo-narrative, alternative grouping could be thematic to highlight the importance of a particular theme, or the juxtaposition of selected images to reinforce specific points (Newbury, 2011).

A problem arises in determining how many photographs the researcher chooses to use in their narrative. Preliminary inquiry to either the intended academic journal or book publisher might prove useful in deciding the number of photographs and thus improving their chances to have their photo-narratives published. A smaller, well-chosen set of images is often superior to one that is large and unfocused (Newbury, 2011). This sometimes means that those photographs that might be striking and interesting must make way for that are less so but move the research narrative forward, develops an argument and/or provides essential evidence

(Newbury, 2011). It must be remembered though that simply displaying visual images without a purposeful arrangement will not suffice for photographs to obtain a status as a valid supportive source (Jessop, 2008) in a research publication or presentation otherwise.

6.3.1 *Photo-narrative Example*

The following section is a photo-narrative of a basic social problem and of how the people in this study experienced poverty. The basic social problem (BSP) forms a framework that inhibits people from escaping poverty, classified into educational inequalities, social (Non-gender) inequalities, gender-based inequalities and citizenship inequalities. The data was collected from predominantly insights by NGOs, which are involved with the problems faced by the poor and incorporates the perspectives of people working with the poor.

The collection of five photographs forms a part of a larger photo-narrative of 21 images, taken throughout the data collection process to understand the daily struggles of poor people and simultaneously granting the poor agency for themselves. The full photo-narrative can be seen in Langmann (2014, pp. 180–219). The photos represent first-hand insights into their lives and the context of their lives, allowing the poor agency to present a subsistence, to which they are exposed and have to live by, limiting their choices and freedoms. These photographs are symbolic of a larger problem, built on the concept of punctum and studium. Studium represents a cultural, linguistical or political interpretation of a photograph. Punctum emphasises a personal or touching detail, establishing a direct relationship between the object or person and the observer. The photographs were collected over the period of 1 year. To assist the reader in the interpretation of the photographs with regards to their relation to the BSP, this study uses the original BSP model, applying a colour code, depicted here again in Fig. 6.4. Each photograph is assessed against this model and determined in which category or categories it falls.

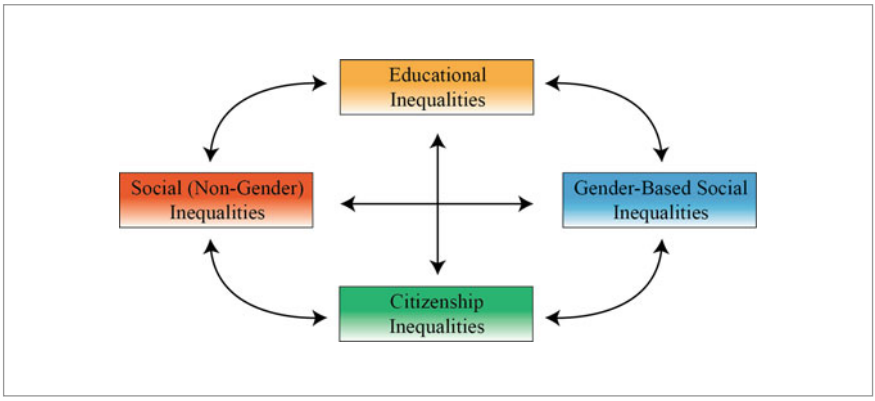


Fig. 6.4 The Basic Social Problem (BSP) Overview

Fig. 6.5 'Slums near a polluted river' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 6.5 shows a slum area in Chennai near a polluted river. The houses are very makeshift and lack any sanitation or facilities. Inhabitants are dependent on their own capabilities to create a living environment with very few tools and support. The river in the foreground serves mostly as a dump site for the residents and starts to smell badly, especially in summer. People who live in these slums are often from poor social backgrounds with little education, or forcibly re-settled in the name of development.

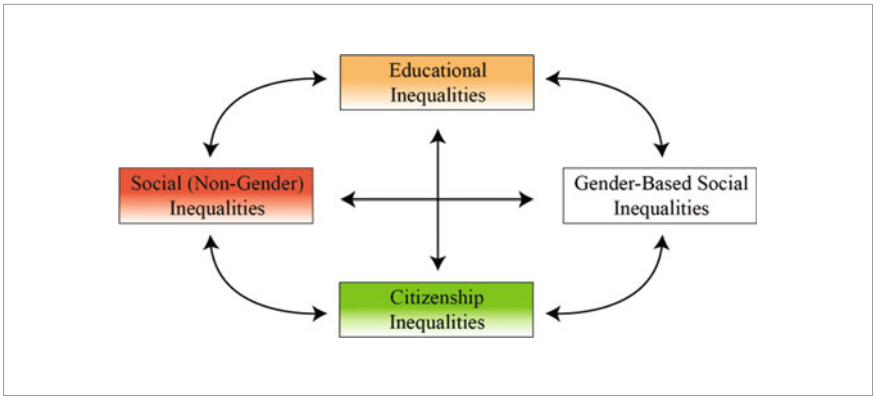


Fig. 6.6 'The crowded spaces of the slums' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 6.6 describes the general environment of the slums in Chennai. Spaces between houses are often used to span lines to hang up laundry, and various items, especially cooking items are kept outside near the walls. The congested space is a problem, as there is not much walking and living space, presenting a social and citizenship inequality of its inhabitants.

