Towards a More Equally Representative Visual Field

Research into the Social and Ethical Nature of
Ethnographic Documentary Photography

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Master´s Thesis in Indigenous Journalism

Presented within the programme
Sámi Journalism with an Indigenous Perspective

Towards a More Equally Representative
Visual Field: *Research into the Social and
Ethical Nature of Ethnographic Documentary
Photography*

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i.   Acknowledgements

ii.   Abstract

This paper addresses the nature of ethnographic documentary photographic practice concerned with goals of equal representation among the observed and the observer. Using examples from indigenous communities to reflect the relationship between a historically marginalized party and the photographer, I attempt to find a place beyond good intentions where a commitment to ethnographic documentary photographic work on, about, and with indigenous and minority communities can be done progressively and fairly. This paper confronts the dis-ease with which a non-indigenous photographer approaches work in communities in which she is not a member. I describe how collaborative engagement can become a tool for social advocacy and recognition through photography. Using photographs that I have taken, I critically analyze the effectiveness of my past photographic techniques, and how they can be improved for future projects.

Keywords: Indigineity, Documentary Photography, Ethnography, Ethical Methodology

Abstrákta

Dát dutkkus váldá bajás etnográfalaš govvadokumenterema mas ulbmil lea ovttadássásaš ovddasteapmi sihke sis geat gehččojuvvot ja sis geat gehččet. Ovdamearkkaiguin álgoálbmot servvodagain reflekteret oktavuođa gaskkal historjjálaččat marginaliserejuvvon oasseváldi ja govvejeaddjis, mun geahččalan gávdnat saji meattá buriid áigumušaid gos lea beroštupmi álgoálbmogiid ja unnitlogu servvodagaid etnográfalaš govvadokumenterenbargui sin birra, sin mielde ja movt govvadokumenterenbargu sáhttá dáhkkot progressiiva vugiin ja vuoiggalaččat. Dát dutkkus deaivida movt okta olggobealde álgoálbmogiid govvejeaddji lahkonaddá bargui birrasiin maidda son ii gula. Mun govvidan movt ovttasráđálaš beroštupmi sáhttá leat gaskaoapmin sosiála mearrádusváikkuheapmái ja dovddastussii govvema bokte. Govain maid lean govven, mun analyseren kritihkalaččat man beaktilat mu ovddeš govventeknihkat leat leamaš, ja movt daid sáhttá buoridit boahttevaš prošeavttaide.

תקציר

"לקראת ייצוג שווה יותר בתחום הויזואלי:

מחקר על אופיו החברתי והמוסרי של תיעוד צילומי אתנוגרפי"

העבודה הזו תדון באופיו של הצילום התיעודי האתנוגרפי השואף לייצוג שווה בקרב שני צדדים,
מושא התיעוד מחד גיסא, ומאידך הצופה עצמו. על ידי הבאת דוגמאות מקהילות מיעוטים ילידים
(indigenous communities) המשקפות את היחס בין קהילה אשר בעברה היתה בשולי החברה
(מיעוט) לבין הצלם. אני מנסה למצוא דרך מעבר ל"כוונות טובות," בה תתקיים מחויבות לתיעוד
צילומי של קבוצות מיעוטים, שיתעד את חיי הקהילה בתיאום מלא עם חברי הקהילה באופן מתקדם
והוגן. העבודה הזו מתעמתת עם אי הנוחות הכרוכה בהתעסקותו של צלם שאינו בן קבוצות
המיעוטים, כאשר הוא ניגש לעבוד עם הקבוצות, אשר אליהן הוא אינו משתייך כלל. אני מתארת
כיצד שיתוף פעולה בין הצדדים יכול להוות כלי להגנת החברה המסוימת, וכמו כן יכול להביא להכרה
בקיומה של החברה דרך הצילום עצמו. תוך שימוש בתמונות שצילמתי, אני מנתחת את יעילותן של
טכניקות הצילום שלי בעבר, וכיצד הן תוכלנה להשתפר בפרוייקטים בעתיד.

ملخص

وتتناول هذه الورقة طبيعة وثائقي ممارسة التصوير الإثنوغرافية المعنية مع أهداف
باستخدام أمثلة من مجتمعات السكان الأصليين التمثيل المتساوي بين الملاحظ والمراقب.
لتعكس العلاقة بين الاحزاب المهمشة تاريخيا والمصور، ومحاولة للعثور على مكان ما وراء
النوايا الحسنة حيث الالتزام الإثنوغرافية عمل صور وثائقية عنه ، ومع المجتمعات الأصلية
والأقليات يمكن أن يتم تدريجيا و إلى حد ما.
ضح هذه الورقة العراقيل التي تواجه المصور اغريب عن السكان الأصليين و صعوبة العمل تو
التعاون يمكن أن تصبح أداة في المجتمعات التي هي ليست عضوا فيها. أصف كيف مشاركة و
للدعوة الاجتماعية والاعتراف من خلال التصوير الفوتوغرافي. استخدام الصور التي أخذتها،
عالية التقنيات التى استخدمتها بالتصوير سابقا، وكيف يمكن تحسينها وأنا احلل ف
للمشاريع المستقبلية.

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"If photography is to be likened to perception, this is not because the former is a 'natural' process but because the latter is also coded."

- Umberto Eco, 1932-2016

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1. Introduction

What brings me to this topic, and indeed to this indigenous-helmed program, is a quest to formulate an approach for conducting my work ethically. Among other defining qualities, I am a non-indigenous documentary photographer. In work prior to this course, I would find myself doubling back on the ethical validity of my process, finding justification to prove that I was not misusing the trust of host cultures. After extensive reflection on my working process, heavily informed by the vast knowledge imparted to me by indigenous and non-indigenous mentors at Sámi Allaskuvla (Sámi University of Applied Sciences), my working methodology has changed. I came to the University yearning to know how one could offer a cohesive work on a subjective experiences about a group not her own. This uneasy question was, from within the context of my photographic work, the cause of my disquiet before arriving at the University; I had not yet acquired the proper vocabulary with which to answer that question. It is through the writing of this Master's thesis disquisition, as well as through the tutelage of my professors that I have worked, in this text, towards the goal finding a place beyond good intentions where a commitment to ethnographic works on, about, and with indigenous and minority communities can be effectuated progressively and fairly by a documentary photographer.

Ultimately, my ambition throughout the course has been to learn about the ethical and simultaneously methodologically effective ways in which one may enter into communities of which she is not a member - to engage, and further: report, document, and retell experiences. It is with this footing that I begin my Master's thesis, and with the preceding mindset that I arrived in Kautokeino. At the University, I pursued research seeking to better understand the discourses that exist within the social and ethical contract of representation and power that pervade the practice of documentary photography. After poring over lecture notes, sociology textbooks, visual studies articles, novels on photography fundamentals and photographic theory, academic journals in the fields of philosophy, directives on how to create media with indigenous communities written by indigenous people, histories of anthropology and ethnography, ethnographic films, dissertations on postcolonial thought, official documents written by councils within the United Nations, and multiple requests for unavailable items at the universities'[1] libraries, within this document is the position I was able to formulate.

Humans are innately social creatures. Over the course of our evolutionary history, we as human animals have invented innumerable methods of interacting and communicating beyond the use of our bodies. In so doing, we have been drawn closer to each other, have created cleavages between one another, and - more commonly, have developed social spaces that reside somewhere between those extremes. However, we would benefit from reminding ourselves that the original aspiration has always been enhanced forms of communication.

In the early 19th century, photography emerged as a new form of interpersonal relation, a new heuristic of representing ourselves to each other. In the following decades, fairly rapid technological advancements that reduced costs of production and implementation of the process allowed photography to proliferate among all social classes of Western culture. By the 1870s, it was commonplace to see black and white photographs on the pages of American and certain European newspapers. Temporally parallel to the development of photographic techniques was the rise of anthropology as a scientific endeavor, bolstered (and most often funded) by colonial empires. The coinciding zeitgeists overlapped in their use of codifications. Anthropologists of the era engaged photography as a tool to provide empirical 'evidence' from the field, and to classify that which was being 'explored'. The articulation between the two fields and their nascence cohabited in their desire to contain, examine, and categorize their respective subjects. The engagement of the two practicums affords a sociological basis for understanding a history of the misrepresentations of indigenous groups.

In the early days of the photographic medium, it was the consensus that whomever operated the camera was a conduit for nature, capturing an authentic representation of what stood in front of the lens. The debate on the true meaning or 'reality' of the photographic image captured is contested to this day. Further, what can be represented, by whom, and to what end, brings elements of political economy to the debate on photographic agency. 'Who speaks for whom' or more specifically, 'who has the right to speak for whom' is a question that looms over the discussion on photographic representation.

This thesis will focus on a type of narrative analysis approach to photography which has an ethnographic orientation and a documentary methodology. It is in the

interest of this argument to explore how photographers justify the subject matter they shoot. The following questions beset that goal: What must be understood in that social contract before the process of photography can begin? Are there situational truths with regards to who, what, and where a photograph can be taken? Are there 'correct' ways of working with indigenous and minority communities where, historically, the power dynamics have not been in their favor?

Society for Visual Anthropology Lifetime Achievement Award (2014) winner Professor Elizabeth Edwards problematizes the crossover between the evidential and scientific demands of anthropological study, and the culturally immersive qualities of the photograph. She writes about the 'tensions' that exist between the practices, which "are part of the shifting dynamic of how anthropology makes its evidence, how it arrives at its truths, what constitutes evidence, how it positions its objectivity, handles its subjectivities and understands its intersubjectivities".[2] Edwards vocalizes the same dis-ease with which I address my thesis question, and which permeate the entirety of the following research.

Thesis Question:

> *What is the nature of the social and ethical relationship in contemporary ethnographic documentary photography, particularly as it relates to indigenous and minority groups, authenticity of representation, and the dynamics of power between photographer and photographed?*

2. Theoretical Foundations & Definitions:

While academics may utilize photography as a tool in research, there exists terminology specific to the sphere of photographic practice that must be fundamentally understood before incorporating photographic practice-based ideas with sociological or ethnographic ones. This is not to say that photography unto itself is an un-academic field, but that it is (mistakenly) less commonly viewed as one, and should be approached with the deference of qualifying terminology.

To understand the communities of practice that exist within the field of photography, and other fields that derive utility from it, American sociologists Howard S. Becker carefully distinguishes between the roles and expectations for the photojournalist, the documentary photographer, and the visual sociologist. By defining these unique roles, he emphasizes the constraints imposed on each with regards to both direction and output. Bluntly put: photojournalists are governed by 'story assignments' selected by editors, and the stories they produce must be easily digestible for the wide media audience; documentary photographers are meant to have an agenda of social responsibility, "to dig deep", and "to worry about, and justify, their relations to the people they photograph".[3] In the latter categorization, there is some overlap with the final profession of visual sociologist who, traditionally, is governed by the paradigm of academia and the demands of research.

The documentary photographer is nestled in the gap between foreign correspondent and ethnographer. There is an element of social advocacy to the job description that weighs a responsibility on her shoulders. But this role is not without its critics. Leading American sociologist and photographer Douglas Harper believes that the majority of the work done by documentary photographers is "now considered to be naïve" in its efforts to "peel back the onion skin of the world (often for social justice)."[4] Though he cites some instances of photographic exception, his view is not an altogether uncommon one.

Traditional definitions of photojournalism are rooted in the concept of evidentiary objectivity and 'bearing witness'. But perhaps more important than objectivity is the notion of public service as noted by Walter Lippmann (a 'founding

father' of journalism) is his "Journalist's Creed".[5] Professor Tom Moring brought to light Lippmann's philosophical take on journalism – which also exists among documentary photographers, citing Plato's Allegory of the Cave and the condition of a society whereby the journalist is the means through which the cave can be opened, so that society may act with an informed intelligence.[6] It is impossible for the producer of the text or image to be entirely objective when it is informed by the opinions of the author, or in this case, framed by the mindset (and quite literally, the camera frame) of the photographer. When confronted with issues of social advocacy, objectivity becomes a less obvious or desirable methodological choice.

Taking the stance that the image cannot serve as evidence, documentary photography is more often associated with aspirational ideals and deliberate manipulations rather than a literal recounting of events. However, 'realism' is the type of signification the photographer strives for in the same sense that pure objectivity is the same nearly unachievable goal to which the print journalist strives. The inherent messiness of human life cannot be holistically depicted in an image. However, the documentary photographer makes great efforts to distill moments within a frame that speak towards the intricate nature of the messiness. In so doing, she cannot help but imbue the image with parts of herself, thus stripping the event of its evidential purity.

Israeli visual culture theorist Ariella Azoulay explains that the "ontological framework of the photography" involves a very literal physical border.[7] This border, also called 'the frame', is defined by the photographer's choices of what to include within it and what she has chosen to exclude, or 'limit' beyond it.[8] One must consider what has been purposefully left out. This view assumes that the photographer is the point of control for the content and representation within the image.

Yet, it takes at least two parties (only one need be animate), to create a final image. The understanding, for the purposes of this document, is of an interaction between two live beings, and not the aerial, landscape, still life, or architectural genres of photography.

The conduit for the image capture – the camera – inevitably distorts as light passes through the lens. And of course, there are qualities and objects (pose, furniture, clothes, etc.) in the photograph that, in a frozen moment, may connote meaning, which, in the pace of everyday life (unfrozen by the camera) may go unnoticed. However,

caught within the camera's frame, the documentary narrative begins, and parts of life are contained.

This was perhaps the utility seen by 19th century anthropologists seeking to categorize and classify their accumulated data points. Photographs allowed them to distill parts of their findings in a way that, at the time, felt evidentiary. The precursors to modern anthropology and the very origins of photographic practice ran alongside one another - their timelines nearly contiguous. While anthropology is the scientific study of humans, documentary photography is a type of visual field that preoccupies itself with relationality, the stories within the events. Where the fields overlapped, a product and process of domination and surveillance was created. However, social advancements made in both fields have since attempted to steer the methods and results in alternative directions.

2.1 Photographic Theory:

The process of deciphering images is notoriously complex and contended. There exists a school of thought that believes normative ideology to govern image referents and our associations with them. Another school of thought believes that each interaction with an image is contextualized as a uniquely personal one.

French philosopher Roland Barthes set the groundwork for the definition of the 'realistic' interpretation of the image, which denied the author relevance in the meaning-making process. Essentially, Barthes believed that photography mutated any subject into object, becoming a direct reference of the representation – the referent itself.[9]

Barthes is deliberate with his use of semantics. He says, "language knows a 'subject', not a 'person'".[10] However, this troubling word use, this reverse anthropomorphizing, robs a human of all that defines her as alive, and equates her with a possession. This concept has a disturbing echo to the worst of the colonial era. Further

discussion on this topic continued in the "<u>Objectification and Ethical Considerations</u>" section.

Supportive of this school of thought is the British Essayist John Berger. He classifies photographs as an "automatic record", that the medium "has no language of its own", and that "there is no transforming in photography".[11] In Berger's usage of the word "transformation," he implies that a photograph of a pipe remains a pipe in its representation of realism, unlike a painting of a pipe (alluding to Magritte's "The Treachery of Images" painting), which will always remain a two-dimensional artist rendering of another object.

In his commentary on the ontology of photography, Barthes coined essential terms that have been engulfed into the habitus of the discourse on representation: 'punctum' and 'studium' are co-existing elements in photographs. Studium refers to the informative nature of the photograph. Barthes unpacks his dense definition for punctum, explaining that the meaning for the word exists in the interesting details proving presence, the 'inevitable' elements of the event that 'prick' us.[12] Perhaps it is here that Barthes' previous essay "The Death of the Author" screams loudest. He claims that the ingrained meaning of a photograph leaves nothing to be interpreted because the image does not represent, but rather just "is".

Acclaimed American writer and filmmaker Susan Sontag supports this evidentiary view of the medium. In her famous collection of essays "On Photography", she says, "photography is essentially an act of non-intervention that engenders a kind of detached, abstract, distanced relationship with the world".[13] Sontag falls in line with those who believe that that photograph "bears witness". However, Sontag's views on the medium have evolved, somewhat. She continues along similar lines saying "to take a picture is to have an interest in things as they are, in the status quo, remaining unchanged [or] to be in complicity with whatever makes a subject interesting, worth photographing - including, when that is the interest, another person's pain or misfortune."[14] Those in agreement with this philosophy of photography would consider the output (end photograph) to be objective, almost clinical in nature. And, may also go as far as to say that the end photograph justifies the method in which it is achieved.

Cultural theorist John Tagg takes a position in direct opposition to Barthes. His stance is that "what Barthes calls 'evidential force' is a complex historical outcome and

is exercised by photographs only within certain institutional practices and within particular historical relations".[15] Here, Tagg believes that the contextuality of the image is what defines its meaning rather than Barthes' agonizingly literal interpretation. Tagg instead believes in the "regime of sense" of the photograph (in complement to Foucault's "regime of truth"[a]), which allows for meaning to be created by the image, rather than by preexisting exterior dynamics. Tagg, utilizing his own take on Foucault's original phraseology, explains that "every text - including the photographic text - is an activity of production of meaning which is carried on within a certain *regime of sense*".[16] Tagg relies on culturally defined guidelines for understanding the text. The image is a reference for what it represents, and not evidential reality (again, one immediately makes the connection to Magritte's work). However, Tagg is wise to draw attention to the pitfall of an image creator's "failure to signify," which occurs when the photograph is too abstract to draw a direct link to what the author intends for it to represent, and when consequently, the work is misunderstood. Tagg entreats us "not to deal with the photography as 'evidence' of history, but as historical".[17] The syntactical distinction, though subtle, exemplifies Tagg's relational approach to interpretation. He is asking viewers to understand that meaning is found in the context during which the image was captured rather than any kind of 'neutral' record of incident; he is reminding viewers to remember the contemporaneous state in which the image was created. Here too, Tagg reminds us that the camera itself registers meaning in the "the technical limitations and the resultant distortions" further proving that the resulting image would be (should the machine ever be capable of self-operation) rife with imbued subjectivities, and still cannot be viewed with clinical evidential force.[18] In understanding Tagg's position, we must also keep in mind that while he is concerned with the subjectivities of the image creator, there are also subjectivities at the site of image interpretation, in the mind of

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[a] To be clear, I am not calling on Foucauldian theory to substantiate the existence of an individual's intentionality, but merely citing use of this particular phrase "regime of truth" as it aligns with Tagg's "regime of sense". Doing so would in fact draw into conflict my theories on Barthes versus Tagg. With regards to Foucault, it would be difficult to posit one's intentions without claim to subjectification. Philosophically, these notions are beyond the scope of this text, and would indeed create contradictions within my positions outlined further in this document.

the viewer. This will be further discussed in the section, "[Process of Interpretation and Site of Audiencing](#)".

