



Helsinki Photomedia 2014

PHOTOGRAPHIC POWERS



Photographic Powers – Helsinki Photomedia 2014

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Preface: What is Helsinki Photomedia?

Helsinki Photomedia is a biennial international conference of Photography Studies established in 2012. It was created to fill a void: there was no regular, international forum for photography studies, like *Crossroads* is for Cultural Studies or ECREA for Media Studies. This was surprising because there had been lots of new activity in the field of photography studies all over the world. In its current state of rapid transformation and diversification photography showed rich cultural potential, and photography research was gaining new importance. Three new referee journals were launched since 2008: *Photographies*, *Photography & Culture*, *Philosophy of Photography*. Books and articles did abound, and the general high tide of photography definitely required new thinking, new methods and new theories.

Helsinki Photomedia started in 2012 with a broad theme: *Images in Circulation*. Over 140 participants coming from 23 countries proved that there really existed a need for a new international venue for presenting and discussing photography research. The three keynote speakers of this conference were Ariella Azoulay, David Bate and Charlotte Cotton. The variety of topics covered in the first conference was impressive. Terms such as 'expanded image', 'Photography 2.0', 'digital ethos' and 'collaborative turn in contemporary photography' appeared in some papers and presentations, indicating a need for a general diagnosis of the current shift. Some raised more specific questions about current developments in photography. There were analyses of metadata, affordance, curating and self-publishing, and so on. New modes of research, such as 'artistic research', were important elements of the first conference. *Photographies* published a special issue of the conference (Vol. 6 Issue 1, 2013).

The second Helsinki Photomedia in March 2014 was run under the theme *Photographic Powers*. Again, there were around 130 participants, some for the second time. The keynote speakers were Paul Frosh, Jorge Ribalta and Joanna Zylińska.

This publication is based on the papers and presentations delivered in the 2014 conference. After a strict referee process 14 articles were selected for publishing. Meanwhile the preparations for the third Helsinki Photomedia conference in March 2016 are well underway. The theme is *Photographic Agencies and Materialities* and the keynote speakers are Geoffrey Batchen, Annika von Hausswolff and Liz Wells.

Merja Salo

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Helsinki Photomedia 2014 Conference organizing team: Merja Salo (Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture), Mika Elo (University of the Arts), Janne Seppänen (University of Tampere) and Marc Goodwin (Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture).

For a Call for Papers, see: <http://helsinkiphotomedia.aalto.fi/>

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Introduction: Photography Research Exposed to the Parergonal Phenomenon of "Photographic Powers"

MIKA ELO

This volume is a compilation of peer-reviewed articles based on papers presented at the 2nd Helsinki Photomedia conference Photographic Powers in April 2014. The selection of 14 articles reflects the multifaceted theme of the conference from different angles. The compilation also sheds light on the fact that photographic culture is currently in a state of rapid transformation and diversification – a situation comparable to the first decades after the invention of photochemical photography.

Today's post-internet condition, characterized by the heterogeneous mixture of old and new media technologies and practices, constitutes a productive challenge for photography research. A plethora of new issues related to metadata, mobile communication, social media, copyrights, online archives, surveillance technologies, and robotics transform the terrain where aesthetic, political, ethical, and epistemic dimensions of photography are investigated. In short, the interdisciplinary field of photography research is in a vivid state, as the new technological environment of photography prompts new questions and invites novel approaches.

The challenges of the contemporary situation are also quantitative in kind. The total amount of photographs taken each day has exploded beyond human grasp: hundreds of thousands of photographs are uploaded to the Internet every minute. Huge quantity combined with the short life span of images and the complex patterns of their circulation constitutes significant methodological problems for empirical photography research. New computational research methods are needed, as much as new conceptualizations.¹ We can truly speak of an excess of photographs. At the same time, a ubiquitous need for photographs persists.

If photography, soon after its inception in 1839, was invested in a vast variety of cultural activities and scientific endeavours building on visual representations – from domestic rituals to criminology and from geography to astronomy – it now seems that the powers of photography still haven't run dry. Even today, numerous scientific disciplines make use of photographic media in visualizing their results, in collecting data, and in envisioning new aims. According to the inherent logic of modern sciences, numerical data requires visualization.² Many kinds of images and information graphics are used to serve these requirements, to be sure, but

¹ Here the discussions concerning "digital humanities" become highly relevant for photography research. See for example *Understanding Digital Humanities*, ed. David M. Berry, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

² Cf. Peter Galison, "Images Scatter into Data, Data Gathers into Images, in *Iconoclash. Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002, pp. 300-

technical images owing their logic of depiction to photographic processes occupy centre stage. It is telling that even computer-generated images are often made to look like photographs in order to enhance the realistic feel. It is hard to imagine modern sciences and the so-called progress of humanity without the accuracy of spatiotemporal recording exemplified by the photographic media. Photography is a shining example of the visual culture of industrialized societies.

In fact, within this paradigm, it is almost impossible to imagine against the photographic powers operating on the level of the very conditions of imagination. Yet, today it is hard to think that the analytic processing of the photographic parameters would have been, in the first place, targeted to the human eye only. It has become obvious, in the new technological environment of photography, that photography was always already on its way beyond the visible and even beyond the human. We are now witnessing the appearance of this latent image: Photography, shining forth as a hybrid hinge between the phenomenal horizon of experience and algorithmic processes.³

Contemporary institutions, however, need to invest in all too human visibility in order to present themselves as effective, in the same way as individuals make use of images in shaping their identities. In both cases, photographs tend to be indispensable. The phenomenal aspect of photography – its status as a spatio-temporal capture – still plays the key role here. In so far as the temporal dimension of individual and collective identities is a matter of memory traces and their capture, history is essentially about mnemotechnics.⁴ With regard to the visible reality, history needs images, especially photographs. It is not by chance that according to the modern sentiment, everything solid melts into air – unless it is photographed, made present in absence.

In terms of “photographic powers”, the phenomena outlined above are necessarily interlinked. It is not enough to note that the global photographic apparatus, i.e. the intricate constellation of technologies, practices and discourses accompanying photographic imagery, incorporates power in multiple ways, some of them clearly visible and tangible, others less obvious and hard to grasp. Furthermore, attention has to be paid to a certain structural affinity between power and photography.