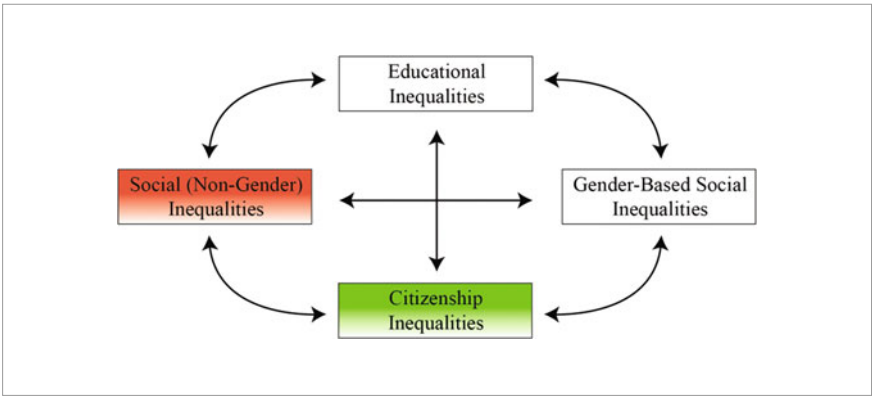


Fig. 6.7 'Woman fetching water from a public tab' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 6.7 describes a daily scene of a woman fetching water, which she collects in a plastic orange pot and carries to her house. These pots are a common storage container for people in the slums and have to be carried from the public tab to the home by the woman. This is often strenuous work and women all ages have been observed carrying them, a social conditioning and social inequality.

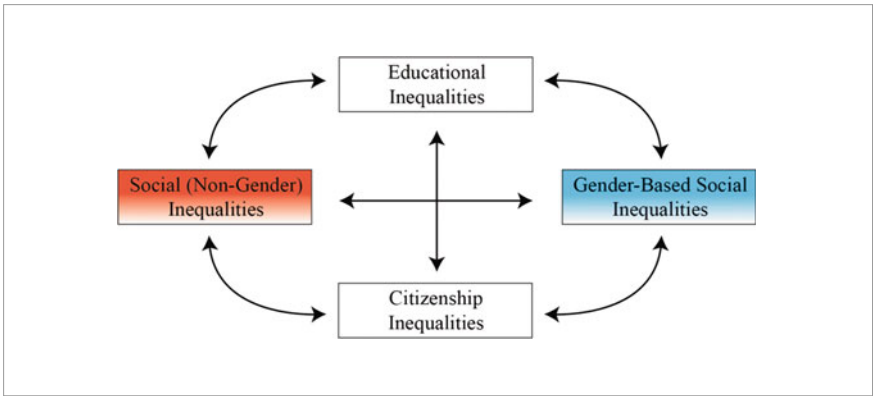


Fig. 6.8 'An industry worker and his working environment' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 6.8 shows a worker who dismantles cars for spare parts. The working environment is very hazardous and he seemed to have been exposed to a lot of industrial chemicals. There are little health and safety regulations or protections for the workers. This is likely to become a problem later in their lives. People in those work environment often have not attended school and are subjected to some form of social inequality.

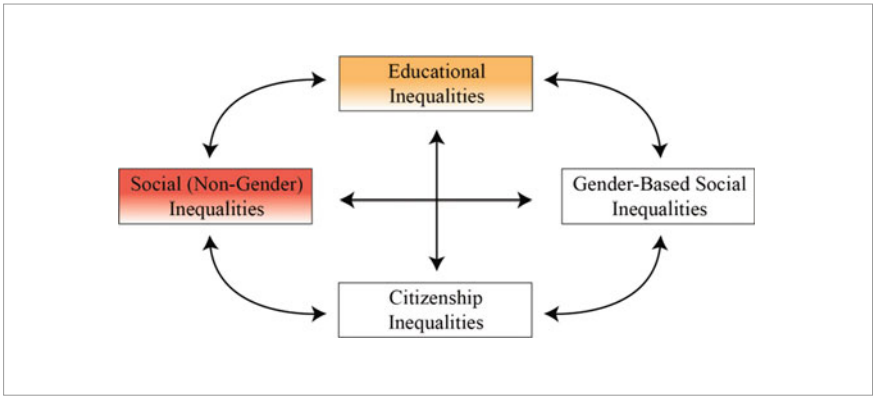
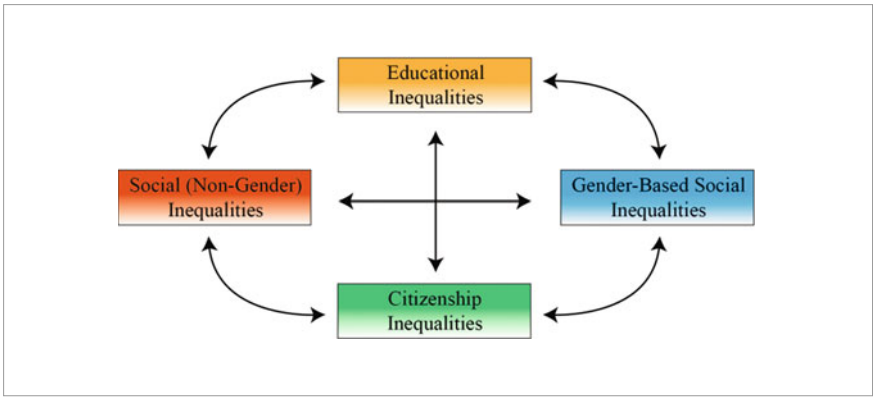


Fig. 6.9 'Men outside a liquor shop in Chennai' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Figure 6.9 is a night scene of men standing outside a liquor store (in local slang 'wine shop') to buy drinks. Most of them are manual labourers and rickshaw drivers, spending some of their daily income on local-brewed spirits. I have observed this often leading to violent behaviours and been told it often leads to wife abuse at their homes. This image probably represents best a combination of all four poverty dimensions in the BSP.