Azoulay also refutes the Barthian conceptions of image understanding. She challenges the notion of the meaning of an 'event' being 'sealed' in a photograph. Azoulay questions that if the photo is seen as a 'signifier of an event,' then the photographer has been stripped of her influence in the picture-making process, and in a way, becomes an observer herself.[19] Following this logic, the photographer is merely the button-pusher, a shutter-closer. Azoulay denies that the photograph is created at the resulting audience's point of understanding, or at the photographer's intention for the image, or within the subject's "performance". Instead, the photograph is an 'encounter' which creates a discourse between all 'protagonists' involved.[20] This encounter is oftentimes an imbalanced one between forces in front of and behind the lens. Here we begin to broach issues pertaining to the power struggle, of [hegemony](#) and dominance of those being surveilled and those who are doing the surveilling, to be discussed later in this paper.

The ethical relations inherent to the photographic discourse have a great deal to do with who has the power of the gaze. How one engages with the values that make up her social and professional ethics will have a bearing on the final media product. American documentary filmmaker Bill Nichols coined a term "axiographics" in his study on the "Ethical Space in Documentary Film". The term implies the study of values, but is applied to the experiential. While not all of the concepts which Nichols presents can be transferred seamlessly to documentary photography, a particular quote adapted by Nichols from British feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey get rights at the heart of the ethical nature of the viewer's gaze, across mediums.

> *"Playing on the tension between film as controlling the dimension of time (exposition, narrative) and film as controlling the dimension of space (changes in distance, place, perspective), cinematic codes create a gaze aimed at the historical world, and an object (the desire for and promise of knowledge), thereby producing an argument cut to ethical, political, and ideological measure."[21]*

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One might posit why certain ideas cannot be transposed between documentary film and documentary photography, especially considering obvious elements of topical overlap. I posed a similar question to professor of film studies Tytti Soila. Soila responded that what differentiates a freeze-frame taken from a documentary film from a photograph is the way in which one begins analyzing a photograph from a compositional space, e.g. "what is deviant, what is common, foreground, background, frame."[22] In our discussion, I added that in both mediums, a viewer is either given story and timeline elements (film), or must intuit them from other informative elements of the still (photograph). How a viewer is meant to intuit them has partly to do with the visual referents the viewer draws from the image, and partly to do with the viewer's own habitus. While with film the back-story is told, with photography the back-story must be intuited. Soila insisted that there remains an uniqueness to a still, to which I agreed.

Yet, Nichols' comments regarding the controlling elements of frame are consistent when applied to documentary photography. By choosing to contain elements within one's frame (to constrain the image), the photographer inevitably leaves other elements out. This concept aligns neatly with Azoulay's previously cited "ontological frame". It is this control over narrative, which creates the gaze of the photographer, but which also limits the referents that the photographer is attempting to convey. The choice is informed by the ethical community of practice to which the photographer is predisposed, as well as by her political and ideological intentions.

2.1.1 "Reality" and Authenticity of the Image:

Photography is *"an accessible mode of documentary evidence, yet is bedeviled by issues of authenticity and verifiability that underline the ideological conditions of the relationship between seeing and believing."*
                                                                    - (Kennedy & Patrick 2014)[23]

Though it is the goal of any reputable journalist to report the truth, the 'myth of objectivity' exists in print journalism, and holds steadfast in its image-laden sister

medium. It is the main concern of the documentary photographer to portray a social reality and lived experience, which aspires to be one truth among many truths. At the advent of the photograph, viewers were suddenly empowered with a new way to challenge and define the reality of this novel vision, what was being heralded by some as evidentiary truth. However, are truth and authenticity commensurate? If truth is so elusive to 'accurate' representation, is authenticity more or less so? Broaching ideas of ownership of authenticity creates a chasm between the former and truth, and staking a claim on any form of truth would be presumptuous if not entirely misguided.

When applied specifically to embodiments in photography, representations of identity narratives rouse questions on voice, power and platform. One must consider who has the voice of authenticity and what power it may give her. The obverse view to that thought must also be considered: whose voice is inauthentic in the photographic manifestation, and does it obstruct her from participation?

In his book "The Responsibility of Forms," Barthes coined a term for absolute meaning in an image, something which he called the "*sens obvie*", the obvious meaning.[24] Barthes sought to 'naturalize' the reality of the relationship between writer and reader in 'text' (here, we take 'text' to be a meaning imbued creation, from written work to painting to sculpture to photograph), making the interpretation a unification of definitions, with no imbued individuality of meaning unto itself. However, if objectivity is unachievable, his premise is without merit. The 'obvious' is not, and requires demystification. We must take into consideration the degrees of reality of the text. We can state what it is not; the text is not artificial because it exists. However, the gradations of its reality and authenticity (themselves not equitable terms) are diverse.

As a photojournalist or documentary photographer, a 'true' photo, or at least one that fulfills the ethical standards of photographers, is one that is un-manipulated, and does not misrepresent an event (via image cropping or intentionally leaving out a crucial contextual element etc.). In fact, in the preamble to The National Press Photographer's Association's (NPPA) code of ethics, it is stated "Our primary goal is the faithful and comprehensive depiction of the subject at hand...Photographs can also cause great harm if they are callously intrusive or are manipulated."[25] Though it is clear that integrity of content is essential, defining what exactly satisfies that requirement is considerably more complex.

Another factor, which must be taken into account, is the authenticity of the subject of the photograph. The topic becomes particularly contentious when non-group members pose questions of validity of identity for those within a group. Take, for example, the controversy surrounding Finland's 2015 Miss World competitor. Setting aside the obvious and innate problematics with 'beauty' competitions, there is an issue with regard to ownership of cultural attire. The contestant was rebuked for donning a fake Sámi costume, one which – even if it were authentic *duodji* (traditional Sámi handicraft), she would have no right to wear under international conventions of indigenous peoples, as she herself is not Sámi.[26] This poses a question with regards to the authenticity of the subject and to the authenticity of the photo. The photographer must be able to identify the authentic (and conversely, fake counterparts) so as not to promulgate inaccurate representations. This oftentimes requires considerable prior research, and is similar to a print journalist's fact-checking and source-vetting methods. There are questions of responsibility that exist on both sides of the lens. This applies to staged photographs as well, which are considered within the documentary photographic community to be equally reprehensible in terms of their lack of credibility.

In the section titled "Authentication" in his book "Camera Lucida," Barthes includes the portrait of William Casby, photographed by Richard Avedon. Beneath the photo sits the title "Born A Slave," and a notation of the year the image was taken, 1963. In his efforts to reinforce his position that "photography cannot signify," Barthes boldly states that "the essence of slavery is here laid bare: the mask is the meaning, insofar as it is absolutely pure (as it was in the ancient theater)."[27] It seems trenchant and injudicious to profess that nearly 250 hundred years of abject suffering and bondage could have their essence embodied on the photographic portrait of man. The image could perhaps contribute to the elemental nature of the history – perhaps a moment, event or feeling, but it seems impossible that the portrait of this man could be the synecdoche for the entire suffering of generations. For Barthes to imbue the photograph with such power, for it to be an authentic image of slavery's essence, seems unfair to Casby's life during and since his forced bondage. To make him an embodiment of his suffering is to rob Casby of his individual life experience; it flattens him. And instead, renders Casby a symbolic representation for millions of others with varied experiences.

To put it succinctly, Barthes' assessment is overblown, lacking in nuance, and turns dynamic histories into one singular history.

However, it does occur in the rare photograph that an image becomes so iconic that it takes on a symbolic meaning greater than the individual experience it portrays. Think for example of the recently famous photograph of a female Black Lives Matter activist calmly standing still before approaching police in Baton Rouge, Louisiana during a protest over the death of Alton Sterling.[28] The image, taken by Reuters photographer Jonathan Bachman, has become a symbol of the contemporary civil rights movement in America, and has eclipsed the singular lived experience of 28-year-old Ieshia Evans. What began as a photograph of Evans' peaceful protest (July 9, 2016), an authentic moment in her lived experience, went on to become a symbolic representation for a movement, an authentic moment of a collective lived experience.

Rejecting Barthes' assessment begs a counter question: what then is the basis for authenticity in representations of identity? There seems to be something violable when attempting to quantify a representation of an identity within a photograph, in that it cannot be done. A trace, perhaps a part of a person's character, can be conveyed; it is only in the most exceptional of photographs that we ever speak in terms more favorable than "you really captured *something* about her" etc. The subjectivities of the photographer are taken into account, as are the elements of frame, which inherently and by definition limit the space of the narrative being portrayed. And again, in the most Magritte-like of ways, we must remember that we are discussing a portrayal of a subject, and not the subject itself whose multi-facetted humanity may never be contained in one photograph.

Particularly with indigenous identity imagery, there is the added fear of essentialization within the photographic representation, an offense that has been all too common among ethnographic images of indigenous people in the past. However, when attempting to photograph an indigenous person's lived reality, is an essentialized image created, or is it an essentialized notion to assume that an indigenous person's lived reality can be captured within the frame of a camera? Professor of psychosocial research Brian Roberts cites narrative researcher Catherine Reissman who claimed, "investigators must guard against reifying a single transcript or image as the 'real thing'".[29] Instead, there are multiple lived realities that can be captured, and facets of

individual realties that can sit or move before a camera. Citing Professor and write of cultural studies Paul Gilroy's idea of "the changing same," Husband explains that cultures - and identities within those cultures - indeed change over time, and that there is a "dynamic linkage between shared pasts and creative current identities".[30] To fix an indigenous culture in its past through hackneyed or stereotyped representations is to deny them, or any community, the natural evolution into a diverse present. It should be the goal of the documentary photographer working with indigenous communities to create images that reflect what is really happening in contemporary indigenous society, and to help to make known the natural fluidity of a culture. This goal speaks to the desired social validity of the photograph being created.

It is the opinion of Donna Schwartz, writing on the 'Credibility of Photojournalism' that "photography inherently manipulates the reality in front of the lens," and the choice of framing composition (or Azoulay's "ontological framework of photography") is no small part of the conscious or subconscious manipulation on the part of the photographer.[31] Though objectivity is the reigning yet seemingly unachievable goal, the photographer's intention indelibly affects the creation, and thus must be accounted for when balancing contextualization of the visual narrative with the desire to accurately reflect a lived experience.

2.1.2. How We Think About Representation and Meaning Making:

A viewer of an image, within her own mind, creates meaning for what she sees. Oftentimes, this occurs without the help of a written context or other means of explanation. Thus, as a photographer, one must try with all tools available at one's disposal to convey intention and avoid misrepresentation. But additionally, one must also concede that the final interpretation of the image is beyond the control of the image

creator, which is perhaps for the best. We are all free to interpret imagery as we see fit as this is the nature of freedom of thought.

In an article on photo-elicitation, Harper explains that the human brain interprets images through a response process broken down into two types of representations: images and text. He is keen to point out that "the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information and "thus, images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words".[32] Most humans have the ability to see and decode images before they have the ability to speak. In these stages of development, our brains must interpret images without language skills. These become our very first image referents in life. Harper continues that this process occurs because images were, at one point, our way of deciphering and internalizing meaning before we acquired words.[33] As photographers, we try and exercise this primal part of ourselves, "us[ing] visual means to understand the workings of the social world," and tap in to this form of understanding that can communicate a concept using only our innate visual tools.[34]

Though one may pre-date the other, there is a hierarchy that exists between image and text, particularly in academia. While the written word is commonly accepted as a method for conveying empirical data, the photographic image is not. The latter requires contextualization using the former. Does this make text the more powerful medium, or just the more literal one? Both mediums are in fact human creations and thus, are manifested with the subjectivity of the author. It is from this position that I depart in an effort to describe notions of representation in images.

Ever the realist, Barthes saw all forms of representation, including photography, as a kind of text. He believed that if the element of the author was removed from the interpretation of the text, the meaning could be drawn strictly from the text itself. The reader or audience would then be left to piece together the meaning at its most impersonal. Barthes claimed that, "the text's unity lies not in its origin, but in its destination."[35] I disagree, however. Instead, I believe that the meaning is created within a confluence of elements created at several points in the meaning-making equation, including the site of audiencing.

Contrary to Barthes' perspective, French philosopher Michel Foucault believed all language to be imbued with meaning (and discursive power) beyond the actual

expression. He believed that statements were interpreted through a cultural and historical lens, giving them specificity to that particular moment in time. This specificity speaks to structural relations within society. He did not believe in an absolute definition of 'truth' as interpreted equally by all parties, but in "a discursive formation sustaining a *regime* of truth" (italics are my own).[36] This implies that an interpretation of 'true' meaning can vary from person to person, and are inflected with the situational truths of an individual. Foucault speaks of many truths, and not a singular truth. Schwartz's theories support this claim, explaining "the act of symbolizing, even with the use of a mechanical device capable of producing iconic representations, is a socioculturally defined communicative event."[37] One could infer that how a viewer reaches her interpretation would be necessarily derived from her subjective experience with the visual text, and with her unique experience within society.

Cultural theorist Stuart Hall claims that the discourse stimulated by the image produces a new and distinctive knowledge, which is a discourse "enmeshed in relations of power".[38] This dynamic between subject, discourse, and knowledge is where the subjective meaning is created and outwardly projected. Foucault (interpreted by Hall) suggests that with regard to audience, the meaning of consumed information is constructed only after the discourse is developed, and has been formulated on the foundations of individual opinions.[39] Our intentions, built upon our cultural predispositions, navigate us toward the creation of meaning. It could be argued that these predispositions are an element of enmeshed power.

Not dissimilar to Foucault's concepts requiring historical subjectivity, Becker explains that meanings in photographs are derived from the contexts in which they are placed, shot and understood. Becker states, "if we think there is no context, that only means our willingness to provide context for ourselves."[40] He argues that the viewer will impose her own meaning on the image if she has not already deduced one implicitly. Pinney and Peterson express this same idea concisely claiming, "photographs are necessarily contrived and reflect the culture that produces them".[41] This follows the logic that our referents are indeed a direct result of our societally dictated regimes of sense, which allow an individual to immediately intuit meaning derived from those referents. This meaning may or may not be parallel to photographer intent.

It is my position that to fully develop meaning from a visual representation in photographic form, historicity must be taken into account. The "scopic regime" - a term first coined by French film theorist Christian Metz, then further interpreted by professor and historian Martin Jay - is a system that establishes types of claims to truth, respective of contemporary political positioning.[42] In their chapter entitled, "Scopic Regime of Africa" in the book "Observant States: Geopolitics and Visual Culture," Campbell and Power discuss the range of behavior and interpretation affected by perspective, which is the scopic regime:

> *"...embedded in a global visual economy, which establishes the relationship between the observer and observed, producing both subject positions in the process. At its most powerful this scopic regime contributes greatly to a forcible frame. It is not singular, nor is it unchallenged, but it is powerful in the performances it elicits over time. And above all else, it is significant in establishing the conditions of possibility for an ethical response to the events and issues it makes available to us."[43]*

Campbell and Power focus on the discursive formation of the performance element of the image, which highlights the nature of the social contract between observed and observer. And this regime sets out the rules by which the image can be understood, interpreted, further performed, and potentially rebutted. In fact, it is one's habitus that sets the boundaries for her scopic regime.

Professor of qualitative research Ralf Bohnsack is careful to create clear distinctions "between the habitus of the representing and the habitus of the represented".[44] In these divisions, it is the 'habitus' of 'picture producers' that he goes on to define, where their practice of 'representing' refers to those views which are represented in the making of the image - both behind the camera and in the edit bay; he then defines the 'represented' as those who are present within the frame of the image.[45] Bohnsack claims that problems arise in photographic practice when the 'represented' and 'representing' are not equally matched in power relations. Specifically: "The incongruities between the habitus of the representing and the represented picture producers refer to incongruities of the different spaces of experience, the different

milieus they both belong to and their relation in society."[46] When the two are asymmetrical, it is inevitable that the image's intentionality created by the dominant party will override the image's intentionality intended by the weaker party. This creates an ultimately representationally imbalanced output.

Consider the case of famed Brasilian photographer Sebastião Salgado and his work with the Awá people of the eastern Amazonian rainforest, which exists in what is now known as Brasil. Survival International (an organization that champions indigenous rights and their protection) recruited the photographer to bring attention to Awá people's plight, destruction of their native lands by encroaching Brasilian loggers, and attacks on Awá people. The organization's intention was to use the skill and fame of the renowned photographer "to document [the Awá's] world, and the threats to their lives."[47] However, one must take into consideration whether the advantage of having Salgado work with the tribe, considered to be one of the last 100 'uncontacted' in existence, outweighs the detriment that his presence may bring to the community. Salgado was able to photograph objectively stunning portraiture of the people, the landscape, and even the logging community. His photographs drew the attention of international celebrities and encouraged a letter writing camping that aided in the Awá's cause at a governmental level. However, for a community that has nearly zero contact with the outside world, did his presence hamper their rights to be truly self-determining peoples? Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples speaks to the political rights of indigenous communities and their autonomy with respect to local issues that affect their tribe.[48] Though this is an extreme case, including perhaps one of the most famous and well-respected photographers in the world, working with one of the most remote and geo-politically detached communities in the world, it causes even the average documentary photographer to wonder about the consequences of her presence in less extreme cases. Does the incongruity of political space between the observer and the observed negate one's intentions for the work? Herein lies the 'tension' to which Edwards repeatedly alludes. The issue becomes one of finding ways to thoughtfully depict the nature of our differences while reinforcing our human sameness. The Awá could just as easily identify the commonalities and variances between themselves and Salgado as could any citizen who lives a life more connected to the globalized world. There is a humanity that

permeates this photographic process, and finding a balance and method in which once can convey it is the crux of the documentary photographer's edict.

British sociologist Gillian Rose (citing Miller and Slater) explains that the meaning in photographs, or more broadly "visual objects" are "mutually constitutive", which is to say that not only is the viewing process a reflexive one, but that in creating meaning, "authors are paying careful attention to both the sitter of the image and of its audiencing".[49] Perhaps this is the difference between a documentary photographer and photographer that creates images strictly for aesthetic pleasure. The photographer that creates for aesthetic pleasure may not care how a viewer interprets her work. But for the documentary photographer, it is the desperate hope that at the site of audiencing, some semblance of the original intention of the photographer and her collaborators is conveyed to the viewer. Otherwise, the social advocacy element of the documentary photography charge can be utterly lost, and much room is potentially left for misrepresentation.

2.1.3 Process of Interpretation and Site of Audiencing:

The interpretation of images can be as varied as the results of a Rorschach test, where research participants, or in our case - an audience, project their personal views during the process of image consumption. These numerous interpretations of the same physical item are a result of the complex nature of human analysis. Rose references Nicholas Thomas' book "Entangled Objects," quoting "objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become".[50] We project ourselves on that which we see, and the images become unique in our own eyes.

Photographs are imbued with the subjectivities of three parties. The first influential element is the author, the person that creates the frame (the physical cropping of what you see). Additionally, in this digital world, the photographer may or may not have a heavy hand in the editing and printing process, which can significantly affect the final product. The second influential party whose subjectivities affect the

images is the subject; she (or they) may with any number of qualities (e.g. pose, features, clothes, comportment etc.) - tangible or otherwise – inflect the image's perception. The third influential party is the final viewer (the audience), creating a mental image, also the result of an individual construction.