Photographs are nomadic and relational images. They are scalable and can be inscribed in many kinds of material supports, which means that they carry in themselves references to something beyond their own instantiations. Something similar applies to power. Power can be restrictive or productive, personalized or impersonal, but it is always relational. With regard to visual representation, power is neither entirely inherent to specific images nor entirely reducible to the context. Rather, we might

³ Cf. Andrew Fisher and Daniel Rubinstein, “Introduction: On the Verge of Photography”, in *On the Verge of Photography. Imagining Beyond Representation*, ARTicle Press, Birmingham, 2013, p. 8.

⁴ Cf. Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light. Theses on the Photography of History*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. xviii.

consider it a parergonal phenomenon. As we all know, power relations can effectively be built up and worked against with photographic images. This means that in each individual case the borders between information, propaganda and advertising are necessarily indistinct – even if the face offered by the photograph as an image is distinct. The distinctness of an image is always dissimilarity.⁵ The way in which a photograph cuts itself off from everything else introduces a mute interval that fosters many kinds of speech, whether banal, creative, humiliating or empowering. In any case, the photographic cut necessarily introduces basic conditions for power relations: it introduces a point of view into relational structures. Its effects can be both imaginary and symbolic. Depending on the point of view, the cut can be transformative or conservative, emancipatory or suppressive, subversive or destructive.

To sum up, power is necessarily inscribed in technologies, practices and discourses of photography in many ways. Photographic powers have their past, presence and future. They have their visible and invisible forms. If there is any common denominator to the different facets of the photographic powers, it might be found on the level of mapping, determination, delimitation, and identification; in short, on the level operations such as cutting, targeting, anchoring, and tagging. But what about them, after all, is photographic?

In the era of digital connectivity, photography is not only undergoing a rapid transformation, the mythical basis of “the photographic” is eroding as well. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the reductive identification of photography as a cultural form with a limited set of technologies cannot offer more than a metonymic model of an imagined unity of photography.⁶ In the new technological environment of photography, the familiar questions, “Where is the photograph?” and “What is the photographic?”, have a new resonance. They are no longer questions of unity of place, medium or material inscription. Photography is distributed across various sites and material circumstances that do not accord with the principle of containment – physical place as the image of containment is irrevocably undone in the world of live broadcasting and real time events.⁷ This implies also that materiality needs to be thought otherwise than based on the opposition of form and matter.⁸ Even here, the parergonal powers of

⁵ Cf. Jean-Luc Nancy, “The Image – the Distinct”, in *The Ground of Image*, trans. Jeff Fort, New York, Fordham University Press, 2005, p. 2.

⁶ Peter Osborne, *Anywhere or not at all. Philosophy of contemporary art*, London, Verso, 2013, p. 123–125.

⁷ Cf. Samuel Weber, *Mass mediauras. Form, Technics, Media*, ed. Alan Cholodenko, California, Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 115–117.

⁸ Cf. Janne Seppänen, *Levoton Valokuva*, Tampere, Vastapaino, 2014.

photography force photography research beyond what we might call "ergonomics".⁹

The spatial ambiguity of the "distributed unity"¹⁰ of photography lends credence to the idea of the photograph as an objective capture of time. If the constellation of sites and material circumstances that makes up the photographic apparatus turns out to be a historical variable then it lies close at hand to search for the ontological core of photography in its temporality. On a closer look, however, the photographic capture turns out to be a "distributive unity" as well. The computational possibilities of manipulating the photographic flow of events go well beyond the mechanical click.

At the same time as the imagined unity of photography is in crisis, a new dominant cultural form is successively taking shape: computational management of metadata. A series of compelling questions arise: What kind of effects do the algorithmic processes have on the level of the imagined unity of photography? How and on what basis are we going to imagine the unity of photography to come? What if the photographic powers lead us not only beyond any imaginable unity of "the photographic", but also beyond the very unity of imagination.

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⁹ It is worth noting that the etymology of the word (from Greek *ergon* 'work', *nemein* 'distribute') constitutes a link between "efficiency", i.e. the effective distribution of work, and with the conception of "work" as moulding the matter. Parergonal phenomena (*para-* 'beside', *ergon* 'work') fundamentally destabilize this link.

¹⁰ I adopt the term "distributive unity" from Peter Osborne, who explicates it in relation to the Kantian idea of aesthetic unity of experience, i.e. a unity without any rational ground other than the fact of its practical continuity and contiguity. For Osborne, "distributive unity" is the "logical form of the historical unity of empirical forms"; it is a "pragmatic unity". Osborne, *Anywhere or not at all*, p. 122–123.

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Awakening the past, expressing the present: Stories of Photography, Migration and Belief in a Mexican Village

KARIN BECKER – PATRICIA TOVAR

Abstract

How may the practice of photography shift ways of looking at oneself and at one's community? Can creating visual narratives also support reexamining the past, whereby old pictures and other objects gain new significance? This article addresses these questions in a study of several workshops on transmedial storytelling in the town of St. Ana Zegache, Oaxaca, Mexico. We chose photography as the primary medium for the workshops, based on our interest in the visual vernacular and the relative ease of using simple cameras to acquire first-person accounts of everyday experience. We did not anticipate that participants would seize the opportunity to work across media, to include other objects and images, weaving alternative histories into their stories.

We found that telling stories through photographs opened possibilities for some participants to reinterpret experiences of the self in relation to place, community and beliefs. This became 'empowering' in the moment when each person presented his or her story, sharing this reinterpretation with other workshop participants, simultaneously re-enacting his or her place within the community. Examples included experiences of migration, familial relations, and their own creative practice.

Old photographs and objects, as repositories of histories and memories, acquired new dimensions when incorporated into contemporary stories. Participants also reflected on the value of their narratives beyond the immediate community, to people elsewhere who would be interested in the culture of Zegache, and 'how we live here.' They saw the digital interface as a network offering the possibility of sharing their stories with an audience from afar. The reflexive power of photography in this context revealed the image as multidimensional, beyond visual representation, encompassing both individual and collective experience.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyze the image-based narratives created by participants in a series of workshops on transmedial storytelling in the town of St. Ana Zegache, Oaxaca, Mexico. The workshops were initially designed to complement several artistic collaborations that had previously been carried out in Zegache, in an attempt to understand the significance of these

artworks for other Zegache residents, both adults and children. We chose photography as the primary format for the narratives, based on our own interest in the visual vernacular and the relative ease of using simple cameras to acquire first-person accounts of everyday experience, accounts that often include people, objects and places with significance for the narrator/photographer. Many of the workshop participants did in fact photograph some of the previous artworks, weaving them into their stories of the town and its histories. More striking, however, were the ways in which the act of photographing itself supported the agency of the participants. We could see that the activities of choosing a specific frame and scene, followed by creating a sequence of images, and then presenting these to others seemed to establish a connection between the individual's personal biography and the history of the community as a whole. Nor had we anticipated that the participants would use the workshop as an opportunity to work across media and to weave alternative histories, including other objects and images, into their stories. These observations suggested that we return to the "results" of the workshops with a different set of questions, aimed at unpacking the story about the power of photography, underlying these Zegache residents' visual narratives. How can the practice of photography, as a storytelling device, shift ways of looking at oneself and at one's community? Further, how does creating such visual narratives in turn support reexamining the past, providing objects and old pictures with new significance?