6.4 Conference Presentation and Publication

Academic conferences occupy an important position in academic communication where the forging and negotiation of knowledge begins. Discussing research photography in academic conferences is important as the core components of academic conferences are the *conference paper* and the *oral presentation* (Rowley-Jolivet, 2002). A striking feature of conference papers and presentations are the visual channels of communication, omnipresent throughout the talks via aids such as PowerPoint. This co-existence of the visual, written and spoken creates a single space that cannot be interpreted or understood selectively or in a nonlinear way (i.e. going back and forth in a conference paper), instead we are obliged to follow the linear progression of visual slides and the visual–verbal mix presented by the researcher (Rowley-Jolivet, 2002). Therefore, the presentation of photographic research at academic conferences carries an organisational and interactual burden.

The sizing of photographs can be another tool at the researcher's disposal to signify the importance of some images over others (Newbury, 2011). In this instance, the researcher is not dependent on the journal or publisher and even a single upsized photograph can provide a strong support that keeps reinforcing the researcher's findings in the presentation. Furthermore, that image then can trigger their own imaginings of 'before' and 'after' in this image, with the photograph simply spatializing this point in time, as the point of departure and point of return.

Rowley-Jolivet's (2002) observations of visual components at academic conferences let her subdivide the polysemic visuals, including photographs, into two subcategories—Figurative I and Figurative II types. Subtype I would comprise the photograph in their full composition, whereas Figurative II types enhance photographs to highlight single features.

We want to take this idea from the scientific domain and suggest that its application would also prove useful in the social science domains. Photographs often contain a lot of information that might be difficult for an audience to follow despite a researcher's written guide. For conference presentations especially, it might be advantageous for researchers to present photographs and key aspects of the image to which they want to draw attention to either sequentially in electronic presentations or as one in a poster presentation. As such, the overall Figurative I-type photographs can present the overall presentation or research focus, with Figurative II types presenting the *scriptural* component to the presentation, in terms of guiding the talk or summarising main conclusions or discoveries (Rowley-Jolivet, 2002). We wish to illustrate this with a practical example.

6.4.1 Conference Presentation Figurative I and Figurative II Example

Figurative I Presentation

The following photograph, titled '*Untitled*' (Fig. 6.10), can serve as a useful guide to draw attention to the lack of water access that people in the slums in Chennai face, especially during the summer. However, and more importantly, it also draws attention to a very collective procedure of people living in the slums, which could warrant closer attention and explanation by the researcher. Using the photograph for *Figurative I* can serve as an overview of the points that the researcher wishes to draw on, as seen the presentation of our photograph.

Figurative II Presentation

Based on the presentation of the photograph as a whole in Figurative I, we now suggest that these three points of interest can be taken out of the image and be used as a presentation guide, even with different titles.

(1) Collective Water Gathering

This scene in Fig. 6.11 provides the point of departure for a possible conference presentation, drawing attention to the water truck parked at the roadside. The people

Fig. 6.10 Figurative I 'Untitled' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

Fig. 6.11 'Collective Water Gathering' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

gather their water containers collectively and reveal that this collective chore is fulfilled mostly by women and daughters. The image does not reveal any men being involved in this process.

(2) Women carrying water containers

This scene in Fig. 6.12 acts as a reinforcement to that the water-gathering process of people living in the slums in Chennai appears to be predominantly carried out by women. The technique to carry the water container on their hips is commonly observed, as it helps with holding the weight of it. The presentation can use this part of the image to draw attention to wider social- and gender-based inequalities endured by poorer people, especially women.

(3) The water-pourer

This scene in Fig. 6.13 represents a very interesting occurrence and perhaps worthy a separate point of discussion in a conference presentation. We observed on many occasions that when water trucks arrive near the slums, they will only stay so for a limited time. To get the maximum amount of water, one person (in all instances of out observation this was a woman) would act as the water-pourer and simply grab the nearest container and fill it up, then onto the next and so on. Other women will come and collect those containers. The water-pourer will keep pouring containers until the truck is leaving.

Fig. 6.12 'Women carrying water containers' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

6.5 (Re)Presenting Research Participants

The potential impacts on research participants, both realised and unrealized, have to be considered in choosing the images and the argument that is being made (Newbury, 2011). For example, in Joanou's (2009) participatory photo study with young people working and living on the streets of Peru, she purposefully chose not

Fig. 6.13 'The Water-Pourer' © Sten Langmann (Reproduced with Permission)

to publish some the photographs discussed in the article, as their publication in an unconcealed state could have compromised the dignity of her participants. For example, some photographs revealed two young boys who were involved in the project engaging in drug abuse. While the photograph at the time was taken with consent and permission, Joanou (2009) decided not to publish them as in a sober state, the two boys would not wish to see themselves this way, with one arguing it brings back bad memories and the desire to return to the drug. Newbury (2011) urges the consideration (direct and indirect) of the role of participants in deciding

which images to publish and which to withhold. Our framework of consent at collection and consent at re-contact (see Chap. 3) might be helpful in actively including the participants as decision-makers and determining which images to include in the publication. In the case of the two boys in Joanou's (2009) study, they both would have most likely vetoed the publication of the photograph at the consent at re-contact phase. This way, including or non-inclusion of pictures, becomes less of a strategic and ethical choice of balance, and instead, researchers can refocus their efforts into determining whether showing the image will help the reader become more intimate with the participant's or the researcher's experiences and whether the image moves their arguments forward. This process of arriving at such decisions, the concern for photographs in their own right and how photographs can be used to make arguments and to communicate findings overall is that which Newbury (2011) refers to as *caring for images*.