As with any object d'art, the viewer/audience is unaware of the artist's original intention, as she (the viewer) was not present in its moment of creation or in the process of conception. So it is left up to the viewer to perceive and create meaning for the image in her own mind. The process of meaning creation is developed through the categorization of one's own personal visual associations shaped by the viewer's previous exposure and socialization. The assembly of influences, visual reference points from childhood and beyond, start to fire off in the viewer's brain until one connects with the image at hand. This is why viewers spend longer looking at an image that might be visually unusual to them; the brain is searching for a reference point of familiarity. *What looks familiar in this image that I have seen before, and that will help me to give this new image meaning?* These reference points of meaning, what photographic theory calls "referents", are how our brains create new meaning from images. Here Barthes would disagree; a Barthian interpretation of image referents allows only for meaning creation through 'disentanglement' and not 'deciphering'.[51] Barthian theory boasts that there is nothing new to be deciphered, only old concepts to be disentangled.

Take for example, a photo of a Syrian refugee on the streets of Istanbul, Turkey. This image may be viewed very differently by someone who has developed anti-immigrant sentiments than it would be by someone who empathizes with the ongoing struggles of the Syrian Civil War. Yet, the image is unchanged. The two viewers possessing two different mindsets are surveying physically identical photographs. In photography, this is called "the site of audiencing", the place where meaning is created in the viewer's mind. And it has nothing to do with the intentions of the author: the photographer. The relinquishing of control of interpretation during publication or final exposition is something with which artists in all mediums must come to terms. Yet, there always remains the disquieting possibility for output misinterpretation.

Further, if the final image is not strictly for personal use, it will travel. The visual economy of the image will allow it to travel across borders. The image will physically travel (either via print or digital publication), or it may hang on a wall in a gallery, or

home, etc. As Berger puts it, "because of the camera, the painting now travels to the spectator rather than the spectator to the painting. In its travels, its meaning is diversified."[52] Once a single viewer has taken sight of the image, it can then spread (in the form of image referent) with that person; that image will proliferate among an audience. The viewer will then carry that new visual referent with her onto other visual experiences. Of course this assumes that the photograph has an effect on the viewer, which not all photographs do. There is the potential that the image may not hold the spectator's interest at all, and as such, not remain in her referent catalog. However, the potential for travel in an image is exponential, particularly when a digital image is considered. Here, Marshall McLuhan's concept of the "global village," which alludes to the whole of humanity alive today being instantaneously interconnected through electrical connections, seems eerily relevant.[53] This thought may cause future subjects of photographs to think twice before sitting for his or her next portrait. Unless the subject has a flippant disregard for the resulting photograph (or is entirely unaware of the practice of photography [This seemingly outlandish concept is not entirely uncommon when considering communities who have yet to be grasped by the fingers of globalization. In this case, a trust of another kind must be established. see Working with Minority and Indigenous Communities section for further topic development.]), there has to be an inherent trust between photographers and photographed that the final image produced will not be misused or allowed to 'travel' unscrupulously. Yet, it is commonplace (especially in the practice of street photography) that the relationship between photographer and photographer is unknowing one, where there is a complete lack of awareness by the subject that his or her photograph is being captured.

It is this complex dynamic between photographer, photographed subject, and resulting audience that creates this social space. This 'encounter' ultimately provides for the holistic meaning of the image.

2.1.4 The Hegemony of Images:

"Photography has always been a social act, bounded to a greater or lesser extent by power relations."- (Edwards, 2015)[54]

Historically, images (e.g. paintings, drawn posters, cartoons, photographs etc.) have been used as a means by the state to disseminate and control political and/or social messaging, and for the state to surveil its people. This, of course, has not been the sole use of visual creations. However, images' multiple uses have evolved over time and throughout mass media. Alternative uses for images have included artistic expression and even the appropriation of state-created imagery for counter messaging by opposition groups as acts of defiance and rebellion. To accept this premise, and the history of the image within society, is to understand the political economy of imagery, and the potential utility of the image object with respect to power. The impossibility of neutrality in the image is implicit in this argument.

The political economy of the image is rooted in how a message is created and conveyed through the image. One of the most powerful ways in which images have been manipulated to message has been through the use of propaganda. The Gramscian notion of hegemony involves the winning of consent of the historic bloc through coercion and leadership. Propaganda was one means to that end, and had the ultimate goal of a ruling class socially controlling the subaltern class through implementation of hegemony. This balance of consent and (but also by) coercion must operate in conjunction for a hegemonic society to persist. Within a hegemonic society, the two elements cannot thrive independently of one another.

The structure of photography as articulated through hegemonic powers reveals "relations of dominance and subordination" within the articulation of photography as a means of surveillance.[55] Here, the government is the 'structure' element of Hall's articulation equation, which is used as a tool of ruling class coercion. The marionette strings of photography's power in media have the potential to be controlled by state operators (e.g. the FSA, see section on Photographic History for further discussion of this example). The political economy of the image is at its most potent when state

operators' influence over government propaganda places ideas that favor the ruling class in a position to be disseminated.

The relevancy of the previous theories come alive when applied to tactile historical examples. Take for example, the state as the US government in the late 1880s, the ruling class as the police, and the workers divided between white and non-white citizens. As early as the 1880s, it was common practice for the police to use an assemblage of mug shots and anthropometry to racially profile people as 'types' of criminals.[56] The police were using the argument of societal safety to surveil both whites and non-whites. Normative (racist) views prevailed when fear of non-white Americans caused the articulation of race and class interests. However, it was the coercive argument of security against a racialized nation that encouraged the use of stereotyped criminal portraiture to scare working class white citizens into propping up the discriminatory system of mug shots, thus reinforcing the system of hegemony through police photography. The US government justified its racist actions through a perceived national benefit for the masses.

Hall argues that "every state is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling class".[57] The 'need' here is security from the feared image of the criminal, portrayed in stark contrast to the interests of the historic bloc, which is reflective of ruling class interests and cultural values of the subordinate class. This is not dissimilar to tactics used by US presidents Nixon and Reagan who touted harsh stances towards drug related criminality, roused an irrational fear of crime and chants for 'law and order' when their policies (and political ads) were actually thinly veiled directives targeting minority communities.

When discussing issues of state surveillance, Bentham's classic model of the Panopticon (and Foucault's further interpretation of it) immediately come to mind. Foucault believed that the ultimate surveillance occurred when the institution objectified the subject. His concern was with how the power of the state was exercised over subordinate classes. In what Foucault called the "transversal" struggle between the anti-authoritarian subject and the dominant power, he stated that this duality was not limited to one country, and " is a form of power which makes individuals subjects."[58]

This is not dissimilar to the argument previously made about the ability of the photograph to literally objectify. Directly applying Foucault's thoughts to the centrality of this paper, this imbalanced power dynamic can be drawn between media representations of indigenous peoples and the indigenous peoples themselves.

Husband addresses the form of consent that would need to be coerced for this hegemonic institution of inaccurate and essentialized portrayals of indigenous peoples in mass media to transpire. He cites Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's seminal text "Manufacturing Consent" (1988), which explains that media manufacturing consent is actually "the ideological process of incorporating the marginalized within a worldview in which their 'inferiority', 'ineligibility' for opportunity, and limited aspiration are rendered unproblematic because there is no cognitive alternative available to them."[59] To create other representations of an indigenous self, visual alternatives have to be readily available, which historically, they have not been. And the reason there have not been alternative representations is due to previously reduced or non-existent access by indigenous people to self-represent. Additionally, the representations that were being created were, in effect, misrepresentations, which were inaccurate unto themselves. Husband citing Andrew Jakubowicz states that the "systematic exclusion of lesser voices, presenting the media as an arena in which only those who are powerful enough to participate can exert an influence" helps to understand why the access has been asymmetrical for minority voices.[60]

Azoulay also points out the presence of the state in the image. She is specifically concerned with the visual discourse on photographic imagery, and does not privilege a hierarchy of voices; her concern is with 'the event' around which the photograph is created. Azoulay's belief is that "the photographer cannot render the people she photographs into subjects of objects," but that the two parties are "articulated and connected to one another", "not only in the act of photography, but also in the political space that the photography elicits."[61] To submit to such a subject/object paradigm would reinforce the hegemonic history of the image previously outlined. The photograph then becomes an item of possession, a tool to ultimately control the subject through an enforced dominance by imagery.

In my ethnographic documentary photographic work, I attempt to balance the social dynamic in front and behind the lens. By respecting my collaborator's difference,

and uniting in our goals to create ethical representations, we can attempt to counteract forces that would seek to exert influences which would disrupt the ultimate image's intended narrative.

2.2 Photographic History:

The history of what Azoulay calls "a notation in light" begins in the 19th century.[62] In 1884, British photography pioneer and scientist Henry Fox Talbot published the first commercially available book of photography in installments, and called it "The Pencil of Nature", the title of which speaks to the generally accepted 'realist' views on photography at the time. It is helpful to keep this concept in mind when reviewing the timeline of the photographic field from the 1800s until now.

In the late 19th century, the most common uses for photography were in portraits and photojournalism. The medium progressed throughout the century, from being employed as a form of portraiture, police documentation and surveillance, yellow journalism, and American New Deal propaganda, to being experimented with as a new type of artistic expression. Among the most authoritarian of photography's uses was as a form of state evidence. Documentary photography developed as an outcropping of the social environment at the turn of the century. Some of the photographers employed by the state and media corporations became campaigners for the social causes they were originally assigned to document. Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine and the like, who were hired to survey and document under government contract, and went on to publish prolific independent monographs which could be read as the earliest forms of social advocacy in photography (e.g. Jacob Riis' "How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York", 1890).

It was Riis, while documenting the squalid living conditions of the poor in New York in the last decades of the 19th century, who coined a now common phrase when he wrote, "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives."[63] His prescient work would go on to inform the documentary photographic style of the next century.

There was a wave of reactionary photography that was developing as an outcropping of the medium's authoritarian uses. Tagg believes that, at the time, "the discourse of documentary [photography] constituted a complex strategic response to a particular moment of crisis" and "of representation itself: of the means of making the sense we call social experience".[64] He outlines the rise of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), a governmental program part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal reform that was established to document the Depression and its effect on the agricultural environment and its workers. The FSA employed such photographic luminaries as Walker Evans. But it was a man named Roy Stryker at the editorial helm of the organization who effectively manipulated (and in some cases destroyed) the images of the era that the government went on to selectively promote.[65] This was an early case of photography as state surveillance; the images were turned into a means of social control through their selective proliferation and curated narratives. Whereas this same form of propaganda was previously executed through drawings, photography could now more convincingly take its place. This speaks to the credibility the public immediately granted the newfound 'evidentiary' medium. Now the government could judiciously promote the photographs it deemed fit rather than hire cartoonists or graphic artists to create drawings with the same intended effect.

In the United Kingdom, the government had been employing photographic technology through additional means, and much earlier. The police were using portraiture to keep records of suspects and criminals as early as the 1840s in what were known as 'rogues' galleries'. "Inspired by the scientific rage around eugenics, there was a widely held belief at the time that criminals had certain identifiable features and traits, like thick lips and low brows. It was an early version of racial profiling."[66] This was a new approach to employing physiognomy, formerly an elemental characteristic of the anthropologist's métier.

In the 1870s, Irish philanthropist Thomas John Barnardo began photographing the boys in his orphanage. In 1877 he was charged with using photos of the boys to make money, and "to aid in advocating the claims of [the] institution" which the State deemed was "not only dishonest, but has a tendency to destroy the better feelings of the children…he is not satisfied with taking them as they really are, but he tears their clothes, so as to make them appear worse than they really are."[67] Barnardo misused the

photographs to promote his financial interests. Tagg cited this as the use of photography as "observation-domination", and "the body as commodity."[68] While the police uses were some of the first examples of photography as surveillance by the State, Barnardo's uses were some of the first public record examples of photography as private surveillance and subjectification for personal gain.

Newspaper editors of the 19th century were also pleased to have what they thought was a more objective form of pictorial representations for their papers. While drawings may have been prone to caricature, the advent of photography provided them with 'real life'.

> *"Publishers deployed the evidentiary status attributed to the image as part of the larger attempt to assert the nonpartisan, objective view offered by the fourth estate."*[69]

By fourth estate of the realm, Schwartz is referring to the media element of the public sphere. Publishers and the public, both relatively new to photographic technology, removed the humanity from the photographic process, and referred to photographers as camera "operators". By attributing the work to the camera and not the photographer, the final photograph was supposedly imbued with the ultimate objectivity.

At the nascence of documentary photography, many of those employing the medium used it to convey a sense of 'social realism'. However, as professor of psychosocial research Brian Roberts points out in the journal "Forum: Qualitative Social Research", the process of creating a photograph goes through at least three steps of production - including composition, lab processing, and printing - all of which have an effect on the final product.[70] With the somewhat recent rise of digital photography, where lab processing of analog negatives has been foregone in favor of computer processing and manipulation in digital software programs like Adobe Photoshop and Lightroom etc., the end product can be even further altered. With copious opportunities for embellishment or subjective interpolation, it is a wonder how one could find objective purity, or hyperrealism in contemporary photography. So how "real" can the final "product" actually be if it is so meticulously produced? It is undeniable that the final photograph is imbued by the subjectivities of the photographer and her process.

The final output of documentary photography can also be consumed as art, irrespective of the author's original intention. In Howard Becker's 1982 text "Exploring

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Society Photographically," he comments, "in the case of art aimed at exploring society it might as well be social science information".[71] This straddling of social science, documentary photography, and art is the uneasy locus where contemporary ethnographic pursuits tend to exist. The ethnographic documentary photographer surely wants to create an image that is aesthetically balanced, but more importantly, she is concerned with the visual narrative and its representation of the featured encounter's historicity.

2.3 Anthropological and Ethnographic Theory:

It was at one time the goal of the anthropological field to codify, classify, and name all that was unknown about humankind. Humans thought to be fundamentally different were treated as scientific objects, treated with a clinical insensitivity and general carelessness. This, unsurprisingly, has left behind a scarred and traumatic history for all involved. Photographs of calipers wrapped around the skulls of indigenous peoples, or the recurrent 'turned down top' photographs that sexualized the 'Other' have left an uncomfortable and often shameful archive of the field of study. Anthropology as a science has since shifted from its focus on physiognomy, and certainly from its stronghold in the colonial empire. However, it could be argued that the field remains a tool of the Western paradigm, with little room for alternative worldviews.

For clarity's sake, in utilizing the label "Western" practices, I refer to the linear, objectivist schools of thought based in rationality that have dominated academia at the expense of the valuation and validity of other ways of knowing. Particularly, whilst considering perspectives on ethnicity as a lens through which to view indigeneity, one encounters problems with primoridialistic views that seek to reinforce essentialism, and the historical nature of tribal groupings.

The study of anthropological images concerns how images are represented both culturally and socially. Harper defines ethnography as "the scientific description of the customs of individual peoples and cultures".[72] In the Venn diagram mapping both fields of study, the interests of the fields are the same, but the methods differ. Respectively, those methods involve how cultural images are represented, and the scientific description of those cultures. This overlap in the two fields of anthropology and ethnography align even more so when the camera is the tool utilized for conducting research. Harper believes that "contemporary visual ethnography uses photography not so much to claim 'this is what is', but to create a dialogue around the competing and complementary meanings of images".[73] Harper's definition leaves room for non-Western interpretations of visual representations. This is a far cry for the science's original use of the medium, which was an alternative means of evidentiary 'proof'.

In her book "Doing Research in Cultural Studies", Paula Saukko defines "new ethnography" as a departure from the ways in which "social sciences have depicted the people being studied, particularly disenfranchised groups...in a way that does not do justice to their sense of reality", and continues to explain that the defining feature of new ethnography is a "commitment to be 'truer' to lived realities of other people".[74] It is this 'truer' component that becomes problematic, as previously discussed in this text, in the section called [“Reality” and Authenticity of the Image](). Though the goal may be noble, the execution is problematic. As documentary photographers, we will nevertheless strive towards this ultimate goal.

In Rose's book "Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials", the author describes how images can be used to enhance the power of research. Rose discusses the utility of photographs in capturing the social relations between people, but also takes care to highlight that meaning is created both at the point of formation (by the photographer) as well as the site of audiencing (by the viewer), making the medium highly subjective.[75] The same "power dynamics" that Rose describes existing "between the researcher, the researched, and the images" also exists in traditional Western anthropological practice.[76] Rose explains that the advantage to using an anthropological approach to understanding images is the "recontextualization" that the methodology necessitates, and that it "enables the discussion of power relations as they play it through the movement of objects".[77] Rose understands the

requisite need of placing an event, instilled in a photo, within the parameters of its contemporary history. In so doing, one is better able to understand the extant social dynamics within the image.

Of all the divisions of study that exist within the anthropological discipline, it is cultural anthropology that overlaps most with the definition of ethnographic study. And this discussion of theory leaves us with the concept of the "well intentioned ethnographer", which is not necessarily caveat enough for the progression of ethical work. Throughout this thesis, I have made advancements towards a (somewhat unachievable yet) fundamental goal of an ethically satisfactory working process.

2.4 History of Anthropological & Ethnographic Practice:

"The science of anthropology owes not a little to the art of photography."
- E.B. Tylor, as quoted in C. Pinney's Photography and Anthropology (2011)

The post-enlightenment desire for science-based rationale led to the pursuance of empirical fieldwork, data collection and, in time, a field that would distinguish itself as anthropology. In the early years of the practice, photography was incorporated as a form of documenting evidence 'in the field', and resonated as an essential element of the early 19th century colonial gaze.[78] While Harper notes that the objectivity of these photos has since been "wholly rejected," "it is now precisely the subjectivity of these photos that attracts contemporary interests".[79] Anthropology, as a field, can now reexamine these notorious images to understand the mistakes and abuses of the science's past. Further (and tangentially), selective efforts are being made to repatriate selections of these images to the ancestors of the original subjects.[80]

In its early days, photography was being incorporated into anthropological practice for the purposes of documentation and classification of physiognomy and race differentiation (very similar to how it would be later used to create 'Rogues' Galleries).

The indices created (which were clear instances of racism) were used to enhance the text-based descriptions and mathematical measurements collected by colonial anthropologists. However, as contemporary anthropologist and art historian professor Christopher Pinney points out, 18th-19th century English anthropologist Sir E.B. Tylor was of the first in his field to move from attributing community qualities and identities from the physical and racial, to the culturally based; he moved the traits' causality from the surface to the social.[81] Tylor's efforts changed the use of the photograph in anthropology from a tool for the flat documentation of evidence to a tool that functions as a socio-cultural sponge. He believed that a photograph had more to tell anthropologists than a subject's body size or the cut of her garment.

Pinney succinctly described the symbiotic relationship between the practicums. Photography gave a certainty (that element of 'being there') to anthropology, which was much needed at the time. He states that photography served as "the balm for a widespread discomfort about the foundations of the new science."[82] The medium served as a form of proof of the work being done on the ground for the people back at home.