We begin with a brief description of the town of Santa Ana Zegache, and of the Talleres Comunitarios, the artisan studios where the workshops were held. We then position the workshops in relation to several documentary traditions and methods where photography has been used to give people the means to narrate, reflect upon and share their life experiences, and describe the method we developed in Zegache. This is followed by a discussion of our findings, first regarding the practice of photography and supporting a shift in the participants' ways of seeing the familiar, and second, concerning several themes that emerged from their stories dealing with different forms of empowerment of the individual and of the group. We then consider the reflexive turn that occurred as the adult participants discussed a small collection of old photographs from the community, and reported insights they said they had gained during the workshop into the power and limitations of photography.

The Workshop Setting

St. Ana Zegache has a population of around 3,600 and is located in one of the poorest regions of Mexico. Extensive migration to other cities in Mexico and to the U.S. takes a toll on families and the community as a whole; recent census figures show that fifty per cent of the population has lived or

is currently living elsewhere.⁶³⁵ At the same time, however, Zegache retains a strong and resilient indigenous heritage. In addition to Spanish, most people speak either Zapotec or Mixteca, or both, and there is a rich and lively craft tradition as well. As we learned, many people from Zegache trace their roots to pre-hispanic culture. Santa Ana, mother of Maria, is the patron saint of the town, which takes its name, in Zapotec, from the seven holy hills that are scattered across the landscape.

The workshops took place within the framework of Talleres Comunitarios, an artisan studio that was established over twenty years ago by the artist Rudolfo Morales to train local residents in various techniques of conservation and restoration. In so doing, Morales was also following the tradition of giving back to his own community some of the fruits of his success. A further aim of Morales' endeavors was to provide a sustainable alternative to the town's substantial out-migration. Eventually, his efforts lead to the restoration of the town church, left in ruins after earthquakes and years of neglect. The project was initiated in 1997 and with the aid of grants, including from the Rockefeller Foundation, the work was completed a few years after Morales' death in 2000. The church is now a source of pride and a tourist attraction, recognized as a masterpiece of "Indian Baroque". At the same time, the Talleres Comunitarios has grown to include 17 members, both men and women.⁶³⁶

Over the years, the Talleres has also hosted visiting artists and workshops, occasionally open to children and adult members of the community. Following this example, we had presented an initial design for two workshops aimed at gathering stories and photographs from adults and young people who live in Zegache. The two groups included Talleres artisans, members of their families and Zegache residents for whom this was their first contact with the studio. There were six participants in the workshop for adults, and five in the young people's workshop.

Approaches to Transmedial Story-telling

Transmedial storytelling is the term we use to account for the weaving together of new and old strands in the narratives that emerged through these workshops, regarding the life of this village with its ongoing histories of migration, violence, and veneration. *Transmedial* refers to the ways in which the participants connected and integrated different visual, verbal and tactile media, both digital and material, in their narrative process. It is important to note how our use of the term deviates from Henry Jenkins' initial introduction of transmedial storytelling into media studies.⁶³⁷ First,

⁶³⁵ Plan Municipal de Desarrollo 2011–2013.

⁶³⁶ For a full account of the history of Talleres Comunitarios, see their home page: <http://www.proyectozegeche.com/>

⁶³⁷ H Jenkins, *Convergence Culture. Where old and new media collide*. New York University Press, New York, 2006.

these stories emerge from *vernacular experience* and diverge sharply in this regard from the forms of fiction and entertainment generated by media industries. There is no "property" here that can be bought and sold across media sectors; they have little "market potential". Yet, following Jenkins, a kind of *world-building* is evident in the narratives and across these media, regarding social roles, and involving stories and legends of the past, and goals for the future. There are also clear *performative* dimensions in the visual forms of these narratives and also in the their potential to expand across media platforms.

The workshops in Zegache are inspired by the long tradition of facilitating people's personal documentary projects using their own words and/or images. One source of inspiration is *digital storytelling*, initiated at the Center for Digital Storytelling in San Francisco. Since the early 1990s, the Center has worked with groups to develop multi-media pieces ranging over a broad spectrum of personal and cultural experience, generating over 12.000 examples, with hundreds of spin-offs across the globe.⁶³⁸ Over the past decade, digital storytelling has come to encompass "the whole range of personal stories now being told in potentially public form using digital media resources."⁶³⁹ Many of these efforts are inspired by a belief in the potential for empowerment that lies in giving people tools to narrate, reflect upon and share their life experiences. Personal narratives are recognized as "powerful cultural tools" that can challenge received frames of reference and ideologies.⁶⁴⁰ Although many digital storytelling projects include visual forms, we have not found any that focus specifically on the power of photography within the narrative process. Our particular interest is in the photographic image, and what takes place when exploring one's own environment with a digital camera and then using the photographs to tell a story about oneself and one's community.

This led us in turn to the array of participatory visual methods developed within the social sciences where typically video or still photography (but occasionally also drawing) are used to gain insight into seeing and acknowledging another's point of view. As visual anthropologist Richard Chalfen points out, authors who use these methods 'frequently cite the need to work with under-represented, disenfranchised sectors of the population.'⁶⁴¹ In an example from the early 1990s, public health scholars Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris asked women in rural Yunnan province, China, to take photographs that portrayed their daily routines, common events or community life, and then to talk about the significance

⁶³⁸ J Lambert, *Digital Storytelling. Capturing lives, creating community* (2nd ed.). Digital Diner Press, Berkeley, CA, 2006; K Lundby, *Digital Storytelling, Mediated Stories. Self-representations in new media*, Peter Lang, New York, 2008, p. 2.