6.6 Copyright Protection of Photographs

Copyright has long been an essential part of scholarly work (Morris, 1992). It is critical for researchers to understand the boundaries of copyright, fair use and the public domain, as inadequate permissions of use may prompt publishers to decline researchers the usage of photographs in their work, printers and libraries rejecting the work, and dissertations employing photographs being rejected altogether. Copyright is a form of intellectual property that grants rights to authors for the protection of both economic and distributive interests (Katsarova, 2015). Those *authors' rights* allow for controlled licensing of the work to third parties, usually in exchange for a license fee. Copyright in general is a territorial affair and different nations set different copyright standards, durations and exceptions; however, international copyright agreements have somewhat harmonised copyright laws while retaining some unique features of individual countries (Katsarova, 2015). The most notable and relevant international agreement for photographic scholars and minimum standards for intellectual property holders is the Berne Convention, which is administered by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) (Jacobs, 2016; WIPO, 2017). The Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works honours copyright protection to 'every production in the literary, scientific and artistic domain, whatever may be the mode or form of its expression' (Berne Convention, Article 2, Section 1). Under the Berne Convention, an author is further granted moral rights at the point of creation, which allows him or her to prevent revision, alteration or distortion of their work, irrespective of who owns it (Rowe, 2011). To qualify for copyright protection, a work needs to be original, where definition is not set in the Berne Convention (Margoni, 2016) and where the standards between individual nations and trading blocs differ.

However, to create and maintain a fair balance between the interests of copyright holders of photographs and potential users, the protection of such copyright can be subject to two limitations, which vary depending on the laws of the country in

which the researcher is publishing. First, each work protected under copyright for a finite duration, which begins at the time when the work was created (Katsarova, 2015). Second, the use of an author's work, including photographs, might be permitted without a license of the copyright owner if it falls under the category of 'fair use' (Katsarova, 2015; Rowe, 2011). The discussion on copyright of photography in scholarly publishing needs to include 'fair use' and 'fair dealings', as confusion about the difference between copyright and fair use has created a culture of fear among scholars and publishers alike (Markham, 2012) and has dissuaded researchers from engaging in photographic research altogether. Many countries have their own definition of 'fair use' and 'fair dealings', as well as different standards relating to the moral rights authors have over their work, for example, the UK is different to the EU, because despite the UK being a part of the EU, its legal system is grounded in common law precedents rather than codified civil law. This and other issues are examined in the next sections.

6.7 U.S. Copyright, Moral Rights and 'Fair Use'

6.7.1 Copyrights

In the U.S., copyright for photographs is automatically assigned to authors if the work is (a) created with human effort and a minimal level of creativity, (b) is created by a U.S. citizen or person living in the USA, and/or (c) published in a country that shares copyright treaties with the U.S. (Harington, 2017; Rowe, 2011). Once a photograph is under copyright, the author may permit or restrict its reproduction, creation of derivative works, distribution and marketing, and public display via a license for each of the rights or as a whole (Rowe, 2011). Once the duration of the copyright finishes, the photograph enters the public domain with very little control of the photograph's use or distribution after (see *Public Domain*).

6.7.2 Moral Rights

Moral rights in U.S. legislation cover three abilities of the copyright holder to the use of photographic images. First, the author has the right to being associated with the work via accreditation in both display and publication. Second, the author has control over changes of the photograph that would impact the reputation of him or her, such as distortion, mutilation or change of intent or meaning of the photograph. Third, a copyright holder has the right to either withdraw or limit an association of a photograph with either a product, a service or a cause (Rowe, 2011).

6.7.3 *'Fair Use'*

In the USA, the concept of 'fair use' considers exemption for materials including photographs which are protected under copyright, if their intended purpose of use is of critical nature, commentary, news reporting, teaching, scholarship or research (Rowe, 2011). Fair use is codified in the US Constitution under 17 USC § 107 (U.S. Const., 17 USC, § 107) and considers four distinct factors that must be assessed to determine whether copyright is infringed or fair use applied. First, the *purpose* and intended use of the work need to be established including potential commercial uses or non-commercial uses. Second, the *nature* of the copyrighted work affects choices of fair use. Creative and imaginary works, as well as unpublished work, are less likely to follow under fair use than factual work (Harington, 2017). Third, the *amount* or portion used of the copyrighted work in relation to the whole work is assessed. 'Amount' here refers to both qualitative and quantitative amounts. Using an entire work by an author can be deemed fair play and in other contexts, even a small amount can be deemed not to be fair, as it might be 'the heart' of the work. Fourth, the fair use of the copyrighted work is determined by the impact of the use upon the potential market for or the value of the work (Harington, 2017). For example, commercial publication under fair use would be quite likely impact the potential market for the work in terms of fees the author can attract for it and potential opportunities for reproduction (Rowe, 2011).

6.8 Australian Copyright, Moral Rights and 'Fair Dealings'

6.8.1 *Copyrights*

In Australia, copyright protection for photographs is free and automatic at the time that the image is taken and no copyright protection notice is required (Australian Copyright Council, 2014a). 'Originality' in Australian Copyright, similar to that of the UK in that emphasis, is placed on a 'sweat of the brow' approach that recognises the effort that it took to create the work instead of a prescribed creativity or author's personality in its process (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2013b). Furthermore, the Berne Convention protects foreign copyright owners in Australia and Australian copyright holders in other signatory countries (Australian Copyright Council, 2014a). In terms of copyright ownership, the photographer is the first owner of copyright in Australia; however, the Australian Copyright Council (2014a) grants exemptions to this rule in a number of circumstances. First, if there is more than one creator of the photograph (owning the camera does not determine copyright), then copyright is shared equally among its creators. Second, when

photographs are taken under a contractual agreement, for example, a commission, copyright holdings stay with the photographer if the image is produced on or after 30 July 1998. However, photos taken for private and domestic purposes for clients make the client the first owner of copyright, unless negotiated otherwise prior to the work (Australian Copyright Council, 2014a). Third, photos taken in the course of employment will be the employer's copyright. However, if that employer is a newspaper or a magazine, the copyright remains that of the photographer if the image is produced on or after the 30 July 1998. Furthermore, photos taken for the government become the copyright of a Commonwealth, State or Territory government (Australian Copyright Council, 2014a).