The emergence of both fields temporally coincided, and a mutual rise in the public's awareness of their practices was such that by the end of the century, the photograph would be a ubiquitous part of Western culture, and anthropology an esteemed science that relied on it. While the history of both practices began earlier than the intersection of the two, photography was being incorporated into the practice of anthropology as early the mid-1840s by French anatomist E.R.A. Serres who utilized the daguerreotypes of the Botocudo tribes people, taken by Adolf Thiesson.[83] Pinney points out that moral discomfort arose when questions about the ethical nature of observing a member of the same species came to the forefront of the discipline.[84] It is clear, however, that the moral question that may have troubled some did little to inhibit the pursuant work of others.

In her critique of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson's famed and much cited ethnographic film "Trance and Dance in Bali" and their accompanying book replete with photographs "Balinese Character", Indonesian American associate professor Fatimah Tobing Rony explains that the theory upon which Bateson and Mead began their inquiry was utterly flawed. Mead and Bateson believed that the Balinese were actually a culture of schizophrenics, induced into religious trance by their pathologies.[85] The obvious

problem with this point of departure for research is the immediate dismissal of the trance state as something other than what the native culture explicitly tells you that it is. Anthropological and ethnographic works of the time were rife with assessments made on and about studied cultures that had very little to do with the voice of those being studied. Rony explains (citing anthropologist, and Mead and Bateson contemporary, Margaret Wiener), "The problem with empiricist theories of knowledge is that they refuse to acknowledge that observations are laden with assumptions."[86] These assumptions, informed by the viewer's home institutions and ways of knowing, will obfuscate what she is attempting to see. Traditional methods of conducting these sciences did not allow for understanding, or attempts at understanding, that existed outside the bounds of Western thought. So steeped in her own paradigm of thought was Mead, that in her later work, she in fact projected a theory of hyper-sexuality (subsequently, entirely debunked) among adolescent Samoans which never actually existed.[87]

The link between the two practices - anthropology and photography - is the nature in which both have developed methods for describing and depicting their subjects. The progression of anthropological and ethnographic thought into the 1970s and 1980s developed into what Edwards labeled as "the much-cited crisis of representation" where "the problem of observation, and the production of evidence shifted from being a challenge of restraining bias," similar to issues dealt with by Mead and Bateson, "to an epistemological quandary concerning the deep and intractable mutuality of observer and observed and the politics of that relationships" which is the dilemma at the core of this very document.[88]

2.5 The Challenge of Indigenous Media:

The relatively short history of indigenous media has been rife with challenges to the practice's advancement. To understand the course of its naissance until now, we

must explore the process of reconciliation between image theory and its use throughout the specific realm of indigenous media. Though multiple and varied histories of colonialism come into play, and several common issues surface with regularity, generalization of experience across communities does not serve to advance understanding of the field.

When working with communities that have been historically subjugated and stolen from, it is important that the dialogue on the working process starts from a place of informed consent. The knowledge, cultural objects, and forms of representation of minority and indigenous groups have held a subordinate place in the annals of Western referent symbolism. However, it is "possible to use images as bridges between worlds that are more culturally distinct," though doing so is a complex process.[89]

The all too common ethical pitfall committed by those working with minority and indigenous communities is also the main concern of this document; it is with the misappropriation of culture. During the course of an ethnographic documentary photography project, it is essential to do justice by one's co-collaborators and their community, being mindful not to take without giving back. It would be counterproductive to ethical goals to perpetuate a cycle that has become commonplace in the exclusionary halls of media and academia.

Image making and notions of representation are at the crux of indigenous media; the practice relates to larger publics the representations of people and ever-evolving indigenous culture. Whoever holds the keys to the pullulating discourse – which in modern society has taken the form of mass media – has the power to change how we speak to and about people. Historically, indigenous peoples and those in the minority have had their narratives quieted, or entirely neglected. Indigenous media is an opportunity to affect the discourse and in turn affect the public sphere's perceptions, including the mindset of indigenous peoples themselves. The images produced of and about indigenous people are sometimes created by indigenous people, but are more commonly created by those who are not members of those groups (like myself). It is an essential, albeit a sometimes uncomfortable conversation that needs to be had regarding the ethical implications of photographs of and about minority and indigenous communities, how they are produced, and for what means of output.

In our modern society, media is what connects us to the public sphere. It is among the duties of the press (and here I focus specifically on photojournalists, documentary photographers, and text journalists) to keep the state from infringing on the public's rights by maintaining a system of checks and balances through reporting on rights violations, and bringing those violations to the attention of the masses. Professor John Downing and Professor Charles Husband point out that "media are perceived to be essential to a dynamic civil society" where citizens "restrain the powers of the state" through the means of reportage.[90] Journalists set the agenda and priorities that frame each story, which in effect frames public opinion.[91]

However, it is not always the case that each voice or opinion is given equal access to media platforms. The concept of the public sphere is an ideal one. In it, all involved are granted an equal opportunity to participate; but that is not the reality of majority media largely controlled by corporate interests. In this utopic construction, "journalism is essentially a participatory democracy" where "public opinion is central to [the] forming of government".[92] It is painfully evident that this utopic vision for media is not the global reality, though countries that make attempts at free speech and press freedoms are a long way closer to this goal than the totalitarian regimes whose media are dominated by singular voices.

The media space should make room for a multitude of voices, inclusive of minority groups and opinions. Having a gamut of opinions from which to make educated decisions allows an informed public to function. Husband states that "media facilitat[e] deliberative democracy" and that "the vitality of the media rests with its ability to guarantee flow of information", but there is an absolute amount that can be related and an absolute amount of time in which it can be created and consumed.[93] Thus, priorities of a conventional newsroom tend to leave indigenous stories by the wayside (as they may cater to majority interests), and create a need for indigenous journalism that focuses specifically on them. Husband believes that the beginnings of journalism lay in "who is being scapegoated, and what is being laid on to them, and why?"[94] Indigenous journalism may offer alternative perspectives on the "scapegoat," and in fact, the arc of the narrative may change entirely based on who is doing the telling.

Indigenous journalism serves the needs of the indigenous community on several levels. Professor Michael Meadows believes that "indigenous media is the primary element of indigenous public spheres".[95] Perhaps most importantly, it has a "role in empowering indigenous communities and their potential to counteract dominant negative stereotypes".[96] In so doing, indigenous media producers choose how best to report on and represent themselves. The media of indigenous peoples allows "the dispossessed the capacity to tell as well as hear their own stories".[97]

There are several ways in which the phrase "indigenous media" can be defined. It can be approached as the media carried out by indigenous people about indigenous people, or by the non-indigenous about indigenous, or a combination of the two where indigenous and non-indigenous can work together culminating in a final media product.

Post-modern uncertainty might take this definition further; in seeking to define what Indigeneity is in the first place, one might reject any essentializing views of ever changing cultures, and the inability to speak "on behalf of my people". There is an inherent essentialism in defining Indigeneity as any one thing. For example, there is no single Sámi-ness, language or dress, but rather many expressions (ever-changing) of the community, and its many divisions across Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia.

Within indigenous media representations, the community must renegotiate who controls the agenda setting for the group, shifting this power from a sole majority media stake to include indigenous voices. Associate Professor Glen Coulthard references the ultimate representative of the indigenous community through Dale Turner's term 'word warriors'. He explains that this term signifies the representatives so well versed in the subjects and related laws that they are "capable of engaging the legal and political discourses of the state" to defend and promote the ideals of the community.[98] Representations can take the form of both text and image, so I expand this 'word warrior' concept to include that of an 'image warrior': one who can counteract misrepresentations by creating more accurate visual depictions to replace old stereotyped ones. More simply stated, the individuals would be social advocates who combat stereotyping through images.

Similarly, in "Policing the Crisis," Hall speaks of "primary definers" as "key spokesmen" with the ability to affect the minds of those who hear their statements.[99]

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The ideal indigenous 'image warrior' embodies the role of the 'primary definer' when it comes to concepts of representation. Indigenous media representations are able to offer alternate narratives from which an audience can create new visual notions, and in effect stimulate counter referents.

Systems of media that exclude minority voices outright are forms of institutionalized racism. Indigenous and minority narratives have evolved as an outcropping of this experience, and exist not just as a response to the system, but oftentimes in spite of it and independent of it. These new representations through the use of documentary photography can be characterized as a response to this experience, and ultimately, a search for justice. In Husband's response to prominent American feminist and critical theorist Nancy Fraser's concept of 'Recognition', he states that "injustice is rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication" including cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect.[100] If a culture is not properly recognized, in media representations or otherwise, that can have a traumatic effect on the identity of the community observing the media.

To heal this offense, indigenous and minority communities can partially disengage from the national identity by creating their own media, and correct the misrepresentations. Documentary photography can play a weighty role in this movement. Coulthard references Charles Taylor's theory that "human actors do not develop their identities in isolation, rather they are formed through dialogue with others" and "can be significantly *deformed* when these processes go awry".[101] It can be argued that these identity constructions are deliberately created by the majority power structure to keep those in the minority repressed and in a position to be controlled (see [Hegemony](#) section). Hall argued that "the crisis has been ideologically constructed by the dominant ideologies to win consent in the media and thus to constitute the substantive basis in 'reality' to which public opinion continually refers."[102] He implied that if an identity is created in the media and placed into the psyche of the audience, it will stay and fester there, to the point where even the subject begins to believe the projected identity. Coulthard explores how to resist this kind of influence and cites post-colonial writer Frantz Fanon's idea of "turning the inculcation of inferiority into self-empowerment."[103] This should perhaps be the goal of new forms of narrative in

documentary photography, where what was once meant to be used a controlling tool of the State becomes appropriated as a tool of power for the social advocate.

It can be argued that indigenous image representation is in itself a response to loss. Husband outlines the qualities that all indigenous groups share, which include "common shared negatives of historical dispossession and continuing racism" as well as "marginalizations and denial of their rights" meaning "dispossession as a common shared historical reality".[104] Cottle believes that these "exclusionary barriers [are] legitimized by cultural beliefs," meaning that the mainstream media does not believe that minority voices have a place in their own forms of representation.[105] Having image creators with homogenous backgrounds causes an imbalance in the way the representations are created and projected due to the human inability to be purely objective.

Recognition, something that Coulthard claims is a "vital human need," may be the first step when approaching the concept of power dynamics between the represented and the represent-er, photographer and photographed. [106] Not being recognized as a community is "being rendered invisible by means of the authoritative representational, communicative and interpretive practices of one's culture" and has a detrimental effect on the psyche of a people.[107] Recognition is not just an external notion, but also one that necessitates a sense of reflexivity. Coulthard speaks about Fanon's claim that "the pathway to self-determination instead [lies] in a quasi-Nietschean form of personal and collective self-affirmation".[108] If an individual or group can choose how to self-reference, and further, give context to this term or cultural notion, a fuller identity narrative comes into focus; this is a thing of power in terms of the wide reach of media. Giving indigenous actors the platform they deserve can help combat the scars of previous injustices. Coulthard believes that platform would "preserve their cultural integrity and thus help stave off the psychological disorientation and resultant unfreedom associated with mis or non-recognition" which would in turn "enable indigenous people to realize their status as distinct and self-determining actors".[109]

To pivot from what professor of media and communication Simon Cottle has called "the majority focus on nation's primary definers" to "non-institutional voices and viewpoints," a different methodology of image representation must be undertaken.[110] There should be balanced discussion shared between indigenous and minority voices as

well as mainstream ones. It is crucial that varying viewpoints are represented. Relying solely on mainstream forms of representation can result in what Dutch scholar Teun A. van Dijk believes is contributing to "maintaining a legitimating dominance", "negative mental models" and "indirectly to the enactment and reproduction of racism".[111]

This begs the question of whether an indigenous or minority group, engaging in documentary photography for example, has to adopt its content for the hegemonically conditioned audience so it can have a wider reach. Will this larger audience have the ability to comprehend the material and consume it? And if the creators of indigenous journalistic content produce material that is politically threatening to the hegemonic power structure, and steps beyond the thresholds of 'civilized society' as delineated by Hall, does it place itself in the position to be quashed by majority forces?[112] Coulthard believes that these "colonial powers will only recognize the collective rights and identities of indigenous peoples insofar as this recognition does not throw into question the background legal, political, and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself", so long as a dangerous threshold is not crossed.[113]

Both Husband and Cottle have referred to "the right to be understood" as a human right. Indigenous and minority image representation may be a key facet of this right. For Sámi scholar Alf-Isak Keskitalo, "the goal is to achieve theoretical autonomy", and for an indigenous community "to be the last and single arbiter about itself", which directly relates to this 'right to be understood'.[114] Citing Fanon, Coulthard explains that for a group to be "truly self-determining [they] must be creators of the terms, values and conditions by which they are to be recognized".[115] This too, can be done through indigenous and minority participation in image creation as a form of recognition. Here, freedom and self-determination are inseparable. The process of self-determination through imagery can be reconceptualized to be inclusive of collaborative efforts that include documentary photographers as well. Coulthard is correct in pointing out that it is an "unavoidable fact that the rights of indigenous peoples will, for the foreseeable future, be largely interpreted by non-indigenous judges and policy makers within non-indigenous institutions...it is imperative that Indigenous communities develop the capacity to effectively *interject* unique perspectives into the conceptual spaces where [their] rights are framed".[116]

Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, who is of a Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou iwi descent, describes the classifications of Western knowledges (note the plural as 'knowledges'), explaining the they are widely regarded as an inventory of "what counts as real", thus subjugating indigenous knowledges.[117] It is with contempt that she decries "production of knowledge" and epistemologies as "commodities of colonial exploitation", adding "in a colonial context…research was undeniably also about power and domination."[118] To counter this history of mistreatment, new representations must be introduced to wider publics. Defining what representations are 'accurate' and who is "allowed" to produce them is part of the complex issue of this paper. Beginning to understand the issue requires deference and above all respect, and an acknowledgment of the history of hegemony within Western knowledge-based institutions, but not submitting

For all the historic malfeasance, it is becoming more common to have indigenous content produced by indigenous people. Meadows describes the absence of a barrier between producer and audience as a defining characteristic of indigenous media.[119] Where the producer and audience share an ethnic history, Meadows feels that quintessential indigenous media can be created. Husband explains the concept of 'tactical essentialism' where vested interests pursuing polyethnic rights (e.g. communicative freedoms) are able to self-essentialize in order to gain an advantage.[120] Yet, Senior Journalism lecturer Tara Ross uses the example of Pasifika identity to illuminate the downside of emphasizing identity in media. She states that "Pasifika news media risk falling back on well-established, often racialized versions of Pasifika identity that misrepresent diverse and shifting identities of New Zealand's Pasifika population, especially NZ-born youth" and thus have influence on minority communities and their perceptions.[121] Where 'tactical essentialism' can be leveraged for community gain, Ross's argument claims that such essentialist strategies will, in the end, serve to undermine a community's self-image by reinforcing stereotypical tropes. Husband's 'tactical essentialism' is almost identical to Ross's "strategic essentialism" which she says is a choice preferable to reproducing stereotypes with "possibly an unavoidable consequence for minority groups attempting to stake out identity within a dominant society—they cannot altogether escape the categorizations of the dominant group.[122]

Downing and Husband point out that media is "a necessary element in enabling all ethnic communities to reproduce their own culture and cohesiveness."[123] Ross makes the concept of indigenous journalism sound more like an imperative quoting Pasifika producers as saying "[we are] telling 'our stories...because no one else is'".[124] Mather, former chief executive of Māori Television, and Annabel Lee, producer of the Māori current affairs TV show "The Hui", believe that indigenous journalism is an opportunity for indigenous people to have control over media that reflects them as well as share in a particular language.[125] Their belief is that indigenous journalism is motivated by the desire to tell a story for which the agenda may not be told in mainstream, or may be told but not wholly, or possibly inaccurately. The indigenous journalistic outlet offers "opportunities to tell stories in a way that reflects perspective."[126] This sentiment is echoed in Meadows' article on "Indigenous Community Broadcasting in Australia", claiming that the audience members were pleased to have "blackfella listening to blackfella", which was previously uncommon.[127] Coulthard cites Turner's idea that through the 'ethics of participation', indigenous peoples "can better hope to 'shape the legal and political relationships so that it respects indigenous world view'", and ideally gain full control of how their identities are promoted in the public sphere.[128]

Indigenous media has the power to change and alter the stereotypes that have been promulgated by majority media about indigenous communities. This potentially allows for the creation and dissemination of indigenous narratives that can adjust the thinking of those unfamiliar with those communities, as well as the exchange of information within autochthonous communities. But "in order to challenge their misrepresentation and marginalization, the indigenous journalist must possess an independent 'indigenous' world view", which is a "product of indigenous epistemology and cultural knowledge."[129] It is within the goals of this thesis to identify and correct the portrayals, and recognize altogether new methods of representation and identity narrative.

Sometimes, we as media creators can "forget what the stakes are" for those involved, and who may be at a disadvantage of power in the image making process. [130] Here, I'm referring to marginalized groups who mostly have been "the object of other people's image-making practices in ways that have been damaging to their lives".[131] In

collaborating with indigenous communities, one should try to mend this exploitative process while still acknowledging that it did, and continues to exist.

3. Methodology:

In choosing ethnographic documentary photographic narrative as a method to utilize as well as deconstruct in this text, I am taking cues from a practice common among indigenous peoples. Oral tradition, particularly the use of storytelling to convey history from generation to generation, is a crucial facet in the perpetuation of culture. Photography is the means by which I choose to tell the stories that I see, experience, and am told. I have incorporated my photographic capabilities into the storytelling process to create what I believe is a holistic yet personal and subjective collection of experiences that together will tell a story. It is with great care that I attempt to include multiple visual elements within one image so that the viewer may come away with an accurate and properly researched photographic story.

Associate Professor Margaret Kovach who specializes in indigenous knowledges and research methodology, and is herself of Plains Cree and Saulteaux ancestry, explains that "narrative is the primary means for passing knowledge within tribal traditions" because the technique "suits the fluidity and interpretative nature of ancestral ways of knowing".[132] The passing down of communal history is a practice used by multiple indigenous groups, however, Kovach cites an example using the Native American Blackfoot tribe saying, "in Blackfoot [language] the English word 'story' literally translates as involvement in an event".[133]

In Schwartz's chapter "Professional Oversight: Policing the Credibility of Photojournalism" in the book "Image Ethics in the Digital Age," the author explains that "perhaps invoking storytelling will begin to dislodge naïve assumptions about photography's inherent objectivity and lead to more productive debates about appropriate photojournalistic norms and practices".[134] These are exactly the norms of traditional documentary practice and minority representation, in academia and larger media, which are being challenged in this paper, and which my chosen methodology seeks to defy.