⁶³⁹ N Couldry, 'Digital storytelling, media research and democracy: Conceptual choices and alternative futures' in *Digital Storytelling*, K Lundby (ed.), p. 42.

⁶⁴⁰ O Erstad, and J V Wertsch, 'Tales of mediation: narrative and digital media as cultural tools' in K Lundby, *Digital Storytelling*, p. 28.

⁶⁴¹ R Chalfen, 'Differentiating Practices of Participatory Visual Media Production', in *The SAGE Handbook Visual Research Methods*, E Margolis and L Pauwels (eds.), SAGE Publications, London, 2011, p. 187.

of the images with other members of the community and with the researchers.⁶⁴² Originally described as 'photo novella', the method is now largely referred to as 'Photovoice', with 'voice' as an acronym for 'Voicing Our Individual and Collective Experience'.⁶⁴³ Individual and community empowerment is an explicit goal of these action research methods, and Wang and Burris formulate their own aims with reference to Paulo Friere's 'education for a critical consciousness' using photography as the specific tool for empowerment.⁶⁴⁴ An important dimension of these visual methods is the discussions with participants, during which the photographs or video can serve as a 'catalyst or trigger' in the process of empowerment. Drawing on their extensive community-based research using visual methodologies, Claudia Mitchell and Naydene De Lange maintain that it is not the technology per se, but participation in the collective process of developing themes and interpretations that serves as the catalyst to critical reflection.⁶⁴⁵

These methods implicate a range of ethical issues, involving informed consent and the use and re-use of the participants' material, issues that we sought to acknowledge during our workshops. Related to this is the challenge for the researcher to retain a critical perspective throughout a process that is unavoidably hierarchical. A majority of these projects carry a celebratory tone, attributing an empowerment and agency to participants that is hard to support. For this reason, in many studies and interventions that rely on participatory methods, it is difficult to say that power has in fact shifted into the hands of community members. Mitchell and De Lange claim that one reason for this is the lack of attention to the ways in which visual media can – and cannot – alter perspectives and behavior. In their own work using participatory video to address social issues of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, Mitchell and De Lange try to be 'both critical and celebratory'.⁶⁴⁶

The workshops we organised in Zegache were much shorter in duration than the participatory projects considered here, and did not have the explicit aim of initiating policy changes or challenging social structures. We were motivated by our curiosity to find out whether, given the ease of using and sharing digital photographs, these relatively simple forms of storytelling could open ways for the participants to create visual narratives focusing on central aspects of their lives. We saw their participation primarily as a documentary and expressive exercise, instead of viewing it as

⁶⁴² C Wang, and M Burris 'Empowerment through Photo Novella: Portraits of Participation' *Health Education & Behavior*, 21(2), 1994, pp. 171–186.

⁶⁴³ C Wang, and M Burris 'Photovoice; concept, methodology and use for participatory needs assessment', *Health and Behaviour*, 24(3), 1997, pp. 369–387; also F Lapenta, 'Some Theoretical and Methodological Views on Photo-Elicitation' in *The SAGE Handbook Visual Research Methods*, E Margolis and L Pauwels (eds.) SAGE Publications, London, 2011, p. 207.

⁶⁴⁴ Wang and Burris, 1994.

⁶⁴⁵ C Mitchell and N De Lange 'Community-Based Participatory Video and Social Action in Rural South Africa' in *The SAGE Handbook Visual Research Methods*, E Margolis and L Pauwels (eds.), SAGE Publications, London, 2011, pp. 171–86.

⁶⁴⁶ Mitchell and De Lange, p. 183.

a form of self-actualization or therapy that characterizes many digital-storytelling projects. In our double role as workshop organisers and researchers, we found it difficult to remain critically aware of our own influence. As a result, we may have, at times, verged toward the 'celebratory', and exaggerated the impact this brief experience with photography had on the participants.

That said, based on our experience and the response of the workshop participants, we remain convinced that photography can be a powerful way to condense complex meanings and trajectories of life. Telling stories through photographs can open possibilities to reinterpret experiences of the self in relation to place, community and beliefs. The process during the workshop began with the idea of photography as an experience, where holding the camera and looking through the viewfinder create a relationship between body the technology. The act of taking a picture connected the *idea* of the photograph to additional layers of meaning that arose when selecting a specific scene and frame; in the moments of imagining, visualizing, choosing, and perceiving each image. This was then followed by creating a sequence of images that involved a correlation between a personal biography and the larger community and its histories. We see this as empowering in the moment when each participant presented this sequence as his or her own story, sharing the outcome of this experience with other workshop participants. As each story was told, orally and visually, the narrator simultaneously created or reinterpreted his or her place within the community.

Methods and Procedures

All participants were asked to create two brief stories, the first focusing on what they saw as the most important features of the town, and the second a more personal story regarding their own lives. In each group, the workshops began by mapping important sites, using colored pens on a large sheet of paper. Following a brief introduction to the cameras (Image 1), the participants spent two hours walking through the town and out to the fields, taking pictures. Upon their return, we first downloaded all the photographs, then asked the participants to edit their stories down to five images. We recorded each story as it was presented to the group gathered around the computer (Image 2). The participants then had a day and a half to put together a second story, a more personal account of their own lives. The younger participants were asked to take pictures that could describe their own lives to someone of their own age who had never been in Zegache. The aforementioned procedure was then followed, as the images were first edited down to five images per story, and then presented to the group, as each participant in turn told their story visually and orally.



Image 1. Juana and José Luis try out the digital camera.
Photo by Karin Becker.



Image 2. Veronica presents her story to the group. Photo
by Karin Becker.

We organized our own roles in the workshop with the aim of creating a fluid and confident environment for the participants. Tovar did oral translations during the workshops and was responsible for the sound recordings, transcriptions of the stories and the final translation into English, while Becker did photographic documentation, introduced the digital cameras and helped the participants edit and download their photographs onto the

computer.⁶⁴⁷ Between the meetings with participants we spent time reflecting on the process, considering for example how age, gender and cultural difference might enter the participants' experience of the workshop. Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogue and the dialogic imagination, we developed a dialogic, intercultural methodology based in our common interest in photography's potential to open relationships between private and public domains and to connect imagination and memory.⁶⁴⁸

This dialogic methodology depends upon a fluid relationship among the workshop participants. Consequently, at its best, the workshop can become a space where horizons are fused through the dialogic process that includes trajectories from each participant. With photography as a central element in this dialogue, everyone has a voice and no one can be silenced, as the stories continually draw on other dialogues and histories. These additional threads are woven together, often in a foreshortened or fragmentary form, as condensed visual references to larger histories. When a story is told, oral expression is added to these visual references, which may or may not be familiar to other participants. New meanings regarding individuals, the community and its histories may arise and be negotiated as participants interact in an ongoing dialogue. This is made more complex, too, by the reflection that may arise *within* each participant, and that continues between and after each meeting. Maintaining this complexity was a challenge, especially for Tovar, who had to first transcribe and then translate the oral presentations into print. It required negotiating between the spontaneity and flow of the presentation and the static quality of the written text, and where knowledge of the indigenous culture was as important as fluency in English and Spanish.