6.8.2 *Moral Rights*

Moral rights of individual creators under the Australian *Copyright Amendment (Moral Rights) Act* (2000) (Cth) arise automatically at the time of creation including those of artistic works (photographs) and are non-transferrable (Cantatore and Johnston, 2016). The Australian Copyrights Council (2014b) covers three distinct aspects moral rights. First, authors have a right to be attributed and to be credited for their work when it is reproduced, published, exhibited, communicated or adapted (Australian Copyright Council, 2014b). Attribution should be clear and reasonable prominent. Second, authors have the right not to be falsely attributed by crediting the wrong person for the work. Third, the author has the right for their work not to be treated in a derogatory manner (Australian Copyright Council, 2014b). 'Derogatory' is any action that prejudices the author's honour and reputation, which falls under distorting, mutilating or presenting the work in a prejudice manner (Australian Copyright Council, 2014b).

6.8.3 *'Fair Dealings'*

In Australia, the concept of 'fair dealings' is similar to the 'fair use' concept employed in the USA (see Sect. 3.3) in the sense that exemptions to copyright permissions can be permitted, if they fall within a range of specific purposes. However, Australia does not take the consideration of 'unpublished' work into consideration and use of unpublished work can be granted under 'fair dealing', based on the four consideration factors: purpose, nature, amount and potential market impact (Australian Law Reform Commission, 2013a).

6.9 European Union Copyright, Moral Rights and Fair Use (?)

6.9.1 Copyright

Since all EU states are signatories of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, the copyright law of the EU cannot be seen separately to that of international law (Kuhlen, 2013). Copyright in the EU is automatically assigned to an author at the time of the creation of the work and does not require a copyright protection notice. Nevertheless, copyright in the EU is strongly based on an author's rights tradition (Kuhlen, 2013), however, can be acquired, for example, by an employer, through contract (Katsarova, 2015). This is different to the U.S. and Australia, for example, where third parties may be attributed directly with authorship without transfer requirements. To qualify for copyright protection in the EU, 'originality' of a work is strongly related to creativity and a display of the author's personality (Katsarova, 2015). Photographs in the Berne Convention fall under 'original' and therefore copyright protection 'if it is the author's own intellectual creation reflecting his personality, no other criteria such as merit or purpose being taken into account' (Council Directive 93/98/EEC, art. 17).

6.9.2 Moral Rights

Under EU legislation, moral rights will always remain those of the authors and cannot be relinquished via contract, unlike its copyright (Katsarova, 2015). Moral rights in the EU cover four distinct aspects. First, the right to attribution, covers the author's right to decide to whether or not their name should be associated with the work and whether the work should be made available to the public (Katsarova, 2015). Second, the right to integrity, protects the work from distortion, mutilation or any derogatory action, which prejudices the author's reputation (Katsarova, 2015). Third, the right of disclosure, allows authors to specify if a work can be made public for the *first time*, and if so, under which terms and in what form (Katsarova, 2015). Finally, an author's right to withdrawal allows him or her to remove the work from the market if he or she deems that it no longer reflects his or her intellectual or artistic point of view (Katsarova, 2015).

6.9.3 Fair Use (?)

Under EU copyright legislation, there is no principle that compares the use of fair play/dealings like the USA, UK and Australia (Kuhlen, 2013). Copyright experts in the EU argue that a 'fair use'-like principle is not needed and that traditions of

limitations and exceptions to copyright provide sufficient flexibility and adaptability to new challenges, technology and moral behaviour (Kuhlen, 2013). Users and consumers though argue that EU copyright industries abuse copyright limitations for the purposes of retaining intellectual monopolies and that an increasing mismatch between EU copyright law and technological changes and social norms exist (Hugenholtz, 2013). However, since all European Union Member States are signatories of the Berne Convention, a 'three-step-test' by the convention serves as a basis of limitations and exceptions to copyright (Katsarova, 2015). The 'three-step-test' grants exceptions to copyright in (a) special cases, (b) when not in conflict with normal use and exploitation of the work, and (c) if it does not prejudice legitimate interests of the rights holder (Katsarova, 2015).

6.10 UK Copyright, Moral Rights and Fair Dealings

6.10.1 Copyright

As the UK is a signatory to the Berne Convention, the same legislation as to the EU applies in terms of copyright. The person who creates the image is generally the copyright holder; however, when the image is created as part of the author's employment, UK legislation can grant transfers of copyright to the employer (Wiles, Clark, & Prosser, 2011). Copyright may further be contractually transferred to another person similar to the EU. In the UK context, a work is original if the author exercised 'skill, judgement and/or labour' in its production (Margoni, 2016, p. 88).

6.10.2 Moral Rights

In the UK, the 1988 Act has brought moral right provisions for authors into legislation (Zhou, 2014) and recognises four distinct moral rights, not dissimilar to those under EU legislation. The first three moral rights—right to be identified, right to object to derogatory treatment of the work and protection against false attribution of the work—are the same as the EU moral rights (Zhou, 2014). However, the fourth moral right is the right to privacy of certain photographs and films, which fundamentally grants the author the right to withdraw public display of the photograph. Unlike EU legislation, which deals with the moral rights of the author, UK legislation allows photograph retraction to extend beyond the author and includes reasons to 'protect the privacy of the person in the photograph' (Zhou, 2014, p. 109).

6.11 'Exceptions to Copyright'

UK legislation offers a set of exceptions to copyright, which apply if the 'use of the work is a "fair dealing"' (Intellectual Property Office, 2014, p. 3), for example, scholarly use, criticism, reviewing or news reporting. This is different to the 'fair dealing' principle of Australia, which is anchored in the legislation, whereas the courts in the UK have identified factors in determining whether a particular dealing with a work or photograph is indeed 'fair' (Intellectual Property Office, 2014). A notable difference between Australian and UK-based fair dealings is that while Australia assessed fair dealings against the same four factors as in the USA, the UK focuses primarily on the use of the work affecting the market value and the loss of revenue to the owner and secondary on the reasonable and appropriate amount of the work used (Intellectual Property Office, 2014). Otherwise, the three factors of exemption under the Berne Convention apply.