3.1   Methodological Concerns: Process & Ethics

Approaching the practice of photography from an anthro/ethnographic or documentary photographic methodological framework requires situational awareness of the history of both fields. The word 'anthropology' alone has colonial connotations evoking images of E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Margaret Mead, or Bronisław Malinowski, and usages of the terms "savage" and "primitive" which can only be described as racist. We need look no further than esteemed indigenous academic Linda Tuhiwai-Smith to exemplify the general notion of anthropologists as "academics popularly perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that it is bad with academics" and "with the defining of primitivism".[135] The concern here is how to eschew the classic model of anthropology codified in the 1950s, which has since been dismissed as politically incorrect, oppressive, hierarchical and unethical, but remains part of academic canon. Both scientific disciplines were early adopters of the first available photographic tools and made use of them to relay "proof" from the field. The chronologically parallel rise of anthropology/ethnography and photography offers a unique perspective when one also considers their evolution with regards to ethical procedures.

There are inherent methodological problems with the practice of documentary narrative photography with an ethnographic focus. Ideally, when executed ethically the process requires a level of trust with the host community. Rather than perpetuating the power imbalance between photographer and photographed (where the former has historically been a source of condescension), the goal of a documentary photographer should be to become an ally to those with whom she will collaborate. Here, an 'ally' refers to someone whose goals for cultural expression and respect are in line with that of the community. To achieve this level of partnership requires patience, permission from community leaders, the privileging of indigenous voices, and making intentions for the work clear from the outset. This method presupposes an ability on the part of the photographer to spend an extensive amount of time with the respective community.

There are methodological limitations to focusing on image production in an indigenous setting. The modern conception of photography dates back to the early 19th

century whereas indigenous representational methods date back much further. Traditional methods of narrative within indigenous culture, which have survived for generations (and include the aforementioned technique of storytelling), engage traditional knowledge and methods of communication that are not bound by words or physical images. "Dream lines," for example, are a way in which members of the Pitjantjatjarra (an Aboriginal community of what is now known as Western Australia) relay 'lines' or journeys of mythic ancestors over certain paths of land.[136] This type of communication and narrative is foreign to the mass audience of Western media, but if properly conveyed by a Pitjantjatjarra insider, could express more about the culture of the community than pictures or words alone. This is an element of indigenous culture that photography cannot "get at," and would be futile to attempt.

Further demarcating the barriers of the photographic field are instances when documentation is strictly prohibited. The private sphere of indigenous life can include (but certainly is not limited to) ceremonial practices, death rituals, rites of passage, or an individual's preference for privacy. For certain indigenous cultures, the presence of a camera can derange the ceremonial process. Particular ceremonies are considered intimate, secret and exclusively performed for those in the community that have earned the right to view them.

A case concerning just such a ceremony and an overeager British broadcaster caused serious problems for one group of Aboriginal Australians. The case in question concerned the now revered voice of the BBC, Sir David Attenborough. In 1967, Nicolas Peterson (current Director of the Center for Native Title Anthropology at Australian National University) expressed concern over three such public screenings of David Attenborough's film "Quest Under Capricorn: Desert Gods" in Aboriginal territories. The documentary describes and documents the ritual practices of an aboriginal tribe in the Northern Territory of Australia, and more specifically, what Peterson in his letter refers to as "the lodge increase ceremony at Ngama".[137] Peterson protested the screening of the film, which tells the story of the tribe's ancestral gods and reveals an elder's mutation through intricate costume into Yaribari (spelling unknown and phonetically transcribed from the film), the snake god, who then proceeds to perform a ritualistic dance. The ritual is distinctly meant for tribal elders and for the young boys learning their ways. There is even an instance in the film where an instrument called a

"bullroarer" is fashioned and subsequently swung around to produce a sound that serves as "a warning to any women or youths to keep away from the ritual grounds".[138] The film included visual elements of a ceremony only meant to be seen by community elders, considered unfit for younger members, and contained knowledge to which they were not yet to have access. Peterson in his letter stated that Attenborough's films were "the main source for complaint" and that "apart from the moral reasons for not showing the films – that the ceremonies could only have been filmed if the Aborigines believed that they would not be shown publicly there[after]".[139] Pinney discusses the "changing contract" in anthropological media creation, which no longer deems it acceptable to reproduce content without clear definition of where it will be presented, how and to whom. If one has been granted the trust within the community to document (via photography or film) such intimate ceremonies, it then becomes her responsibility to guard the output with the deference and protection necessary so that the imagery is not viewed by the people that may be damaged by its viewing or who may cause damage to the output.

Similarly, an incident known as the "Yiwara Affair" (outlined in Pinney and Peterson's Photography's Other Histories, in a chapter written by Peterson entitled "The Changing Photographic Contract: Aborigines and Image Ethics), details unintentional exposure of an Aboriginal child to cultural secrets and ceremonies through her access to a library book.[140] The aforementioned girl saw an image of a relative on the cover of a book during a fieldtrip to Perth. She consequently brought the book home where her family revealed that eleven of the fifty-two images contained within the book showed secret tribal knowledge, which according to an elder, endangered the welfare of the child just by her exposure to the images. What eventually followed was the removal of the book from the library and an injunction of its further publication. However, the long-term effects were far greater. In 1988, Aboriginal communities were involved in decisions on image use and captioning during the creation of the text "After Two Hundred Years: Photographic Essays of Aboriginal and Islander Australia Today" (Taylor, 1988), marking clear progress from the "Yiwara Affair".[141]

It is crucial to learn the limitations and boundaries specific to respective communities, and more importantly, not to overstep them. In this image from the same chapter written by Peterson, the author has included a black box to cover the sensitive rituals of the ceremony being performed. He has chosen to protect the ritual, which the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies at the time had chosen to openly document.

7. The scientific gaze. The film unit of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (as it was then) at work documenting a restricted men's ceremony in central Australia in 1966. Photo by Nicolas Peterson.

Here, Peterson is alluding to - without revealing - the nature of that ritual. This is one possible option when deciding on methods of displaying sensitive photographs.

As photographers, we must constantly evaluate what to photograph and when, but just as crucially, we must also decide what images to publish, or what images to send to editors. In these decisions rest the power dynamics of what story gets 'heard' and who is exposed to them.

4. Objectification and Ethical Considerations:

As previously mentioned, the danger of physically mutating a human standing before a lens (referred to as a subject) into an object (namely a photograph, which can be owned) can lead to notions of 'thingness' and possession. Viewing the photographic process in this way is Barthian, reductive, and echoes the depravity of colonialism. However, "a chief tenet of the art of Western Civilization is this concept of possession", with applications of the theory as relevant to painting as they are to photography.[142] Yet, with images - especially with images of people - this concept of possession can literally objectify, meaning that the image has the ability to make people into physical objects. The subject becomes the object in a printed photograph. It essentially voids the 'subject' of any humanity. When the photographic exchange becomes one of objectification, where the photographer, and perhaps end-viewer, is dealing in 'objects' or goods, the product of the exchange is left ripe for removal and appropriation.

While referencing Nicolas Thomas' discussion on colonial appropriation of indigenous objects, Rose states that:

> *"An attempt to map European interests in artifacts in the period could thus take seriously the idea that a collection of curiosities in some sense stood for the objectification of the culturally and historically specific form of intellectual and experiential desire which 'curiosity' alluded to."*[143]

Here, the employment of two meanings for the word "curiosity", both as a desire to expand knowledge, and as the noun referring to trinket-like things, further subjugates the indigenous culture being observed through their community's 'artifacts'. 'Curiosity' functions as a form of objectification, and this extends to a potential view of the photographic object.

Pinney and Peterson write about the notorious photograph, taken by George Trager, of the famous Native American warrior Big Foot as he lay dead in the snow at the battle of Wounded Knee; Pinney and Peterson label this image as "an ultimate subjection".[144] Indeed it is the archetype for the objectification of human suffering transmuted into a thing, an artifact surely framed in a historical museum somewhere.

Azoulay herself is preoccupied with the objectification of the photographic representation that she terms the trap of "aestheticization of suffering".[145] As the phrase implies, she is referring to a concern with the visually pleasing composition of, and potential beautification (certainly a subjectification) of the pain of others. American anthropologist and epistemologist James C. Faris uses similar terms like "victim photography" and "the aestheticizing of misery" to discuss the Navajo experience with Western photographers.[146] Of concern here is the political economy of the image, the previously discussed hierarchy of voices that Azoulay cites, and the subjects' potential inability to control how their pain is visualized (if at all).

In many cases, I would agree with this prima facie ethical assessment. However, sometimes representation of such imagery is necessary. While it is clear that the pain of others is not morally defensible as fodder to fill the blank spaces of a newspaper, one cannot deny the power of an image to change the emotional tide of the public. It is this public outrage that sways opinion, and which has the ability to motivate those in power to change the course of history. Tragically, there are many images coming out of the Syrian humanitarian crisis (e.g.: The haunting image of Alan Kurdi: a three-year-old Syrian boy, drowned on the shores of Turkey trying to reach asylum with his family. The image of five-year-old Omran Daqneesh: a bloody, dusty and dazed body, sitting upright in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble of a regime airstrike on the city of Aleppo, etc.) which serve as contemporary examples of photographs that have mutually shocked and grabbed the attention of the world. The images have brought awareness to a crises previously being ignored by Western powers. Whether action will follow remains to be seen, as that history is not yet written. However, it cannot be denied that the heart-breaking photographs were instrumental in capturing the attention and conscience of the public.

The photographer and photojournalist Weegee (born Arthur Fellig), who specialized in black white, often tabloid-driven images of 1930-1960s New York, was notorious for his predilection for murderous scenes, brutal fires, and general criminal carnage.[147] The pleasure he took in the chase of such photographs is well documented, and poses an ethical conflict (perhaps not to him, but) to documentary photographers who work towards a goal of social justice. One must question whether the value in documentation overrides the moral inclination to privacy for victims. Additionally, one

wonders if these photographs are necessary for public viewing. Issues of free speech undoubtedly come into question, as do concepts of a moral "theft".

Brasilian Reutuers staff photographer Ricardo Moraes recounts an experience he had with the Kayapo tribe in the Brazilian Amazon:

> *"I had always heard that native people believe that photographs steal their souls, and here I learned that in Kayapo, 'akaron kaba' not only means 'to take a photo' but that it also means 'to steal a soul.'"*[148]

His experience is not a unique one. Even the iconic tome of Western imagery created by Walker Evans and James Agee describes the field's apparatus thusly: "... the meaning of a camera, a weapon, a stealer of images and souls".[149] The fine line between the moral theft that can be incurred through photography, and a practice of photography which takes into account the moral obligation to all parties involved, requires that a photographer be keenly aware of her professional ethics.

One does not acquire her ethics from a profession, but rather imbues her ethics on the chosen profession. The same can be said of an audience's relationship to an image. One speculates whether the photographer is responsible to the viewer for the image she is presenting. And if so, how and to what degree? Further, in what ways is she responsible to her subject? These are the moral questions that beleaguer the documentary photographer, if not the photojournalist. Roberts echoes the same soul-searching questions suggesting that, "in relating how individuals interact with each other and with their social context, a sensitivity to questions of representation and careful interpretive thought is required in using visual materials."[150] His emphasis on the delicate nature with which one should handle the presentation of visual products resonates particularly with the sensitive photographer's ethos.

Roberts concludes his article with a powerful excerpt from photo-historian Gerry Badger's essay "Dispatches from a war zone" in the seminal book "In Flagrante" by Chris Killip:

> *"In a very real sense, the photographic portrait conforms to the hoary legend that it steals something of the sitter's soul. Certainly, the chemical imprint of a fellow human being's physiognomy has a potent talismanic quality. It is capable of immortalizing and creating myth. It can confer acknowledgement and bestow dignity. It can also stereotype, debase and dehumanize."*[151]

Here, Killip intertwines issues of misrepresentation into the discussion of image theft. This correlates back to Coulthard's ideas of misrecognizing identity and the oppressive effect inaccurate portrayals have on those being portrayed "when people or society around [indigenous peoples] mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves".[152] As a photographer, one feels a sense of accountability to create the most accurate portrayals she can possibly produce to avoid just such misrecognitions.

Professor of art and aesthetics John Roberts notes in his book "Photography and its Violations" that the medium "in its modern forms of production and distribution is not the story of the subject's perfected objectification and successful subjection to photography's commodity-forms; rather, it is the space of an unfolding egalitarian encounter between producers and spectators." [153] Though Roberts is idealistic in his belief that photography has entirely advanced beyond an era of objectification, his conviction that within the photograph exists an 'encounter' between observer and observed echoes the concepts of Azoulay's description of photography as an "event". Azoulay's "encounter" acknowledges that the meaning of the image is created at the confluence of photographer's intention, subject's performance, and audience's understanding. Though the photographer cannot control two of the three aforementioned elements, working in collaboration with the second, and keeping in mind how the third constructs meaning, will help to create a photograph closest to the original intention of an ethical and socially responsibly final image.

4.1 Working with Minority and Indigenous Communities:

When interested in working with minority and indigenous communities on an extended project basis, a good starting point for anyone concerned with ethical process should be familiarity with Brian Schnarch's paper "Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) or Self-Determination Applied to Research". In it, he outlines

techniques that counter a history of colonial practices in research. Schnarch stresses the importance of collaboration from the start of a project to avoid the treatment of indigenous researchers "as informants rather than colleagues".[154] Using OCAP as a guide, indigenous collaborators can assert control over their own knowledge, maintain possession over it, and steward it through the academic or media publication and proliferation process. Here, it would be necessary to provide the material (with regards to ethnographic documentary photography: potentially including image captions and/or accompanying text) in a language acceptable to the indigenous community if that differs from the language of intended publication. In this way, indigenous academics and community members can exert agency over what is rightfully theirs if they choose to partner with non-indigenous academics or media creators. This could be viewed as the researcher or media collaborator's version of informed consent.

There is a fulcrum on which both the interests of documentary photography and indigenous communities can rest. However, it must be conscientiously and explicitly negotiated. This requires a working process that secures itself against the extractive habits with which colonialism, anthropologists, research academics, and the like have engaged in in the past. A version of OCAP can be negotiated on a case-by-case basis with each community, and be tailored to the specific project in question.

In giving guidance to a fellow indigenous academic attempting to use indigenous methodologies, Kovach suggests to "start where you are, it will take you where you need to go".[155] If ethics guide both methodology and overarching practice, a non-indigenous documentary photographer too can benefit from this is advice.   Kovach writes about observing "many non-indigenous young people" gravitating towards indigenous methodologies as "a generation seeking ways to understand the world without harming it."[156] I can personally confirm the truth in her statement as it resonates directly with my own motivations.

Kovach regards indigenous storytelling as having "utility... as a decolonizing action that gives choice to the misinterpreted and marginalized".[157] Through the sharing of photographs and the communication of visual narrative, ethnographic documentary photographers can be allies to indigenous academics and community members working against the preexisting asymmetry in academia and in social representations at large.

We as humans need to be coaxed, and not deceived, to reveal ourselves. How we communicate with each other is a delicate process, and egos are fragile. We have to be careful not to unintentionally misrepresent ourselves (or others) in the exchange. Otherwise, the interpretive discourse can go awry. This is where the element of non-verbal communication is essential in the process. This ties into Harper's previously mentioned idea of the evolutional history of the image preceding text. It is more important than verbal discourse. *I can show you better than I can tell you.* Possessing the technical skills required to take photos is in fact less important than interpersonal abilities. It is invaluable for a photographer to have the ability to be empathetic and disarming in very brief encounters. This allows for a type of 'dialogue' even when there is no common language. Young children and those of old age understand this concept best. The very young 'get it' because their non-verbal skills are still sharp; they have somewhat recently come to rely on language. And the elderly have lived long enough to realize that one need not rely on language alone to convey intention. On many occasions, I have been "granted permission" to proceed with the taking of a photograph through the look in someone's eyes, or a simple nod of the head. This permission has been further confirmed by my approaching the subject and (if I am shooting on a digital camera) showing him or her the preview of the image on the LCD screen, and always followed up with a smile and concluding grateful nod of my own head with one hand placed over my chest in gratitude. You can communicate a great deal without words, and we do, whether it is with intention or not.

So, when the extensive time needed to develop necessary relations within a project is not possible, how does one create trust during that brief encounter, and what are the associated obligations once trust is gained? Herein lies the complexity. And depending on how one defines her work, as a photojournalist, a documentary photographer, a visual anthropologist or sociologist, commercial photographer etc., the answer to that question will vary greatly. This is where one's commitment to a previously outlined methodology is essential.

Ethnographic documentary photographers will enter into situations where the power dynamics are habitually imbalanced, as they historically have been with minority and or indigenous communities. Specifically as one coming from an outgroup, it is important to decide in advance on a social stance on representation. Historically, the

communities with which one has worked as a documentary photographer have had zero control of the final output for the photographs. However, this is beginning to change. The documentary photographer must ask herself what visual narrative she is choosing to create and if she is in fact doing her subject(s) justice. The photographer's image creation and desire to respect the community must be balanced with, and in some cases defer to, community cultural knowledge and control of those cultural representations.

4.2 Reversal of *The Gaze*:

> *"...the history of the European view of non-European peoples has always reflected Europeans' history of imaging themselves."[158]*
> - Paul Landau, as quoted in (Campbell & Power, 2010)

Previously, a Euro-centric 'external gaze' fixed upon an 'exotic other' was standard anthropological modus operandi. The notion of the "gaze" also alludes to the common analogy that exists in photographic theory and visual studies between possession and "ways of seeing", previously discussed.[159] Scientists of various disciplines who choose to study cultures unknown to them fixate their gaze onto that Other. In so doing, a dynamic is created that puts the lives of their subjects under both a literal and metaphorical microscope. This indelibly affects the power relationship between the possessor of the gaze (in this case, the scientist), and the subject (here, the community being studied). What Azoulay brands as "the act of spectatorship" parallels remarkably with the concept of the gaze in that the dynamic of watcher and watched is nearly identical. "Those whom they observe belong to a different category of the governed," she says.[160] An inequality of power exists between the two parties: those lorded over by the controlling eye of the observer, and the observer herself. To be examined or surveilled in such a way limits the behavior of those being watched through feelings of objectification and (potentially) intrusive actions of the observer.

In defining what Edward Said deemed "the rise of ethnography," Husband explains the practice as "codifications of 'difference naming' a causal relationship between research and domination".[161] The asymmetry in the power balance of the ethnographic field, and in the flow of information caused wild misrepresentations of cultures to circulate throughout academia and further throughout the media at large. Husband continues that it is through this 'external gaze' possessed by the researcher that "the search for beauty compromises and endangers the researched more than the researcher, the powerless more than the powerful since it is the cultural repertoire of the observer that informs that enquiring gaze."[162] It is from the position of the observer that the information extracted from the gaze has to potential to be understood. What is of particular relevance to this paper is when that information is in photographic form.