In a closing dialogue with each group we asked what they had seen and learned, about the town and about taking pictures. Becker showed a few photographs she had made during the workshop, and we explained how we planned to use their photographs in our research and asked how they might want to use them. (Each participant had been given a CD with all the pictures s/he had taken.) One woman had brought a collection of old photographs and these gave rise to a lively discussion among the adults. Both groups talked about using their stories to communicate with people and communities far from Zegache, for example using their own Facebook accounts, developing a community archive and adding to the website of the Talleres Comunitarios. Several months after the transcriptions were completed, the project was presented as an Internet web page, in both Spanish and English.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ The cameras were purchased with funds from the Swedish Research Council, as part of a funding grant Becker had obtained. The grant also provided the means to reimburse each participant, based on a comparable hourly wage, to compensate for potential loss of income.

⁶⁴⁸ M Bakhtin, *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

⁶⁴⁹ See http://euroaxaca.org/zegache_stories.

Looking with a camera

Most workshop participants had taken photographs with their cell phones, but for many of them, this was the first time they had used digital cameras. They quickly mastered the basic technology of framing, zooming in and out, and reviewing and deleting images. Walking through the village, they took pictures, reviewed what they had taken and edited out some images, in an ongoing process. They sought out different perspectives on familiar places and objects: One of the men convinced the church janitor to unlock the tower so that we could climb up on the roof, for a view over the town that none of us had ever seen before. Some climbed over fences to get closer views, and peered into windows. The family wells were mentioned as one of Zegache's important resources, and two participants experimented with photographing down into the dark wells with and without flash.

Photography, as noted by the art historian Hans Belting, allows the subject to have a forceful encounter with his or her own imagination and body.⁶⁵⁰ The camera becomes an extended prosthesis of the eye, sharpening and externalizing vision. 'Taking' a picture involves an appropriation of the object and an accommodation of the body. It involves actively exploring the space, appropriating the outside/exterior and creating images.⁶⁵¹ For the children, there was an open manifestation of 'power' and a feeling of freedom in 'having our own cameras,' as 15-year-old Laura said. 'It was fun because we used creativity and imagination, since catching an image is not just about memory, we need to find a way to communicate through an image, and if the others can get the message that's good because it means that the purpose is achieved.' They understood this way of looking as a personal, individual perspective. As Laura added 'I think we all like to have something that feels like it's ours, and here we could take pictures of what we wanted and no one could tell us yes or no, and that was very good.'

Linked to the participants' understanding of the camera as a tool that could change one's perspective on the familiar was their emphasis on the photograph itself. For most participants, the photograph came before the story. The first condensation of their reality and experience was the image and the act of shooting. With few exceptions, the stories emerge from the pictures, not vice versa. One can see different decisions taken when photographing: composition, light, distance, angle, with attention to foreground and background. Many of the pictures are quite beautiful, and obviously involve careful consideration of what to photograph and how. The participants were also using symbols and places of symbolic meaning - both in their stories of the town - eg. the hills and chapels - and in their personal stories (Image 3).

⁶⁵⁰ H Belting, *An Anthropology of Images. Picture. Medium. Body*. Trans. T. Dunlap. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011.

⁶⁵¹ J Aumont, [*The Image*. BFI Press, London, 1993.](#)



Image 3. This photograph "of the pond next to the hill of Maria Sanchez", that nine-year old Karen Chompa Aquino included in her story of Zegache is an example, showing this important water source in the quiet beauty of late afternoon.

Once the participants had reviewed all their photographs, the selection and sequencing went quickly, also indicating that their stories emerged from the images rather than vice versa. The stories were told without notes, as the image sequence unfolded on the screen. We could see in their eyes and gestures that in the moment of narration the performing participants were thinking about what to say. The stories were created between the visual and the oral, an improvised performance that could hardly be repeated. The photographs became actions, rather than representations, hence the emphasis on pragmatics rather than semantics in the narrative. The audio recording is merely a documentation that makes it possible to settle the ephemerality of the visual and oral story.

There are different degrees of complexity in the stories; some of the complexities are linked with fragments of the everyday, others are more deep or profound, like those touching on issues of migration. Every story consists of different layers. Even in the simplest stories, we find information and symbols referring to home, community and gender relations, the importance of the fields, the wells and ponds, family structure, daily life and some of its struggles. One limitation was the brevity of the workshops which narrowed down the participants' opportunities to experiment, to channel their new knowledge back into their practice and to explore new themes. One of the women said that she registered for the workshop as a step toward her desire to become a professional photographer, which was

not a stated aim of the workshop. Nevertheless, the participants stressed that it was important for others in the town to see their stories and therefore suggested providing the schools with copies. They all seemed to agree that the workshop had changed their perception about the act of photographing, making it an act laden with symbolism and sometimes contradictory realities that are difficult to foresee as well as to retell.

From image to oral expression.

We begin with Laura whose narrative of the town is the most complete, and interesting in a variety of ways. She is the older daughter of one of the Talleres artisans, and participated in the workshop together with her sister, Karen (Images 4-8).

(1) The story of my people begins with the image of María Sánchez hill, because in the past there were no houses or buildings or big constructions, people lived in houses made with carrizo or huts, and this picture shows how the hill looks. We know that, before, it had more green areas but those are lost to pollution, garbage burning and forest fires.

(2) The second photo is of the Mogote of Santa Ana Zegache. The town is called Santa Ana because the mother of the virgin, she is 'la patrona', and Zegache means the seven Mogotes. This is the main Mogote that is in the center of the town, and it has a legend that is a magic Mogote. Long time ago, two buddies were there and one of them saw a store inside the Mogote and went in and it took a year for him to get out, that person thought they had spent few seconds but had been so long.