6.12 Fair Use/Dealings in the Digital Environment

The digital environment has created new challenges for the general fair use of photographs. While the previous legislations and interpretations of fair use/dealings and the three-step-test remain, we argue that it will be much harder to obtain photographs for scholarly use under those exceptions. Building a case for 'fair use' with photographs can present significant challenges, especially in terms of market impact (Rowe, 2011). Publishing a digital photograph, more so a high-resolution photograph online or in print, would present great difficulties in showing how this release would not have an effect on the potential market and further commercial opportunities for the author and the image release (Rowe, 2011). Understanding the potential uses and audiences of photographs is therefore essential in determining whether a photograph for publication would fall under fair use. Fair use and fair dealings with digital and also analogue photographs (digitising analogue photographs create a derivative work) remain a grey area and will always be subject to both the contexts and outlets they are used in, as well as the publisher's policies on dealing with published photographs (Markham, 2012). For scholars and publishers alike, the safest, yet also the most time- and resource-consuming approach, remains obtaining a copyright or permission to use from the copyright owner.

6.13 Copyright in the Public Domain

An alternative for researchers who wish to utilise and publish photographs is to use photographs that are in the *public domain*. Defining the public domain has been subject to debate and the boundaries of public domain are often placed in binary opposition to copyright regulatory frameworks (Taubman, 2007). The public domain of copyright essentially forms a space that allows authors to use photographs and other works without the need to ask for permission (Erickson et al., 2015; Lessig, 2006; Stim, 2010; Taubman, 2007). Deazley (2007) distinctly points out the difference between a work being *publicly accessible* and *use without permission*. For example, a photograph might be publicly accessible on the internet and authors might be able to freely view the photograph on their screens; however, this does not imply that no restrictions or limitations in terms of how one intends to use this photograph exist. For example, take a collection of photographs in the public domain. Although no copyright protection might apply to the individual photographs, an author, who has collected and creatively arranged the photographs into book or website, may infringe a 'collective works' copyright if a person uses or distributes a large proportion of the entire book without permission (Stim, 2010). Therefore, the absence of rights of the public domain is insufficient to understand it (Taubman, 2007).

We need to understand *how* creative works, including photographs, can enter the public domain and their possible usage limitations to clear up ambiguities of 'permission free' and introduce the possibilities of other limitations outside the scope of copyright. Deazley (2007) has divided the works that enter the public domain as a series of categories—(i) works that have not qualified for copyright protection in the first place; (ii) works, which copyright has expired; (iii) works that have been released by a copyright owner a priori (beforehand) and (iv) works or part of works that follow the line of idea–expression and are therefore unprotectable. In the context of photography and scholarly presentation and publication, only two of the four releases—(i) copyright expired and (ii) a priori (released beforehand)—are relevant.

6.13.1 Expired Copyright

Once a photograph's copyright duration has expired, it enters the public domain. For signatory countries of the Berne Convention, copyright extends to the lifetime of the author plus 50 years after his or her death (Katsarova, 2015). However, the EU, the USA, the UK and Australia have extended the copyright to 70 years after the author's death (Harington, 2017; Katsarova, 2015). Once a work's copyright is

expired, it falls into the category of public domain and can be freely accessed and used by academics and other publishing bodies and may be used and distributed commercially or non-commercially. Researchers are thus able to scan, exhibit, distribute or include those photographs in their publication and make them available either commercially or non-commercially.

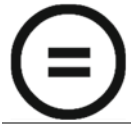
6.13.2 Permission Granted 'A Priori'

Photographs and other creative works can further enter the public domain if it has been willingly released by its creator via an unrestricted GNU Lesser General Public Licence, or via the creative common (CC) licensing system (Erickson, Heald, Homberg, Kretschmer, & Mendis, 2015). Those licensing systems, especially the CC system, allow creators to make their work accessible to a public domain, yet specify different conditions, under which the work maybe used (Erickson et al., 2015). Hence, the slogan of the creative commons licensing system is 'Some Rights Reserved' (Lessig, 2006, p. 20). We want to expand the understanding of CC licensing here, as it provides a good understanding for researchers to navigate the creative public domain and to easily ascertain and understand the restrictions that are placed on photographs they find in the public domain.

The creative commons is an American non-profit organisation, which offers a licensing system that aims to expand the range of accessibility and availability of creative works for others to legally share and build upon (Creative Commons, 2017a, b). Only works that are eligible for copyright are able to be released into the public domain under such a license (Erickson et al., 2015). CC derives its enforceability from the underlying copyright that its owner possesses. Free licenses, such as CC, still set certain conditions to its use and a violation of those conditions removes the license from the work and simply puts the intended user into a situation of copyright infringement (Erickson et al., 2015). In other words, though works under CC might be 'public domain', potential users have to adhere to a preset CC license set by the owner or risk infringement. It is important to understand that CC licenses are *non-revocable* and once the owner has set certain conditions to a work being released, however, wants to change it for future users or due to a change of mind, any user who accessed it under the old agreement may use and distribute the work under the former conditions (Erickson et al., 2015).

CCs grant *baseline permissions* in that photographs or other creative works may be copied, distributed and displayed. Upon release into the public domain, the copyright holder may place *core conditions* as part of the license, which future users must comply with. Those conditions are the *Attribution* condition, the *Non-commercial*

Table 6.1 Creative commons core conditions

	Attribution (BY)	The original creator and other nominated parties must be credited and the source linked to
	Non-commercial (NC)	Allows for copying, distribution, display or performance of the work for non-commercial purposes only
	No derivative works (ND)	Only verbatim copies of the work may be distributed. Changes and adaptations are not permitted
	Share alike (SA)	Allows adaptation, remixing and building on the work, however, they must share the derivative work under the same license as the original work

Creative commons license buttons by creativecommons.org CC0-4.0 https://creativecommons.org/about/downloads/

condition, the *No Derivatives* condition and the *Share Alike* condition. Table 6.1 presents a descriptive summary of CC core conditions.