Reversing the direction of this historical gaze, from the pre-established technique of an observer surveying indigenous or minority community subjects, to a new method which allows for the mutual flow of visual exchange, creates room for a reassessment of intention as well as the opportunity for the group in question to become self-determining subjects. What this means is that the 'subjects' are directly involved in the creation of their own representational forms. The general thrust of Pinney and Peterson's book "Photography's Other Histories" is that "photography becomes a space for the inversion and critique of authorized Western models of travel, landscape, and selfhood."[163] This 'inversion' gets directly at the concept of gaze reversal and the retaking of power to self-determine identity and representation through imagery.

Indigenous scholars Maggie Walter (who is Trawlwoolway from the Pymmerrairrener nation of north east Tasmania) and Chris Andersen (who is First Nation Michif, or Métis) collaborated on a book called "Indigenous Statistics" where they noted, "indigenous knowledge about whiteness can be used to 'disrupt its claims to normativity and universality'"(citing Moreton Robinson, 2008:87).[164] Here, I suggest that "whiteness" is interchangeable with dominant national culture, if projects are conducted in non-Western or non-European locations. The notions offered by Walter and Andersen can be used to 'reverse the gaze' back on academia and dominant societies. A non-indigenous photographer can collaborate with indigenous communities – as outlined in the OCAP guidelines, providing companionship to shared knowledge.

Utilizing tools like the aforementioned OCAP, the guide "Reporting in Indigenous Communities"[165], or the document "Pathways & Protocols: A filmmaker's guide to working with Indigenous people, culture and concepts"[166] can shepherd non-indigenous participants in the image creation process through the facilitation of accurate and dynamic representational efforts, and eventual "reversal of the gaze".

There are instances in photography, particularly within the genre of street photography, where the majority of images are taken without the subject's knowledge. And it could be fairly argued that "the concern with securing photographs without the knowledge of the subject being photographed is perhaps an appropriate metaphor for the ambition of regimes of colonial representation: to see without being seen."[167] This gaze, (unknown to the subject) has a voyeuristic power, which is stripped away upon the photographer's discovery by her previously unwitting subject. In this way, the gaze is literally reversed, though the power of output for the image already captured still rests with the observer (photographer). In this particular case, an argument made by Roberts is relevant. He states that the "pose" is the subject's form of "defense" against the photographer's gaze, quoting Holschbach as saying "we show ourselves in a 'pose', but we also hide behind a pose".[168] In this way, a subject who identifies that she is being photographed, and reacts to that revelation, immediately shows herself (and perhaps her feelings regarding her photograph being taken without permission), in that pose. This pose palpably communicates something to the photographer, and undeniably affects the relationship between the two parties involved.

4.3 As an Outsider:

Before approaching an indigenous community, and asking to be involved with the intimate process of sharing experiences or taking photographs, an outsider would first have to prove herself trustworthy, and deserving of the opportunity for entrance to the group. This is a serious part of the work and cannot be dismissed as a less than

significant element of the process. This requires a commitment of time and potential development of significant relationships. It cannot be rushed, so as not to disrespect those who open themselves to the process of the social exchange, and to allow for the natural flow of social relations. The process of 'member check', which validates trustworthiness of a partner in the work and in the community, must also be established. Becker astutely points out that "society reveals itself to people who watch it attentively for a long time, not to the quick glance of a passerby".[169] Perhaps here is the difference between photojournalism (often associated with the practice for which indigenous communities have vocalized disdain: 'parachute journalism'[170]) and documentary photography; the former, with its time constraints, does not allow for the cultivation of necessary relationships or for patient immersion into communities. Unfortunately, it is a current requirement of the industry that the work of the photojournalist be deliverable on an extremely time sensitive schedule. Perhaps this says more about our systems of media and consumption than it does about those employed by it.

Utilizing documentary photography and new ethnographic methodology, there is still a limit to the 'truth' being described or shown through subjective experience. The subject-participant exercises agency by becoming an interactive part of the work process as co-collaborator, rather than – as with prior models of anthropology – strictly as informer. However, there are always limits at the site of audiencing that cannot be controlled. Enforcing a transparency of intention from the project's outset makes clear the goals of the work to all involved.

Ulf Hannerz suggests that there are direct correlations between ethnography and journalism in two ways that are relevant to this work. Like many indigenous academics, Hannerz stresses the importance of "establish[ing] personal credential within the group" as well as "an asymmetry in the global landscape of available content" in the context of anthropological study.[171] Within indigenous communities, the history of abuse is fresh, and a reputation of trustworthiness is essential. Hannerz adds that the "skills of synthesis" of methodologies are crucial if one is to engage in any sort of traditional ethnographic practice, and that ethnography alone is not enough to paint a holistic picture.[172]

A significant part of creating an ethical process exists in determining who is allowed to participate in the creation of the project. Ross approaches the issue in her article "Telling the Brown Stories" when she quotes a Pasikifa person who also is a producer of indigenous media regarding the issue of credibility: "what gives you the right to stand here before me? Who is your family?"[173] Ross continues to explain how this possessiveness towards representations of culture is "connected to deeply personal feeling about belonging, exclusion, acceptance and rejection".[174]

The debate about who can speak on what topics centers on the concept of authenticity and the insider/outsider paradigm. Meadows explains that "the very nature of non-indigenous journalistic inquiry is in direct conflict with traditional knowledge-management processes in indigenous societies".[175] Traditional knowledge can oftentimes be kept among the well-guarded secrets of indigenous groups, and to expose them to journalistic methodology and media at large could put a group's infrastructure out of balance. However, an insider has free reign to the cultural touchstones of the group to which he or she is a part. Husband notes that "identity is access," as is cultural competence; "part of your cultural capital is your ability to say, 'I am one of you'".[176] He continues to explain that a non-indigenous journalist may be less useful due to the fact that "you only have access to empowerment if you're considered a legitimate player," meaning one of the 'tribe'.[177] Yet, Mather and Lee add that the "journalist does not have to be indigenous for it to be an indigenous story," alluding to the idea that there may in fact be room for non-indigenous journalists in coverage of indigenous issues.[178]

Further complicating the definition of Indigineity is the concept of who may comment on it. There are critics of the idea that the non-indigenous be allowed a role in journalistic practice that pertains to indigenous people. The sphere of inclusive journalism is concerned over these questions. Can a non-indigenous person produce media with and about indigenous people? Can the reverse be asked and answered? Though there may not be a definitive answer to these questions, the following seeks to clarify the dilemma.

My personal approach goes thusly: by positioning myself in the ambiguity of my presence in the community of practice of indigenous storytelling through imagery, I make myself vulnerable. It is through this vulnerability and through this uneasiness that I am able to present my identity as a non-indigenous ethnographic documentary

photographer. I realize that I can "speak" (through my medium of photography) in support, yet not on behalf of, the communities with whom I work. Having an intellectual comprehension of the history of respective communities, and the placement of those histories in the larger world, gives me an understanding that grants me a claim to speak. However, there will be a consistent marginality to my voice as an outsider. The constant question will arise as to how one earns respect and legitimacy while effectively remaining the permanent non-indigenous player in the indigenous domain. One cannot operate solely questioning the sensitivity of her work. It is this uncertainty that will keep me continuously reevaluating my ethical working methodology, and perhaps this is not such a ruinous quality for one's personal and professional development.

Professor, writer, and internationally renowned photographer David Campbell directly addressed a similar issue causing consternation in the photographic community,

> *"I'm sceptical about the idea that a person's national identity offers a naturally distinctive eye. Can we say categorically that local people would be better storytellers? To me that assumption has as many problems as the reliance on the international photographic elite it seeks to replace or supplement. Are 'local people' a single, homogenous entity with only one voice? Surely they are as diverse, plural and conflicted as our own societies, so which local voices are going to get to tell their stories, and which local voices are we going to pay attention to?"*[179]

Campbell was responding to the assertion made by some that 'local' photographers are, by definition, better suited to cover issues concerning their own interests. While he did concede the obvious, that local (or apropos of this paper, indigenous) actors would have the advantage of access that an outsider would have to work in different ways to achieve (or may never achieve), he did state that work of local photographers was not inherently better. He continued that "the idea that their work, simply because they are non-European, offers a fundamentally different and automatically better visual account of the issues and places they cover is as sweeping a generalization as that offered by the stereotypical images that dominate our media".[180]

It is important to note that the essentialization of a group, 'local' or Western (or the idea that a group would have a unified opinion on the idea of representation), negates the singular position of the individual, a position that is potentially dynamic in regard to either group. The sense of group perception or intention for representation may differ from that that of the individual on a case-by-case basis. Leaving room for diverse opinion within said group allows for the counteraction of essentialist thinking, by external forces or within the community.

Campbell points out that the gap between 'local' and non-local photographers, which may have once existed, is actually beginning to fade as the skills that each possesses are continuing to be informed by the "global image economy". Campbell consistently emphasizes, "Being 'local' is not in itself the basis for a unique perspective. Originality and context come from sources other than national identity."[181]

There are issues of self-censorship in indigenous media that may not likely affect an outsider in the same way. If the goal is to improve the overall quality of visual storytelling and to create the best possible media product, then one should want the best person or persons for the job. Sometimes that will include a team of indigenous and non-indigenous members. While one team member may have the best access, another may be more skilled in visual narrative. Assuming that one is more suited to the project because he or she is indigenous would betray the ultimate goal of the work. "A person's identity doesn't guarantee a better or even different perspective," however, "there are good practical reasons to favour local photographers in many circumstances, access being one of the key ones," and I would add, insight to traditional knowledge as well as respect for community protocol.[182] Campbell mentions valuable points as to why hiring indigenous or what he deems "local" photographers may be advantageous. However, I stress the view that if what one is attempting to create is the most accurate representations of communities, a team of collaborators (which could include both indigenous and non-indigenous members) would be best suited to achieve that goal.

5. The Habitus of the Ethnographic Documentary Photographer – In Practice

There are plentiful documentary photographers, and photographers in other fields, who are working today and are adequately talented, producing work sufficient to their employ. However, to be of greater ethnographic documentary photography ilk, an ability to development empathetic connections with those whom one works is essential. This feature, though desirable for the photographer, is indispensible in the directive of an ethnographer. It is the goal of professionals in both fields to be able to work within the space of other people, and have their behavior go unchanged by the professionals' presence. Indeed, it would behoove the documentary photographer to have a robust understanding of the people with whom she works, and it would be a requirement of the ethnographer to do so. The photojournalist works on a limited and time-constrained schedule, and has output deliveries due on a basis dictated by her editor. However, the documentary photographer (in general) has more time to imbed among her subjects, and to weave elements of ethnographic practice into her work. It is my claim that she should be doing so to achieve the highest quality visual narrative output. To fail to make the connection with another's lived experience is to lose the opportunity for photographs where moments of interpersonal meaning can be conveyed.

It is within my ambitions as an ethnographic documentary photographer to create those aforementioned empathetic relationships. To do so, there must be mutual understandings of difference as well as but also sameness. Though I am at the early stages of developing such a career, I understand what needs to be done in future project development, and what structural planning will be necessary for good ethnographic documentary photographic work. There is the question of how much prior ethnographic knowledge is considered enough before conducting such work. The good documentary photographer indeed partakes in part ethnographic work, though I am not sure the reverse is true. As previously discussed, it takes a series of technical

competencies and understandings to succeed with photography before the sociological element is even considered.

Perhaps the most crucial facet overlapping both disciplines is the mentality with which one approaches the work. The openness to ways of thinking, existing, behaving, and understanding are essential to the interpretation of how people different from oneself live; this is also an essential feature in being able to identify the sameness that exists between us. The photographer and the ethnographer thrive on these qualities. It is what Husband calls the "suspension of certitude," a characteristic that allows one to accept, if not fully understand, other ways of knowing.[183]

For the space within ethnographic documentary photography that I inhabit, specializing in working with indigenous and minority communities, there remains the challenge of avoiding a focus on "Otherness". There exists the possibility that some may believe the work with its niche focus to be "fundamentally troubled".[184] I accept and understand this viewpoint. In fact, I have on several occasions come to a dialogic head with those (some indigenous, and some not) who hold these views, and have had the opportunity to listen to the justifications for their opinions. However, having completed this extensive research on the topic, I believe that there exists a place wherein an ethnographic documentary photographer can indeed conduct ethically and socially responsible work within this specialty.

The aspirational nature of much of this thesis rests on the initiation of future work. I have yet to acquire the proper project opportunity where I have been able to prepare in such a way as to satisfy the ethnographic research elements of community embeddedness, or the financial support needed to reside among a community for any reasonable amount of time with the express purpose of creating a documentary photographic product up to my desired standards.

In the introduction to Pinney and Peterson's book, the duo cites Jacob Riis's seminal work "How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York" as an "exemplary case of the image's ability to reconfigure its referents"; they continue to say that "photography itself is now in need of a similar revelation of its own other half, its own disavowed other history".[185] It is with agreement with this sentiment, this desire to engage with sameness and difference for the purpose of the (re)creation of image referents, that I begin analysis of the following photographs.

6. Indigenous Images Case Study:

6.1 Photograph A

6.2 Photograph B

7. Analysis of Indigenous Images Case Study:

7.1 *Photograph A* - <u>General Description</u>

In September of 2016 and on through part of October the same year, I traveled around diverse regions of Morocco. I was hosted in several cities and made my way by foot, petit and grand taxi, tram, train, and car, making efforts to learn what I could about a country I had visited only once before. While the situation was not reflective of ideal ethnographic documentary photographic work previously described, I was able to engage in some street photography.

The photo I selected to deconstruct in this analysis is of an Amazigh man, on the streets of central Casablanca. Amazigh (in the Amazigh language of Tamazight: ⵣⵎⴰⵣⵉ) is the endonym for the Berber people. Among them, there are a multitude of tribes ranging across the Maghreb, some of whom are still partly nomadic.

Walking through the streets of Casablanca in the early evening, meandering through the expansive city's heavily populated streets, I came across the man pictured. In Photograph A, he is dressed in traditional Amazigh clothing from the northern region of Morocco. The brass bowls (called "*tassas*") draped across his chest are the instruments into which he pours the water he sells, stored in a goatskin sack (called a "*guarba*") still covered with the goat's hair, and worn slung over his shoulder. He is holding the brass spigot to that sack in his left hand. Regular exposure to the sun has clearly bleached the red and green dyed wool woven tassels that adorn his clothing and distinctive hat (called a "*tarazza*"). In Morocco, he and those who do the same work he does are called simply, "*el guerrab*" (in the Moroccan dialect of Arabic: الگراب), or "the water seller".

The *guerrab* men of Morocco are said to be a common fixture in the cities, and can be immediately identified by their red clothing and hats. During my time in the country, I only saw two men engaged in such work. As I brushed past this man, I asked my translator to turn back and ask the *guerrab* for permission to take his photograph. He quickly agreed. And though he obliged without further request, my translator and I

thought it prudent to pay for the equivalent of several cups of water, several Moroccan dirhams. As we were saying farewell to the *guerrab*, a local non-indigenous man (previously disconnected from our interaction) implored us give the *guerrab* a few coins – which had been our original intention.

7.2 *Photograph A -* <u>Analysis</u>

The auto-critique of this image must start from the root of the word itself. For this particular image, I positioned myself as an observer, very much un-embedded in the observed's community. The intentionality of the image was spontaneous and somewhat opportunistic. While the desired format for ethnographic documentary photography (as previously described) would have included extensive research into the water-seller's specific tribe and home community, the unplanned nature of this photograph did not allow for prior inquiry and preparation. Such forethought would have allowed me to have discussions with the *guerrab* regarding the nature of the work and his life. There could have been attempts made to situate the man's identity narrative with a greater sense of informed historicity, as well as discussions on general questions of permissiveness. First and foremost, I would have asked the kind man's name. I regret not having done so in our very brief encounter.

My main concern, beyond the water seller's permission, is with my ability to interpret his lived experience through the photograph that I have created of him. Of course, it would be presumptuous of me to assume that I could complete such a task holistically. But, to be able to do so in such a way that an element or facet of the man's social reality is represented to a sufficient degree would be acceptable. As objective truth cannot be conveyed in journalism, though the journalist will forever try, a person's lived reality cannot be conveyed in a brief moment of a photograph, but the photographer will do her best given the situation.

The scopic regime of which I was a part whilst taking Photograph A, and perhaps which I –like it or not– exist within at all times, is structured by the politics of the Western world. Though I have studied other ways of knowing, I realize that my non-

indigenousness situates me outside of the community in question's ways of knowing. Specifically within this moment of photographic capture, I could have been any number of tourists pausing to take a photograph. And the way in which the *guerrab* is seen, first regarding his construction of self, then the construction of his image by his own Amazigh people, and subsequently the construction of his image as situated within Moroccan culture (heavily affected by the era of French colonialism), he is currently established as a tourist attraction above all else. The *guerrab* used to come to residential homes to sell water directly from the reservoirs. Members of his profession would sell water to street traders and laborers as well. Itinerant travelers are no longer thirstily arriving in cities desperately looking for refreshment and a place to rest after difficult expeditions through the surrounding mountain ranges or deserts. Undoubtedly, there is a touristic element to the current trade of the *guerrab*. I realize that I am enabling the cultivation of this touristic experience, and not the indigenous people's original use for the job that was created for the *guerrab*. However, tourism is a large part of the Moroccan economy (as it is of the Arctic economy). And no culture is fixed in its past ways of existence; all cultures continue to evolve. This is the current way in which the *guerrab* provides for himself and those who rely on him.

Though it is not my habit to pay or tip those whom I photograph, and in fact the journalistic code of ethics forbids it[186], I felt compelled, and indeed was literally compelled by a community member, to give a small amount of change to the water-seller. This is a cultural practice ubiquitous across the Maghreb and Middle East, though the name for the practice in Morocco is unique. The phrase "*douar maaya*" (phonetically sometimes written as "*douar m3aya*", and in Moroccan Arabic: دوّر مع) is a phrase that evades simple translation, but is essential to the understanding of the livelihood of the *guerrab*. The *douar maaya* is not a tip (which would be a "*pourboire*" [literally from the French for "to drink," and derived from the money you leave after having had a coffee], and must be earned), and it is not charity (which would be "*sedaka*h", derived from the classical Arabic and denotes something you do for *Allah*, and not in exchange for a good or service. This word is most often associated with something you do for the needy, and not for the working person. Thus, calling the money "*sedakah*" would in fact be demeaning to the *guerrab*'s livelihood.). This specific monetary interaction exists in a different space. The community has a consensus of respect for the *guerrab*'s work, as

the task itself is no longer indispensible to the function of Moroccan society. However, the *guerrab*'s job is seen as having taken on a new function, equally valued, and with the social worth of maintaining a piece of Moroccan indigenous culture. He offers a convenience; water is now readily available everywhere, and no longer needs to be fetched from a well or reservoir. So while there is no fixed price for his service, it would unthinkable not to pay the *guerrab*, considering his cultural contribution to the community, as well as the knowledge that there is no protection for his mode of employment (e.g. union, taxes, retirement options). This is an instance where previously codified Western rules, specifically the prohibition of paying for subjects' participation, contradict local customs. In this particular case, I decided to situate myself with deference to native practices.