(3) The community has increased, here we see how people live, the mountain is the main thing, the principal occupation of people is to work in the field, as well as raising cattle, and this is the way that people live in my community.

(4) The church was restored because a long time ago there was a big earthquake that caused a lot of damage, the church crashed, but people did nothing to fix it, then Mr. Rodolfo Morales, a painter, helped us restore the church and put the bell, paint and put more touches from his art and now it is one of the three most beautiful churches around Oaxaca and has a museum and the church has a rich history.

(5) *Most recent construction is the chapel at the entrance of the village, which has a video inside about Santa Ana, teaching the Bible to the Virgin Mary, and the story ends here.*



Images 4–8 (from above left). *The story of my people*. Photos and text by Laura Jessica Chompa Aquino.

Laura begins her story with an image, not an event. Her story is 'of my people', she said, not about the town itself, and refers to historical knowledge verging into a myth of origin. She then moves to the mogotes, with an image of the largest of these sacred hills after which the town is named. Together these two photographs evoke a mythic past, together with an active social imaginary that produces stories. When the photographs are joined to an oral story, a fusion is created between the emotions associated with this shared past and the image itself.

Laura included many of the topics that were mapped out during the initial dialogue, in a chronological sequence weaving together history and legend with brief facts about housing and the economy of the town. From the framing, angle and her use of color, we see that she has composed each photograph with great care. She uses words to describe what we cannot see (the church in ruins) and what has been lost (the green hillside). Cultural heritage is a central theme, as she describes the restoration of the church and concludes with the chapel, as the newest addition. She has also used her sequence of photographs to trace an arc of local belief, from the sacred mountain to the new chapel that both mirrors and stands in opposition to the church, a symbol of local syncretic belief, with its video image of Zegache's patron saint, St. Ana, teaching her daughter to read. It is significant that she does not mention that both the chapel and its video animation resulted from a collaboration between the Talleres and two Swedish artists, suggesting that these works have become a self-evident aspect of village life.⁶⁵²

While Laura's story of Zegache is the most complete in its visual and narrative structure, a majority of the other participants had photographs of significant sites in their stories as well: the church, the mogotes or hills that figure in many of the town legends, the family wells and the green fields of alfalfa. Several of the children also included in their narratives the new basketball court and the park, also a recent addition, and the video and sweets shop.

Personal stories – visualizing the authentic

Pride taken in personal achievements was a theme running through many of the adults' stories. They had photographed their homes and gardens, and described the years of hard work they had invested in them. Two of the women, Veronica and Juana, included photographs of their children, with obvious pride. Many had photographed objects they had made themselves: photographs of Angeles' expertly varnished wooden cabinet, Juana's embroidery (done 'in my free time') and the house José had built for his mother, with money earned during the eight years he lived in the US, were

⁶⁵² For an analysis of this collaboration, see K Becker and G Brecevic 'Veneration and Wonder: The politics of making art in an Oaxacan village', *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, 6, 2014.

placed like a coda at the end of their respective stories. Directing the camera at their own lives, the adult participants reflected on their experiences and visualized their personal significance. As a result, their photographs transformed the intimate nature of the colloquial space and its history into an experience that could be shared.

Forms of self-representation and expressions of identity are not only found in virtually all modes of digital storytelling, but they are also generally recognized as an empowering feature in such projects. However small in scale, these 'bottom up' media practices seem to give participants a way of externalizing their experience and making it public and collective.⁶⁵³ For the Zegache residents, photographing one's environment and placing it in a narrative that they shared with a group, seemed to alter or enhance this sense of pride and empowerment, in a performance of their own agency. This may arise from the sense of authenticity embedded in the photographs and out of the group's common experience, which would also explain the mutual respect and affirmation we noted as the participants shared their stories with each other. Media researchers Hertzberg Kaare and Lundby have noted in their overview of similar projects that the individual's story, using digital material and drawing on lived experience, in these contexts represents the performance of a mediated story that is understood as 'authentic.' They argue that authenticity is fundamentally a social phenomenon, founded on 'a relation between the individual and the collective'.⁶⁵⁴

A striking example occurred during José's story of his migration to the U.S., and the hardship and loneliness he had experienced. When he faced the photograph he had taken of his mother, sitting in her kitchen, he broke down, and spent several minutes fighting his tears. The others in the group waited in silence until he was able to continue. He then described his own sense of responsibility for his mother's chronic illness; he had been a troublesome son, often opposing her wishes. 'Before this workshop,' he said, 'I never told anyone that I felt guilty about her illness.' Several in the group thanked him and said it took courage to share this experience. Witnessing this had also given them a deeper understanding of the hardship and loneliness of migration and of José's pride when he showed the final photograph, of the house he had built: 'That's why I went there; to have a house for my mom. My dad and I built this house, but I always remember how guilty I feel for the illness of my mother because I caused her anger, and our arguments led to her being sick. That's all.'

Veronica's story included photographs that linked her personal history to recovering part of her Zapotec cultural heritage. She had married at the age of 16, and learned Zapoteca from her mother-in-law, who also taught her the traditional way to make tortillas that she now sells at the school. Her photograph of the stove where she learned this skill (Image 9) also stands

⁶⁵³ K Lundby (ed.).

⁶⁵⁴ B Hertzberg Kaare and K Lundby, p. 110; C Guignon, *On Being Authentic*, Routledge, London, 2008, p. 151.

for the place she learned the language that connects her with her indigenous past. Although Veronica did not mention this, the metate or grinding stone with its painted memorial dedication was probably a wedding gift from her own mother, following a Zapotec tradition. She had also photographed a row of several small artefacts and described finding these in the family's field: 'One day working with the shovel my husband found these whistles, these prehispanic figures, and we have them in the house because we think it is important.' They had offered these objects to a museum, to no avail. Veronica brought the artefacts to the final workshop meeting, and passed them around for us to handle (seen lying on the table in Image 17). In her story she has woven together images, memories and objects in a symbolic performance of her ethnic heritage. Further, the lighting and composition in her close-up photograph of these artefacts stands in opposition to institutional structures of cultural history that, in her story, would allow the indigenous culture to remain buried and forgotten.



Image 9. 'I married when I was 16. When I got married the mother of my husband taught me how to make tortillas. This has become very important because we all love the handmade tortillas. Photo and text by Veronica Aquino Ambrocio.