From those core conditions, authors may pick and choose under which their creative works are released into the public domain. Figure 6.1 provides a spectrum of how authors may mix and match conditions, as well as what those conditions mean for any potential user. It is important for researchers to be able to 'read' these licenses, as it will allow them to determine which photographs or supporting images they can use in presentations and publications and under which conditions. For example, the creative commons spectrum in Fig. 6.14 was released under CC-BY-4.0. This means that the work can be copied and distributed on the condition that the author, in this case Shaddim, is acknowledged (the BY condition). The absence of the NC condition in the license clears this work for commercial use and was therefore allowed to be used in this book. The absence of the ND clause would clear the work for changes and adaptations to be made and no SA conditions mean that the work maybe used in combination with other work if need be.

In summary, not every work that is released a priori into the public domain is by default fully 'public', especially those works that are prohibited from commercial application (Erickson et al., 2015). It is up to the researcher to ascertain the restrictions placed on the work and whether the publisher accepts those restrictions as part of their publication process.

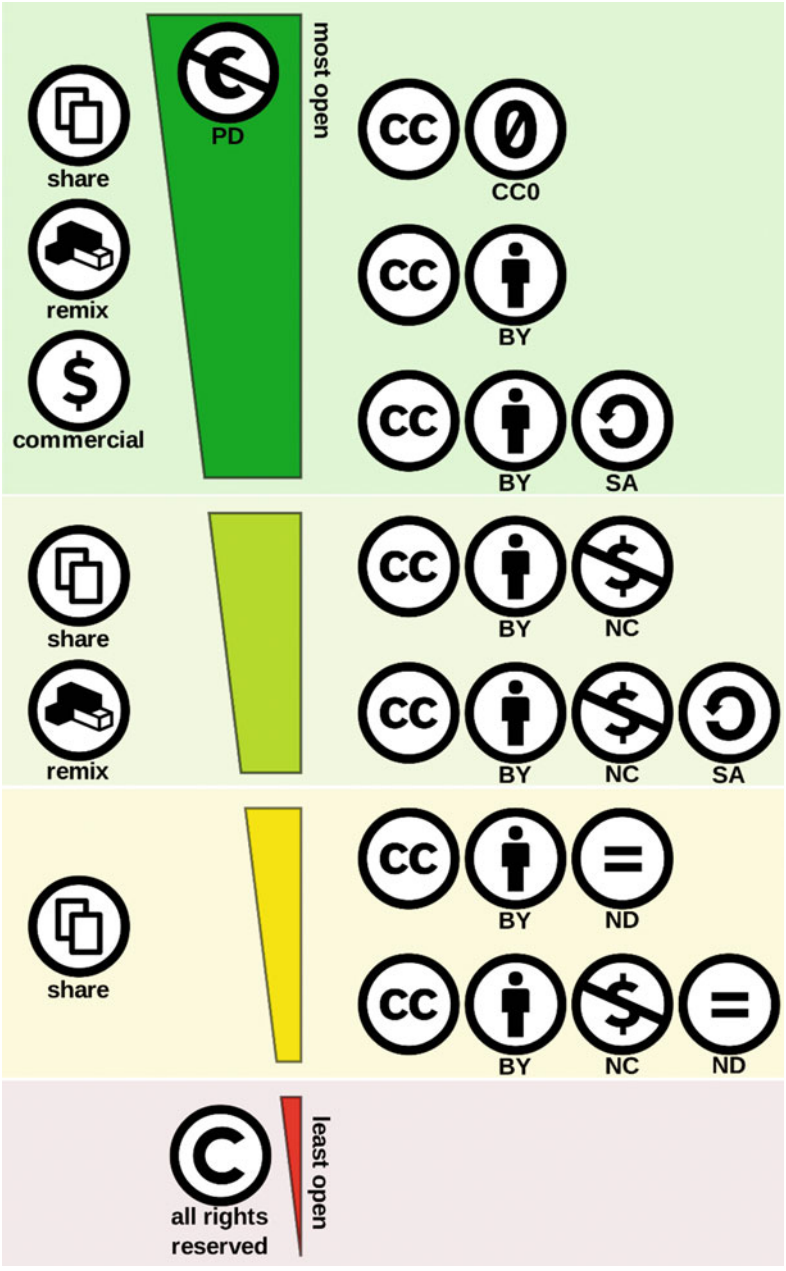


Fig. 6.14 Creative Commons Spectrum by Shaddim CC-BY-4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Creative_commons_license_spectrum.svg

6.14 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the notion that photographs are becoming increasingly important in social research. They bear a powerful storytelling attribute that transcends written narrative interpretations by researchers and engage readers more than written narrative would do alone. The different approaches how to utilise images, be it single-image or multiple-image narratives, photo-narratives or as part of a conference presentation, urges researchers to think carefully about how they use photographs to communicate arguments and ideas. This increasing use of photographs in social research publications and presentations introduced questions and issues of copyright and permission to use photographs for scholarly non-profit production and educational use. Photographic researchers must engage and understand copyright of images, its fair use policies and the many faces of the public domain to utilise these resources with minimal problems that ensure successful publication with publishers.

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Erratum to: Photography as a Social Research Method

Erratum to:
S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6

In the original version of the book, the following corrections have been incorporated:

In Chaps. 2 and 6, placement of figures have been changed.

In Chap. 5, corrections from the author have been incorporated.