Nearly three weeks after taking the photograph, I posted the image of the *guerrab* on social media. I had not requested contact information for him, and thus could not ask his permission to use his image prior to publication. Several native-born Casablancans who viewed the image were moved to the point of posting commentary. All noted that the photograph triggered memories from their childhoods. One particular commentator, who now lives in Paris, commented that this image was his "*Madeleine de Proust*," bringing him immediately back to adolescent reminiscence, and his playful years on the streets of his 'Casa'. The photograph became for this particular viewer a direct referent to his childhood experience in the heart of the city. It was an encapsulated moment of his subjective experience, which connected him to the image of the *guerrab* through the photograph, and to now to me, the photographer.

What is so obviously missing from this critical analysis is the perspective of the subject. Yet, even without advanced planning, a discourse is created within the image. The *guerrab* speaks through his attire, his profession, through his pose, and facial expression. During this brief moment (what Azoulay calls a photographic "encounter"), a brief relationship was created between him and I, which is tangible in the image. The viewer will collate all of these visual cues to create her ultimate interpretation. However, to create what I have previously attempted to outline as effective and ethical ethnographic documentary photography, the represented's perspective should be considered towards the formation of holistic narrative efforts which seek to 'reverse the gaze', work towards a balanced social dynamic in front and behind the lens, and make

strides towards counteracting reified narratives through informed input from indigenous collaborators. I realize that in this particular case, reversing the gaze would prove particularly challenging as the subject of the photograph here is a community-created and supported embodiment of essentialized Amazigh culture.

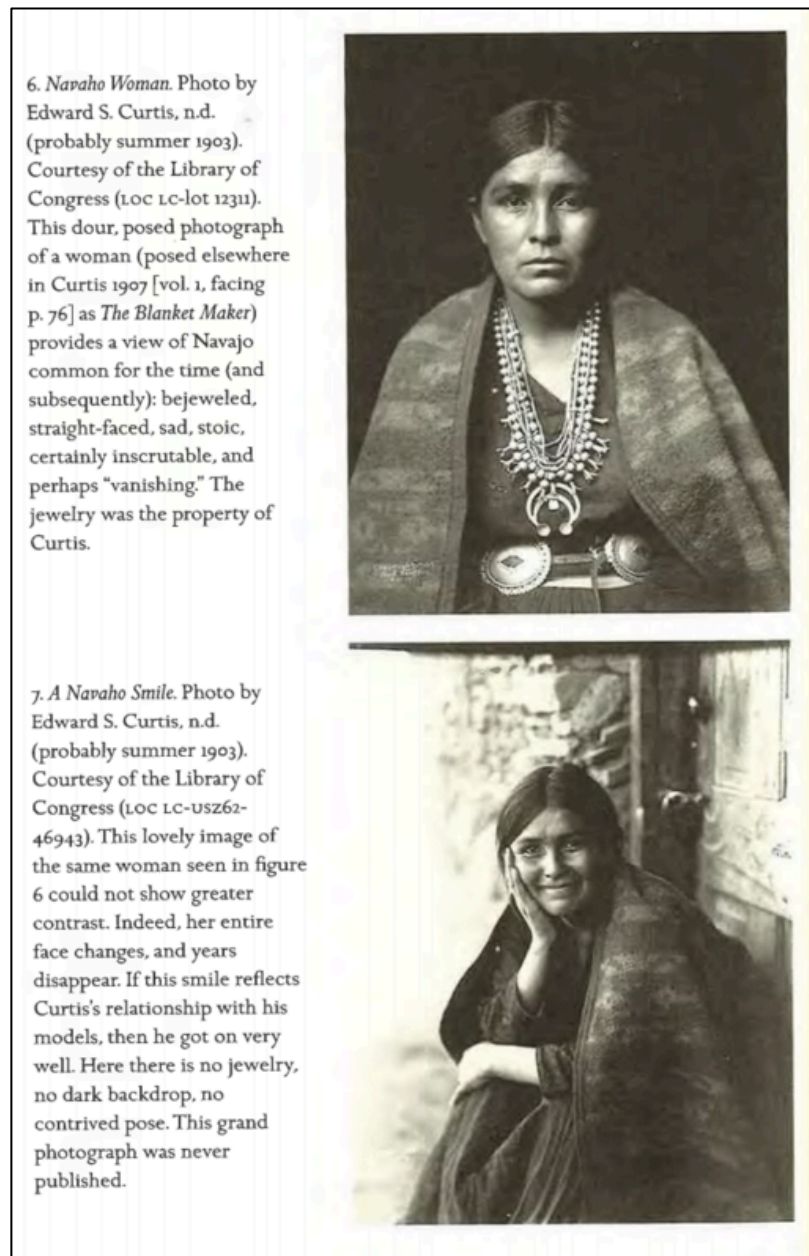What is successfully achieved in the photograph is an immediate situation of the image in the *guerrab*'s contemporary setting. I did not ask him to separate himself from his surroundings, or to pose in front of a black backdrop, as is the custom with countless anthropological portraits. And I did not ask him to step away from the visible accoutrements of modernity. The frame includes details of city life. There is a blue and white poster pasted on the electrical box in the left segment of the composition. There were no efforts made to isolate the indigenous person from his city, or to situate him in the past for the purposes of conforming to the stereotype of an exotified Amazigh person, or as a member of a vanishing culture. This traditional black backdrop, with a posed sitter and a serious face is still common among modern documentary photographers who employ "on site" portraiture.

6. *Navaho Woman.* Photo by Edward S. Curtis, n.d. (probably summer 1903). Courtesy of the Library of Congress (LOC LC-lot 12311). This dour, posed photograph of a woman (posed elsewhere in Curtis 1907 [vol. 1, facing p. 76] as *The Blanket Maker*) provides a view of Navajo common for the time (and subsequently): bejeweled, straight-faced, sad, stoic, certainly inscrutable, and perhaps "vanishing." The jewelry was the property of Curtis.

7. *A Navaho Smile.* Photo by Edward S. Curtis, n.d. (probably summer 1903). Courtesy of the Library of Congress (LOC LC-USZ62-46943). This lovely image of the same woman seen in figure 6 could not show greater contrast. Indeed, her entire face changes, and years disappear. If this smile reflects Curtis's relationship with his models, then he got on very well. Here there is no jewelry, no dark backdrop, no contrived pose. This grand photograph was never published.

Image Source: (Faris, 2003)

Moroccan documentary photographer Leila Alaoui took an array of technically flawless photographs of indigenous people across parts of Africa (for which she was awarded multiple prizes) before she was tragically killed while working in Burkina Fasso in January of 2016. She utilized this method of stark black backdrop with a posed sitter, which so immediately harkens back to the anthropological portraiture of yesteryear.[187] While I greatly admire her work and her life, I would avoid this type of portrait construction as it has echoes of a photographer's controlling surveillance and dominance of a subject. Using this method, the social dynamic between photographer and photographed has been deranged and becomes asymmetrical and hierarchical in balance in favor of the photographer.

In Faris's discourse on the complex relationship between the Navajo people and photography, he finds the black backdrop portraiture with 'dour' facial expressions extremely troubling.[188] The setup is not informed by the habitus of the subject. There is a question of sensibilities in terms of worldviews to be considered. The viewer is very much in a hierarchical position of domination over the habitus of the sitter. Faris is able to elucidate his point utilizing the comparison of photographs "Navajo Woman" and "A Navajo Smile" (included on the previous page). Though I did not share the relationship that the photographer Curtis potentially had with the Navajo woman pictured (particularly in the secondary photograph), there is clearly an unforced momentary rapport of ease created in the photograph I took of the *guerrab* which allowed us to create the final image which hopefully conveys a sense of his lived reality.

7.3 *Photograph B* - General Information

I took this photograph in January of 2015 on the grounds of Sámi Allaskuvla (Sámi University of Applied Sciences), in the Arctic city of Kautokeino (what the Sámi call the city of *Guovdageaidnu*), in the region of Finnmark, Norway (or what the Sámi would call the Norwegian side of Sápmi, the traditional Sámi lands that span across Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia). At the University, there exists a course on the study of reindeer husbandry. For the benefit of the students in

that course, a slaughtered reindeer from a local family's herd was brought to the grounds by sled. This reindeer was slaughtered for both educational and consumptive purposes.

Upon arrival, Sámi reindeer herder Per Johnny Skum laid out the carcass of the animal so that it was in full view of all the attendees. Karen Marie Eira Buljo – wearing her Sámi *gákti* (Sámi word for traditional handmade attire [male or female] that denotes one's regional affiliation) stood beside him and waited to assist in the later steps of butchering. Average temperatures in Kautokeino in the month of January that year ranged from a high of -6° C to a low of -13° C. Both Skum and Eira Buljo worked without gloves kneeling in the snow.

Surrounding the duo were the reindeer husbandry course participants, as well as a slew of recording devices (including film and still digital cameras) and operators. The university wanted to record the butchering process for future cohorts. The Master's degree program for Indigenous Journalism at Sámi Allaskuvla of which I am a part was also invited to watch the traditional butchering method. I stood with my camera among the other invited guests.

Per Johnny Skum began at a back hoof and proceeded to expertly dismember and skin the reindeer with one tool, his large knife. Karen Marie Eira Buljo attended to the removed organs, and placed select ones in plastic containers to take into the school's lab, where she would later direct a course (also filmed) on traditional Sámi cooking methods. The meat was removed for cooking as well. Eira Buljo used a ladle to remove the blood from the reindeer's torso cavity, and recovered it in a large plastic bin for future use in preparation of blood sausages. It was the combination of the butchering process and the ladling that caused the coloration of the snow beneath Skum's hands (pictured). Eira Buljo is not pictured. A second (backup) knife is partially buried in the snow to Skum's right. The head of the reindeer is the final segment to be deconstructed. In this moment, Skum is skinning the snout. He will later detach the antlers for use in either decorative or *duodji* use. Ironically, one of the possible uses for the antler material is in the creation of hand-carved handles for Sámi knives.

7.4 *Photograph B -* <u>Analysis</u>

The footing for the critique of Photograph B is analytically in a more advantageous position than the previous image. The location where the image was taken speaks to the equal social positioning between photographer and photographed, a balance that historically has not been in favor of the indigenous party. The University was founded by the indigenous Sámi people with the explicit intention of "[supporting] Sámi society's progress towards equality with the majority society".[189] The University has taken conscientious steps to combat the asymmetrical dynamics of representation in both academia and media access for indigenous peoples. My acceptance and participation at the University was and continues to be a step towards the collaborative efforts of indigenous and non-indigenous people alike who are similarly minded in working towards the goal of fair access and representation in the public sphere for indigenous peoples. The University setting resists essentialization into an amberized past in that the edifice and classrooms themselves are symbols of modernity, and the students (ranging from undergraduate to post-doctoral study) are symbols of a Sámi generation engaged with globalized society.

The interactions I had during the eight months spent living among the Sámi people, in a hub of Sápmi, granted me insights into cultural norms that informed my viewing and photographing experience. This is not to say that I holistically understand the culture (this would be impossible without being raised within it, and intuitively learning its codes, language, worldview, normative behavior etc.), but I was now in a better position to provide a sense of contextuality and historicity to the photograph I was intending to create. The invitation to exist among and around Sámi daily life granted me an opportunity for cultural embeddedness. This is undeniably a more ideal beginning for ethnographic documentary photography than the fleeting street photographic moment that transpired in Photograph A. Unlike with Photograph A, this moment is uninterrupted by my presence; it is a fluid and un-posed moment during an event that would have taken place had I been in attendance or not. My presence has zero bearing on the event.

That specific day in January 2015 when Photograph B was taken, Per Johnny Skum and Karen Marie Eira Buljo arrived at the University with the prior intention of performing for the class a practice they conduct normatively in their lives. The audience members, who were majority Sámi themselves, were invited guests. There were no issues of invasiveness or intrusion. Issues of permissiveness that beset the analysis of Photograph A do not exist with regards to Photograph B. The Sámi had come to guide the course, which we were invited to observe.

While I have argued that the setting of Photograph B empowers the photographed (who, historically may felt a sense of condescension in the social photographic relationship between non-indigenous photographer and indigenous subject), it is true that the framing of the photograph does not provide contextual elements to inform the viewer with clues that the butchering took place on a campus. Though I do not think these details are necessary for the photograph to be successful, they are elements an ethnographer would include in her written piece accompanying the photograph. There was no additional cropping done to the image. However, by not including elements of the University in the frame, a viewer might assume that the act took place on the tundra. However, there are elements in the photograph that speak to the present time period (e.g. the plastic knife handle, Skum's clothing), which mean that I made no attempts to fix Skum in the past by hiding the details of modernity.

There are problematic elements to this photograph. Though it is well composed (with regards to photography composition fundamentals, e.g. 3:1 aspect ratio, negative space, etc.), there is a sensationalist component to the image; it does not represent the entirety of Sáminess. No photo possibly could. And to have the photo stand alone, say – in an exhibition, without contextualizing it, could lead to issues of streotypification that the Sámi have been forcefully trying to work against. However, this is an unstaged moment of Sámi livelihood. The significant amount of blood in the frame has the potential to cause an immediate adverse reaction for some viewers. For those unfamiliar with the process of butchering, or with a sense of detachment about how meat is prepared for consumption, undue associations might be attributed to the Sámi. The Sámi people continue to work to counteract the erroneous stereotypes of primitiveness or savagery that unfortunately exist about them, as they continue to exist about many indigenous groups. An uninformed viewer could casually misinterpret this

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photograph. Of course, the possibility of misinterpretation exists with any photograph, even the ones best constructed. We do not manage the minds of audiences. However, as a documentary photographer who works with indigenous and minority groups, I attempt to create the most visually clear representation that I can, so that what is understood from the image is closest to my intention, though I can do little to control the ultimate interpretation.

In 2015, I wrote an article about the language of the reindeer ear marking system, which the Sámi created and have been using for generations. In the article, I conducted several interviews; in one in particular, a young herder spoke to me about the absolute necessity of the knife to a Sámi's livelihood. Jon Mikkel Eira said: "I learned to respect knife. [It's] only tool, not toy. Worst enemy when you cut yourself and best friend when you really need it. Knife for me, is my universal tool."[190] The gravitas with which he spoke about the singular tool on which a Sámi herder relies for an array of utilitarian applications (I believe) is successfully captured in the imagery and composition of Photograph B. The service and function of this knife, as well as the dexterity with which Skum uses it, is apparent. The knife, particularly for those who continue to live a traditional or subsistence livelihood, is a tool of survival. The shimmering silver angle of the blade catches the limited light on that arctic day, and reflects it directly into the camera lens, bringing the focus of the image directly to the place below Skum's hands. And, almost as a reminder that in unforgiving conditions one must always be prepared, Skum's secondary knife rests beside him, buried in snow in the top left quadrant of the frame.

Though my subjective experience informed the creation of the image, Skum's narrative dominates the frame. He commands the platform on which the voice of the image is composed. I photographed the event in reaction to his authentic life experience, transpiring before my lens. The discourse created between myself and Skum was no different than that created between him and the indigenous students surrounding me, who were equally learning from and documenting the process he was explaining, through both physical gestures and words. I was not in a position of surveillance any more than the other observers in attendance were; our gaze was communal. Surely, nobody would challenge Skum's claim to the truths he was imparting to his audience, though my attempts to convey them through photography might be

challenged. As a result of that experience, I became aware of specific cultural rites that belong to the Sámi. There are those who believe I do not have justification to photograph and share such images for the purposes of my work because of my non-membership to the community. This is the sociocultural and contemporary dis-ease that hovers over the discourse in my chosen area of work.

In Photograph B Skum is in motion. Near his hands, where the removed skin touches the exposed bone, one notices slight blurring due to the speed and skill with which he conducts the final removal of hide from the snout of the reindeer. There are remnant hairs flecked across his hands, shed during the nearly completed task. This image could not be confused with the objectified possession images that were so common among the early days of anthropological photography. Skum is in control of his domain. His humanity is exuded through his capable hands, as a clear provider for his family, and contributor to the Sámi community in passing on this essential food-related knowledge. This photograph speaks to the self-determination of the Sámi.

In my interview with Jon Mikkel Eira, I made it explicitly clear that his words and likeness would be used in publication. I went so far as to send him a copy of the finalized text for his approval. However, with this image of Skum (though his likeness is not identifiable except when named by me), I did not ask his permission to use the photograph in my thesis document. According to OCAP guidelines, there can be some fault found in my methods for this misstep. To work with people as collaborators rather than subjectified objects, full consent must be achieved at all stages of production. Should I choose to use this photograph in further work, I would seek to contact Per Johnny Skum for his permission.

It would be my hope that members of the Sámi community would have positive reactions to the photograph, as a snapshot of traditional livelihood - or if fully informed on the event's backstory, on a moment of Sámi education and perpetuation of culture. I have not released this image publicly, and thus, have yet to assess any elements of audiencing.

7.4.1 For Comparison's Sake (Photograph C)

For comparison's sake, and apropos of Photograph A in Morocco, it is interesting to note that during my time in a remote village south of Marrakech called Sidi Ghiat, I was invited to attend an annual *Eid al-Adha* (in Arabic: عيد الأضحى, meaning "Festival or Feast of the Sacrifice, commemorating the prophet Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son to *Allah*, though he was stopped in the final moments by the angel Jibra'il) ceremonial slaughtering. This is a practice common among Muslim Moroccans (and Muslims in other countries), as well as Amazigh Moroccans who throughout history have come to adopt Islam (much in the same way the Sámi have come to adopt different branches of Christianity, though there existed a religion of shamanism before the arrival of the colonists, and which some continue to be practice today). On this day in the Islamic (lunar-based) calendar, all practicing Muslim households who are financially able are meant to slaughter a goat or sheep in sacrifice. Those who are able to buy an animal for the less fortunate will do so, so that they too may participate in the holy ritual. *Halal* (Muslim dietary requirements) slaughtering methods dictate that the blood be drained from the animal before it is fully butchered for consumption.

In the week before *Eid*, I had been staying at a family-run bed and breakfast, and had a chance to incorporate myself into the family's routine. I had a preexisting relationship with certain members of the household, which helped foster a social dynamic that put the inhabitants and guests at ease with my presence. On the day of the slaughter (September 12, 2016), several guests and their families gathered chairs around the butcher and his helpers to observe the event. Similar to Photograph B, there was a performative element to the occurrence that would have taken place with or without my attendance. Additionally, I was not the only one possessing a digital camera or cell phone, and attempting to document the interaction.

In this photograph, there is a similarity in composition with Photograph B. There is the presence of the large blade of the knife (top left), the focus on the butcher's hand, and the visibility of the extensive amount of blood surrounding the carcass. The flowing water in Photograph C, which was used to rinse out the animal and to clean the butcher's hands, is in direct correlation to the snow that Skum used to regularly rinse his own hands, and in which he temporarily rested reindeer organs until Eira Buljo was able to collect them. And as with Photograph B, I worry about this photograph becoming a spectacle of the exotified due to the significant amount of blood, and the irregularity with which butchering practices are shown in common photography.