Shaping a life through images

Photography can also provide a means to express aspects of distinction in one's life. José Luis, a Talleres artisan who had interrupted his engineering studies to return to Zegache and support his two sisters and niece,

constructed a series of visual metaphors to explain the path his life was
taking [Images 10-15]:



Images 10–15. *How I see my life*. Photo and
text by José Luis Gutierrez Mendoza (Ches).

(1) *I'll tell you about how it was, my life or how I see my life. I feel my life like a chess board, which I have practiced and understand many things about this game and I have adopted as part of how to live.*

(2) *At first I wanted... or well, I'm remembering an anecdote; I once asked my mother what I wanted to be when I was little, and she was cooking, and she said that I wanted to be a pilot and that was important because I knew it was my childhood dream.*

(3) *My life has been very different, had many faces, I have done many things, among them I have highlighted something in dance since childhood, folk dance.*

(4) *I'm also very interested in math, most of my life was focused on mathematics and I think is very nice to understand many things and to know more and more. I left a career in engineering and right now what I do is wood carving.*

(5) *I've been doing many different things, and sometimes they are totally apart from one another, but I can do all of them and a few times I've been recognized for what I've done.*

(6) *Now after all that I have lived I conclude or I understand, as I said earlier, that my life is like a chess game and I can understand how a pawn that could have aspirations to one day may be crowned.*

The photographs in José Luis' story show elements that are both personal and prosaic, transformed into metaphors of his particular life experience. He has used photography to express his sense of difference, presenting his own story and identity in a visual/oral sequence that develops through his own changes. The second image of a flame symbolizes a specific moment of his life; his childish curiosity, his relationship with his mother, and a burning fascination to go far beyond, to be able to pilot a plane. In the third and fourth images, the sequence plays with the possibility of bringing into the present specific keys of his distinction, like his love for dancing and mathematics. The fifth photograph shows the tools of his present trade, while also symbolizing that he is still in the process of 'carving' and shaping his life. The photographic sequence allows him to combine what was thought to be incompatible, transforming him into a complex, unfinished being.

The power of recycled photographs

Many workshop participants used the digital cameras to reproduce photographs from their past to be inserted into their stories. José Luis' collage of photographs from his childhood dance performance provides one example. Karen built her entire story around earlier photographs of herself that she presented as a chronological sequence. The first shows her as a three-year-old, full of energy, followed by images of her performing the 'La Pluma' dance, carrying the flag as the honored 'Zehuapila', in her football uniform, and concluding with an image she made of awards she has received. Clearly proud of her achievements, she constructed a story using photographs that stand for her experience of these activities and the identity she has created during her young life.

Karen's 'remediated' narrative using older photographs concretizes a general characteristic of narratives; while being rooted in memories, narratives also depend on invention and reuse. Before we, as viewers, are given access to these 'real' or 'lived' situations, the narrator makes decisions about what can or cannot be revealed. Narratives are then generated as the individual – be it the photographer/author or the viewer/reader – reflects upon, creates and re-creates her or his social and personal space. Revealing personal matters involves aspects of emancipation and empowerment, but also entails risks. Karen chooses to tell us not only that she used to be a 'naughty' child who frequently got into fights, but also that she has succeeded in taming her earlier self by channeling her energies into activities where she excels.

Using old pictures is also a way to include different layers of space and time into a visual narrative. Through storytelling, information and knowledge from the image can be connected to the present and projected onto an imagined or desired future. The words accompanying the visual narrative give one version out of several that could appear. The story that we recorded is one of the many possible ways to narrate and express a personal identity, moving through time as the narrator encounters different spaces, whether public or private.

As Karen's narrative demonstrates, using old photographs to retell stories of the self is one way to negotiate with one's past. Juana, a single mother and Talleres artisan who participated in the workshop for adults, understood this all too well. Unlike the others who had quickly sequenced their images, Juana revised her selection several times before arriving at a version she felt she could share with the group. Central to each version was a photograph of her with her young son, 'and because of him I'm trying to move forward and succeed.' Although she is employed at the Talleres Comunitarios, she still needs help from her parents. Hers is also a story of migration – she lived and worked in Guadalajara for six years, sending money back to her parents – but unlike José who returned from the US with the means to build a house for his mother, Juana returned to Zegache pregnant and in need of additional support. She could easily describe her

life situation in words, and did not shy away from describing herself as a single mother. However, she decided to exclude from her story the copy of an old photograph of her parents, posing in a church at a family member's wedding. To insert the power of this image into her story would have undermined Juana's struggles for self-determination, for herself and for her son.

Renegotiating a collective past

Old photographs were also used to draw out narratives and negotiate with different versions of a shared history prevailing among these Zegache residents. Dolores introduced a small collection of old photographs at the adults' final discussion. She brought these valuable images from the past to be shown to the others, but also for us to scan and preserve. The collection included a few badly damaged photographs of the church prior to its restoration and others that showed community celebrations and ceremonies, with people posing for the camera, often in traditional dress. Initially the group's discussion focused on identifying the people, events and festivals portrayed in the pictures. However, their curiosity and eagerness to talk about these photographs with each other brought out a great deal of the history of the town, including changes in communitarian relations and ideas about community life (Image 16). Dolores was not a Talleres artisan and had never been to the studio before the workshop; she said that she had had no idea what went on in the building. By introducing these visual links to the past, she was in effect broadening the Talleres' restoration work to include the creative reconstruction of collective narratives of the past, and where additional community members, past and present, were also represented in photographs and stories.



Image 16. Traditional ceremonies in old and new photographs. Photo by Karin Becker.

Looking at the old photographs also opened a conversation about moments of internal violence in the village, as each image became a window onto a landscape full of symbolic and emotional elements. There were several photographs of men posed with rifles, and at one point Veronica commented, 'Here, some time ago, people killed each other' (Image 17). Angeles pointed to a man she recognized and said 'And this man is one of the thugs.' Gradually a story emerged of this former town resident, Eusebio Venegas, also known as 'Trick'. In one photograph he is playing guitar on a rooftop in Mexico City, and in another he is the boy in the part of Juan Diego, the peasant who is visited by Maria, during the annual pageant of the Virgin of Guadalupe. When José sees a photograph showing 'Trick' posed on one knee and taking aim with his rifle, he identifies him as his father's uncle. His own sons were reluctant to talk about him, but in this group there was no such reticence. He was not a thug, Dolores argued; he was like one of the police, and helped to clean up the town. Others described him as an intellectual who read widely and was politically well informed. Interspersed with the story of this legendary figure who inspired fear and respect, there emerged other accounts of violence and conflict from the past. In the emergent and improvised way these stories were told, various borders were crossed, between present and past, between families and villages, and also venturing into taboo subjects. The photographs provided the means to negotiate and make manifest what had been private, as the workshop participants pooled their knowledge of the past.