The erratum book has been updated with the changes.

The updated online version of these chapters can be found at
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_2
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_5
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_6

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6_7

Index

A
Anonymisation Techniques, 70, 72, 73, 75
  cropping images, 71
  pixilation, blurring, and face bars, 71
Anonymity, 18, 66, 67, 68–70, 73
  dilemma, 72
  planning, 73
  Research Photography, 69
Aperture, 85–87
'A priori' permission, 159

B
Berne Convention, 152, 154–158

C
Conference presentation and publication, 146
  figurative I presentation, 147
  figurative II presentation, 148
Connotations, 112, 114 *See also* Semiotic Analysis
Consciousness. *See* Stigma
Consent, 11, 17, 50, 58, 64–69, 72, 75, 95, 136, 151
  at collection, 67–69, 76, 151
  at re-contact, 50, 67–69, 151
  audio/visual, 67
  informed, 58, 64–69, 95
  written, 67
Content Analysis, 103–107, 109, 110, 112, 120, 121
  qualitative, 104–108, 112
  quantitative, 104, 106, 109
Copyright, 133, 151–159, 162
  Australia, 153–158
  European Union, 155, 156
  expired, 158
  United Kingdom, 152, 154, 156–158
  United States, 153, 154, 156–158
Costi, Rochelle, 42, 43
Creative Commons, 159, 160

D
Denotations, 112, 114 *See also* Semiotic Analysis
Dignity, 57–59, 64, 71, 135–139, 151

E
Emic, 25, 66
Emic research approach, 1
Enfolding photographs, 5, 6, 33, 35, 45, 139
Engagement, 6, 8, 72, 89, 90, 97, 121, 124–126
Ethics of recognition, 47, 52, 69, 72, 76
Etic, 23, 25, 26
Etic research approach, 1
Etter, Daniel, 2, 23
Exceptions to copyright (UK), 152, 154, 156–158
Exposure, 71, 85–87, 96
Exposure triangle, 85–87, 101

F
Fair dealings (Australia), 153, 154
Fair use, 133, 151–157, 162
  Australia. *See Fair dealings*
  Digital environment, 157
  European Union. *See Berne Convention*
  United Kingdom. *See Exceptions to copyright*
  United States, 152 *See also* Copyright
Ferris, Sam, 35, 36
Finke, Brian, 44, 45
Fold, The, 4

S. Langmann and D. Pick, *Photography as a Social Research Method*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7279-6

G
Gaudelli, Claudia, 47, 48

I
Iconography/Iconology, 115–118
Identity, planning, 74, 76
Image, Experience, Information, 5
Informed consent framework, 58, 64–68
Interpretive engagement framework, 123–125
Intervention, ethics of, 77, 78
Interview Viz, 13, 14
  advantages, 13
  limitations, 13
ISO, 85–87

M
Moral rights, 152–156
  Australia, 153, 154
  European Union, 155
  United Kingdom, 157
  United States, 153 *See also* Copyright

N
Narrative, 1, 7, 18, 34–36, 118, 134–137, 139, 140, 162
  Multiple Single-Photo, 135
  photo. *See Photo-Narrative*
  single-photo, 135, 139

P
Participant Insights, 7, 9
Photo-Elicitation, 7–9, 11, 13, 14, 21, 26, 73, 120–122, 125
Photo-elicitation Interviews (PEI), 9, 11
  advantages, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 47, 54, 71
  analysis, 10, 16, 17, 41, 42, 64, 65, 103
  disadvantages, 7, 9, 10, 13, 20
Photography, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 33–35, 41, 42, 47, 54, 57–67, 69, 70, 74, 76–78, 85, 87, 89, 91–98, 101, 106, 107, 112, 117, 127, 133–136, 139, 146, 152, 158
  analysis, 6, 17, 25, 41, 42, 67, 106, 107, 112, 117, 118, 127
  documentary, 41, 42
  in-participation, 16
  Narrative. *See Photo narrative*
  Power of, 1, 12, 60–62, 65, 97, 98, 101
  research enabler, 89
  social enabler, 89
  social research, 1, 6, 22, 33, 41, 42, 54, 57, 58, 66, 69, 78, 89
Photo-narrative, 35, 37, 38, 133, 139, 140
  example, 34, 37–39, 140
PhotoVoice, 14
  advantages, 15
  disadvantages, 16
Portraiture, method, 18
Positionality
  advantages, 127
  disadvantages, 127
Power relationships, 60, 97
Publication potential, 133, 134
Public domain, 151, 152, 158–160, 162

R
Realities, perceived, 94
Reflexive Photography, 11–14
  advantages, 12
  disadvantages, 12
Representation, 3, 16, 22, 46, 52, 63, 69, 86, 117
  contradiction. *See Vulnerability*
  photographic, 3, 46, 103
  research participants, 69, 151
Researcher-generated photographs, 21, 22
Research Relationships, 8, 64, 94, 104

S
Search for goodness, 47, 58
Semiotic analysis, 112, 114, 116, 125
SHOWeD, 15, 16, 111, 122 *See also* Photo-Voice
Shutter speed, 85–88
Snapshot Approach, 22–26
  advantages, 23
  disadvantages, 24
Stigma, 23, 62, 92–95
  public, 92–94
  self, 23, 92, 93
Story. *See Publication potential*
Suzuki, Tatsuo, 50

T
Thematic analysis, 110, 111
Themes, 12, 105, 106, 110, 111, 117, 121, 128
Torrefranca, Joyce, 38

U
Unfolding photograph, 5

V
Verständnis, 94–97, 101
Verstehen, 94, 95
VOICE, 12, 14–18, 20, 57, 124 *See also* Photo-Voice
Vulnerability, 62–65, 70, 96
  contradictions, 63
  photo-research, 62
  state of being, 63

Z
Zoyari, Moe, 37