Image 17. The group talks about the photographs Dolores (Maria Dolores Lopez Ramirez, seen on right) has brought. In the foreground are the pre-hispanic artefacts Veronica describes in her story. Photo by Karin Becker.

Eusebio Venegas had given his collection of photographs to Dolores, a married woman to whom he was not related, recognizing her as someone who would value and take care of them. Realizing their value to the community, Dolores in turn introduced the photographs to a setting that re-empowered them as material artifacts and symbols in the re-creation of a collective past. The stories that emerged in this session were also a form of witnessing, through the power of the images in their embodiment of history, and the collective building of narratives about what they represented. The participants were surprised by all the relationships they discovered: José said that he began to see ‘How through pictures so many stories come back to us’. The photograph opens a passage from one space and time to another without restriction or prejudice, releasing a reflexive process for each participant, whereby the image transcends time and place, to become multidimensional. The adults acknowledged this complexity in their final discussion. As José Luis commented, ‘In a picture you can have a reflection of the past, the present and the future, you can have all these dimensions together,’ and others nodded in agreement.

Concluding discussion and reflections on empowerment

The initial aim of this project was neither to empower the participants nor to investigate the power of photography, but to learn more about the town and its residents through their eyes and words. The empowerment that nevertheless took place during these few days began with the act of taking pictures, of seeing and exploring a familiar visual environment in a previously unfamiliar light. The participants' visual field expanded as they photographed everyday objects and scenes, and then saw them anew, as reflected back to them on the camera's small screen. In this process, photographing generated knowledge that the participants then used to further expand their ways of looking.⁶⁵⁵

When the participants then shared their stories with others in the group, additional dimensions arose, emotional, symbolic and often burdened with the weight of history that was only partially known to the others. The performance of showing and narrating these images was tactile and physical as well as visual. The workshop participants became aware of this complexity, but also experienced the constraints of the image, wanting it to do more. José Luis described this challenge as follows:

Every moment, every second, things are happening and changing and I wanted to capture that change, and that's a challenge for me to capture all those things that are moving. With a word that has no size or shape, you can tell a lot, but in theory with an image, you can do more than with one word and I think it is possible to use the image to communicate these complex things that happen.

Initially, this meant affirming a personal vision and an individual story, generated by the images they had made. As a second step, some of the photographs and stories were then connected to a broader collective history of the community.

The relationship between the individual and the collective is a common feature of digital storytelling, and accounts for much of the power in these stories. By highlighting and situating the individual's experience, one that is understood and to some extent shared by others in the group, these photographs supported a deepened reflection on both commonality and difference. The power of the photographs became dialogic, in the same way that memory works, as Oliver Sacks has noted, arising 'not only from direct experience but from the intercourse of many minds.'⁶⁵⁶

There are of course other forms of interventionist practices – video, theater, music, painting – that might have had a similar impact. It is

⁶⁵⁵ This is consistent with Nyboe and Drotner's investigations of digital narration and aesthetics among children and young people (L Nyboe and K Drotner, 'Identity, aesthetics and digital narration' in Knutby (ed.), p. 110).

⁶⁵⁶ O Sacks, 'Speak Memory', *New York Review of Books* 21 February 2013, p. 21.

admittedly difficult to distinguish which dialogic forms of shared experience can be traced specifically to the intertwined practices of taking, sequencing, talking about and looking at photographs. Nevertheless, we would argue that the photograph, as a still and framed image of a scene, provides a unique opportunity to see again or 're-view' that scene, a re-viewing which can involve various levels of reflexion. By visually 'stopping' the moment when it was made, the photograph externalizes the situated performance of photography and the experiences it represents, opening the image and its context (in this case including other photographs in a series and an oral narration) to additional interpretations. Externalizing the experience can also be a bridge to letting go, as we saw in José's story of his migration and return. Narrating the stories revealed their commonality and the shared cultural knowledge that was the foundation of many of the photographs. Because of the social and political history of the town, migration is a frequent theme in the stories; crossing borders, the consequences of leaving home and returning are sedimented into the collective experience of this community. Other borders were also crossed during these few days, for example between the Talleres Comunitarios and community residents with no previous experience of the Talleres. The workshops in transmedial storytelling seemed to provide a framework that actualized other trans- and intercultural experiences that are embedded in the culture of Zegache with its multiple indigenous heritage and syncretic religious practice, and also in the Talleres Comunitarios with its frequent contact with artists from elsewhere.

The value of old photographs, as repositories of personal histories and memories, also became evident. Personal images of the past acquired new dimensions and depth as they were incorporated into contemporary histories. In some cases, the photographs became almost too powerful, embodying a memory or conflict that overwhelmed the narrator, as we saw in José's story of his mother's illness and in Juana's exclusion of her parent's photograph. In this way photographs functioned as tools to negotiate with difficult parts of the past. Looking through the small collection of old photographs together, the discussion followed a parallel course; as difficult and conflicting events from the past emerged, the photographs provided a means to open the histories to renegotiation and reinterpretation in light of the participants' shared knowledge and experience. From this, the participants realized the power – and also the ephemerality – of old photographs. Faced with the rapidly disintegrating pictures of the church, and the fragility of these few surviving photographs of their grandparents, for example, they spoke of the value and importance of an archive, in order to retain these histories of Zegache.

This importance to local knowledge and history also had larger, even global dimensions. Participants from both groups were able to reflect on the value of their visual stories beyond the immediate community, to people from elsewhere who would be interested in the culture and history of Zegache, and in 'how we live here' as Laura said. They felt it was important

that these pictures and stories be preserved and shown to others. The sense of pride in their heritage and their interest in showing it to others was evident - a consequence of digital media and its transmedial potential. Several of the children mentioned, for example, places in other parts of the world that they would like to share their stories with. They understood the digital interface as a network that offers the possibility of sharing their photographs and stories with an audience from afar. The reflexive power of photography in this context revealed the image as multidimensional, beyond visual representation, encompassing both individual and collective experiences of the continuities and ephemerality of time and place.

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