What I find visually pleasing in this final image, is that in this moment of death, there is a aura of tranquility; the way the butcher's hand presses down on the gullet of the animal. It is at rest, having served the purposes of the ritual - and for the Muslim participants, having served *Allah* (god). I present Photograph C purely as an adjunct comparative device for Photograph B. While there is a tendency to speciously lump indigenous experiences into one singular experience, that pitfall of journalism and academia is actively being rejected in this analysis.

As a final and somewhat tangential aside, I would like to point out that among the three images there are the unifying elements of: the sole use of ambient (natural) light (thus, reinforcing the images' unprompted candidness) used to illuminate the subjects, and the motif of environmental sustainability. In Photograph A, the *guerrab* utilizes a reusable receptacle for his water, in contrast to the ubiquitous plastic bottles that are readily available and sold around the city. In the momentary photographic representation of Sámi slaughtering practices shown in Photograph B, as well as the

traditional blood-draining element of Islamic butchering practices captured in Photograph C, both photographs exemplify a process where nothing is wasted. I can attest to that fact; every part of both carcasses was used. However, the purpose of this document is not the study of the cultural rituals themselves (though knowledge of them is useful if not absolutely necessary), but the bi-directional social and ethical relationships that the photographer has with those she photographs. And to have the necessary sensitivity to those with whom you work, an understanding of lived experience must be attempted, if not achieved.

8. Output and Ultimate Use of Images:

American professor and folklorist Bruce Jackson's vignette in Becker's "Exploring Society Photographically" describes the former's interactions with inmates in an Arkansas prison in the Unites States in the 1970s. Jackson was struck by the supposed hardened criminals' concern with how they would be portrayed, and specifically through what means. In the introduction to his ethnographic piece he begins,

> *"Time and again, Cummins prisoners asked me whose story I was going to tell, 'theirs or ours'. 'Mine.' I said, 'That's the only one I know.' Most thought that fair enough, but a few said,*
> *'what about the stuff you don't see?'*
> *'I can only photograph what I see,' I said.*
> *'What are you going to say, then?'*
> *'I'll print the picture and some quotations from you and them and let the pictures and quotations say what they have to say.'*
> *"But which pictures will you print?"*
> *'The ones that say what I saw.'*[191]

Jackson's quote speaks to the subjectivities of the photographer as well as to the agency of his subjects. The issue arises of just how capable they are in taking part in their own representation - initially as inmates, and subsequently, when they are put in the position of photographic subjects. As an imprisoned community, they have a predisposition to relegated power. Once put in front of a camera lens, does their ability to convey identity increase or decrease under the watchful eye of the photographer? One wonders if this ability, this agency, for a marginalized subject to express concern about the ultimate use of images and final representation is due to a mutual language with the photographer (which is not always the case for ethnographic documentary photography). This ability to pose questions, or a complete rejection to the

photographic process, is crucial to the social relationship between the two parties, and to the issue with which the photographer constantly grapples: permission.

Jackson's interaction also addresses the issue of story construction in the final stages of output, after the photographs have been developed or edited for print. He illuminates not just how photography tells a story, but how the medium is able to craft one, and the process of how we perceive what we see as a complex phenomenon of interpretation. Jackson's conclusions on what is ultimately shared echo a much earlier quote from revolutionary Soviet film director Dziga Vertov, cited in Berger's 1972 book and BBC documentary series "Ways of Seeing":

> *"I'm an eye. A mechanical eye. I, the machine, show you a world the way only I can see it.....My way leads towards the creation of a fresh perception of the world. Thus I explain in a new way the world unknown to you."* (Vertov, 1923)[192]

Vertov's words reiterate the concept of photographer subjectivity that has been a theme throughout this document. While the notion has been discussed from the perspective of photographic capture, it is also important to remember that there are elements of subjectivity that exist in the development and/or editing process that can affect the final representation of the image. Keeping the memory of the event at the forefront aides the photographer throughout this process; it is essential to keep in mind who is involved in the trajectory of communication, and what one's duties to those involved are.

As previously mentioned, Azoulay argues that the photograph itself is "the product of an encounter".[193] Though there is often the possibility that the encounter may be an unbalanced one, it remains an encounter no less. The encounter can occur between two parties with varying levels of personal agency: two communicative parties – or at least two parties with the potential to communicate - in front and behind the lens of the camera. There is now an interaction between beings that needs to transpire for the ultimate photograph to come to fruition. The substance of this encounter is what drives the narrative. When telling other people's stories, one must vigilantly remember the power of her tool, and to craft the *right* story. This powerful tool should not be underestimated when it comes to what, or who is being represented. Intention plays a significant role here. There are consequences to mishandling visual information that extend far beyond the producer of the image. And when it comes to ultimate output,

these consequences affect the original keepers of the stories as well as potential future audiences.

Indigenous communities are all too familiar with misrepresentations of their histories and contemporary livelihoods. While each individual community has unique experiences with cultural misrepresentation and appropriation, there is a shared experience with streotypification by photographers, anthropologists, national governments, and the press who have had a hand in portraying marginalized autochthonous groups as something that they are not. Throughout the Master's course at Sámi Allaskuvla, the students have been provided with a multitude of examples where the Sámi, Native Americans, First Nation Canadians, Aboriginal Australians, Guarani-Kaiowá, Māoris and other indigenous communities have felt the essentialized narratives of their communities rehashed in photographs. Among indigenous groups, there still exists a very real fear of cultural fabrication through imagery, and with good reason. As photographers, being conscientious of this history is helpful when creating narratives to counteract them, and absolutely essential when making decision on final output.

9. Conclusion:

Thesis Question:

What is the nature of the social and ethical relationship in contemporary ethnographic documentary photography, particularly as it relates to indigenous and minority groups, authenticity of representation, and the dynamics of power between photographer and photographed?

In an effort to ensure that the arguments provided in this paper are clear and well supported, I include this reinforcing thought by Harper:

"Ethnographers who use photography will make more convincing and certainly more subtle arguments if they seek to align the constructions of their photography with the arguments pursued in their written texts."[194]

It is my desire to have this document be the foundation for my future photographic work, so that the research that I have ascertained and absorbed may continue to inform and buttress forthcoming visual narrative endeavors.

The purpose of my ethnographic documentary photographic work is not to take the presumptuous and trite position of 'giving a voice' to the marginalized, but rather to amplify the voice of those who so clearly have narratives of their own to share, but may or may not be consigned in their forms of expressing them. Harper worked towards a similar goal stating: "It was to those to whom I chose to give voice through visual representation."[195] However, I do find the phrase "chose to give voice" troubling. It implies that it is not the choice (or the agency) of the communities with whom one partners that emerges at the forefront of the image, but rather the 'choice' of the photographer. Indeed there are plentiful choices that the photographer makes that inform the visual composition. It is important to note that the voice being addressed has been in existence long before the arrival of the photographer, and it is that history that will certainly inform parts of the visual narrative created. In fact, if the photographer

succeeds in doing her task admirably, the resulting photograph should convey a sense of that historicity, and – one hopes, significance beyond the shallow surface image.

There is great overlap between the practices of social activism and a documentary photography that focuses specifically on indigenous and minority issues. It is in this space that actors from both fields can have the greatest effect on public discourse. It is the duty of the documentary photographer to expose social issues, but it is also her duty to describe the environment in which the events transpire, and imbue them with a sense of historicity that makes them dynamic rather than one-sided encounters with the 'Other'. To create fair narratives one must be conscious of the fact that "each person's world conforms to its own set of a culturally defined expectations and in such a way as to appear satisfyingly real in total to its creator".[196] The photograph attains 'realness' by its successful placement within a community's history - past and modern. The importance of collaborating with indigenous groups in the process of creating representations is rooted in providing a vocal counterpoint to outside voices that previously were entirely exclusionary. These 'outside voices' may have created a set of entirely incorrect and outdated representations. This new form of collaborative ethnographic documentary photography is one of the many ways indigenous people can participate in rejecting cultural domination and the traditional hegemonic media structure.

The goal for many documentary photographers is to create uncontrived visual narratives that countervail essentialized stereotypes about groups of people. Though there is a media tendency to fetishize indigenous groups, one can choose to reject the pressure to deliver images that conform to the tired trope of "epistemic images"[197]. The driving force behind good documentary photography is not the recreation of hackneyed images of the stereotypical elements of culture - the expected keystones of Sáminess, or of Māoriness (as if there were such a collection of things), what journalist Teju Cole calls "exotification bingo" - but rather, to create photographs that "acknowledges their complex sense of their own reality".[198] So there is "a fine line to be walked…between a sloppy appropriation that willfully loosens the sign from its referent in the form of continuing processes of logocentric white projection, and the desire to give some extraordinary political, theoretical and aesthetics developments in First People's media their due significance".[199] Good ethnographic documentary photographic work aims to

provide accurate referents for images, as well as ethically produced narratives in which they are placed; but the complexity of the task is palpable, as I have continually reiterated throughout this document.

If it is true that, as Arthur Miller once said, "a good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself," then perhaps the images in that paper should reflect the thoughts with which the nation is contending.[200] Digitized forms of news and information sharing have linked nations' consciences, and created a global 'nation talking to itself'. The images we share as documentary photographers and photojournalists inform this 'nation', and that responsibility is a weighty one. We must have a sense of accountability to those with whom we work, constantly reevaluating the ethics and validities of our processes, being keenly aware not to violate unique codes of community. Yet, we must also have that same sense of accountability to our publics with whom we share those representations. Whilst keeping all these thoughts at the forefront of our minds, we must still be able to operate without second guessing every act.

It is the responsibility of the photographer to frame how her audience may consume the images disseminated, and to tailor the output accordingly, realizing that a certain point, meaning making is out of her control. Taflinger expresses a concept of "filtering" in which "people create their own realities" in the process of giving meaning to text. He continues by saying that "if the reporter is not aware that his or her reaction and way of presenting the news is affected by that reporter's world view of the news," then the "reporter's subjective view of the news is the view given, not the objective view which is the goal". [201] Though it has been repeatedly discussed that objectively is unattainable, it is important to strive for a sense of authenticity, reflective of a subject's lived reality, so that the output tells the right story. This leaves viewers in the best possible position to deduce their own meaning from the image.

In trying to be a socially and ethically responsible photographer, one does have to worry about 'justifying your relations' to the people she photographs, and be sure to explain her intentionality for the image.[202] One must be held accountable for what she ultimately allows to disseminate and travel through the world. Considering intention before each shutter click or publication submission is an anxiety inducing process. But, it allows us as photographers to actively think about the effects of the meaning we

create in our images, which might result in powerful photographic punctum. We consider where our images might 'travel,' and what image referents we might be creating for future generations. This responsibility is not to be taken lightly; it is vital that all possible efforts are made to ensure that those referents accurately represent what they were meant to, so that the negligence of misrepresentation is not transmitted.

Questioning of the validity of one's presence induces further apprehension in the photographic process. From time to time, one wonders if she has the right to photograph, or even enter a community. Pinney asks "how we should position photography in relation to the world it engages," which echoes the thoughts in my own mind when attempting to temper my self-challenge on presence and validity of work. [203] The overall uneasiness that is induced by constantly questioning the validity of one's ethical process, and whether or not, as an ethnographic documentary photographer, one is doing her subjects justice, is perhaps derived from what Barthes describes as "the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private: the private is consumed as such, publicly".[204] There is an internal world that, through intimate and laborious efforts of photography, in partnerships with community members who have revealed their vulnerabilities to the lens, is being published. One worries about being precious enough with the granted intimacies. But we must remind ourselves of the durability of communities. There is an inevitability to the publicity of the work. Oftentimes, this disquiet comes into tactile form when negotiating (with individuals or a lager community) the degree of publicity for the final work. One's subjects may not have, until now, considered the potential for dissemination of the images, and the actions depicted in the images. This Barthian notion of the "division of public and private" is a conflicting one where the goals of both parties, photographer and photographed, may not always align. This concept opens up new questions for further research into the ethics of the habitus of the ethnographic documentary photographer.

In this age of omnipresent devices for image capture, the social contract between subject and photographer is inevitably in flux. There is the potential that a society so accustomed to the panopticism of CCTVs and ever-present cell phones may no longer react to the documentary photographer. If there already exists the assumption that a recording device is ever-present, a community's behavior may not change due to the

arrival of a camera. In such a situation, what Pinney called "a destructive power over what is observed" ceases to have the same potential to damage the subject.[205] Personal opinions aside regarding the growth of the surveillance industry (as there is no room to discuss the tangential topic in this document), the result of such developments will indelibly affect the social and ethical relationship between those in front and behind the lens.

I would like to conclude this discussion on the nature of the discourse between photographer and photographed with a somewhat contentious issue within this niche area of the photographic community. Within photographic forums, questions are constantly being posed regarding who is best suited to do this type of work, particularly pitting local (read: native) photographers against non-local ones. I am reminded of Keskitalo's belief that indigenous people should be the final arbiters of their own image, and indeed I do not disagree in theory. However, I was swayed by the argument put forth by the photographic virtuoso (both in the study of the field's theory and in its practice), David Campbell. In response to commentary on Campbell's thought-provoking article "Do local photographers have a distinctive eye?" while responding to a question a reader posed in the comments asking "Does it matter who presses the shutter?", Campbell succinctly replied in a way that reaffirms a facet of my own feelings on the subject. He said,

> *"I think it's part of a common argument that always posits things in either/or terms – if the object of critique is global photojournalism, the remedy supposedly relies in the reverse, indigenous photography, without subjecting that side of the coin to the same degree of questioning.*
>
> *Does it matter who presses the shutter? Yes, but not because of reasons to do with simplistic notions of their identity or nationality, because these do not pre-determine the type of view they are creating. They may influence it, but they do not determine it. What matters most is the attention paid to context, narrative, and story – and those skills are not restricted to any particular group, global or local."[206]*

Perhaps the best photographer suited for the job is an indigenous person, but there exists the possibility that perhaps she is not. I am not claiming preference of the latter over the former, or vice versa. I realize that this opinion might rouse a sense of duplicity among some of my indigenous colleagues, or perhaps an increase in the 'tension' to which Edwards alludes so frequently. Surely, issues regarding ownership of content may still stir up a sense of disquiet. However, I do believe that during the creation of an ethnographic documentary photographic project, input from a wide array of sources inclusive of the subject would be the best model to counteract a contested final product. Ultimately, the project specifics will dictate, on a case-by-case base, what photographer or team (including translator, fixer, photographer, community elder etc.) will work best toward the end goal of ethically produced and socially valid ethnographic documentary photographs.

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10.1 Endnotes

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[2] (Edwards 2015, p.237)

[3] (Becker 1995, p.7)

[4] (Harper 2003, p.244)

[5] (Moring, April 14 2015)

[6] (Moring, April 14 2015)

[7] (Azoulay 2010, p.11)

[8] (Azoulay 2010, p.11)

[9] (Barthes, 1981)

[10] (Barthes e Heath, 1977, p.145)

[11] (Berger 2013, p.294)

[12] (Barthes 1981, p.47)

[13] (Sontag 1990, p.178)

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[15] (Tagg 1993, p.4)

[16] (Tagg 1993, p.99)

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[20] (Azoulay 2010, p.11)

[21] (Nichols 1991, p.77)

[22] (Soila, October 24 2016)

[23] (Kennedy e Patrick 2014, p.3)

[24] (Barthes 1991, p.45)

[25] (NPAA, 2016)

[26] (Yle, 2015)

[27] (Barthes 1981, p.34)

[28] The photograph can be viewed here: <https://widerimage.reuters.com/story/taking-a-stand-in-baton-rouge>

[29] (Roberts 2011, p.21)

[30] (Husband, 21 January 2015)

[31] (Schwartz 2003, p.44)

[32] (Harper 2002, p.23)

[33] (Harper, 2002)

[34] (Becker e Mary and Leigh Block Gallery., 1981)

[35] (Barthes e Heath 1977, p.148)

[36] (Hall e Open University D318/Course Readers. 1997, p.49)

[37] (Schwartz 2003, p.32)

[38] (Hall e Open University D318/Course Readers. 1997, p.47)

[39] (Hall e Open University D318/Course Readers., 1997)

[40] (Becker 1995, p.8)

[41] (Pinney e Peterson 2003, p.7)

[42] (Campbell e Power 2010, p.3)

[43] (Campbell e Power 2010, p.4)

[44] (Bohnsack 2009, p.302)

[45] (Bohnsack 2009, p.302)

[46] (Bohnsack 2009, p.303)

[47] (Survival International, 2013)

[48] (**United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples**, 2 October 2007)

[49] (Rose 2007, p.22)

[50] (Rose 2007, p.225)

[51] (Barthes e Heath 1977, p.147)

[52] (Berger 1972, p.20)

[53] (Mcluhan *et al.* 1967, p.63)

[54] (Edwards 2015, p. 240)

[55] (Hall 1980, p.325)

[56] (Del Toro *et al.*, 2016)

[57] (Hall 1986, p.18)

[58] (Foucault 1983, p.331)

[59] (Husband, 23 April 2015)

[60] (Husband, 23 April 2015)

[61] (Azoulay e Bethlehem 2012, p.60)

[62] (Azoulay 2012, p.11)

[63] (Pinney e Peterson 2003, p.1)

[64] (Tagg 1993, p.8)

[65] (Tagg 1993, p.168)

[66] (Del Toro *et al.*, 2016)

[67] (Tagg 1993, p.85)

[68] (Tagg 1993, p.85)

[69] (Schwartz 2003, p.27)

[70] (Roberts 2011, p.7)

[71] (Becker e Mary and Leigh Block Gallery., 1981)

[72] (Harper, 2003)

[73] (Harper 2003, p.244)

[74] (Saukko 2003, p.2)

[75] (Rose, 2007)

[76] (Rose 2007, p.6)

[77] (Rose 2007, p.234)

[78] (Harper, 2003)

[79] (Harper 2003, p.242)

[80] For more on Photo Repatriation, see:

Buckley, Liam. "Photography and Photo-Elicitation after Colonialism." **Cultural Anthropology** 29, no. 4 (2014): 720–743. http://dx.doi.org/10.14506/ca29.4.07

[81] (Pinney, 2011)

[82] (Pinney 2011, p.25)

[83] (Pinney 2011, p.18)

[84] (Pinney, 2011)

[85] (Rony, 2006)

[86] (Rony 2006, p.6)

[87] For this folly, Mead's book "Coming of Age in Samoa" (1928) was granted the title of the
#1 Worst Book (of 50) of the Century by the Intercollegiate Review (1999).
<https://home.isi.org/fifty-worst-and-best-books-century>

[88] (Edwards 2015, p.239)

[89] (Harper 2002, p.21)

[90] (Downing e Husband 2005, p.203)

[91] (Husband, 12 March 2015)

[92] (Husband, 12 March 2015)

[93] (Downing e Husband, 2005 p.202)

[94] (Husband, 21 January 2015)

[95] (Meadows, 13 April 2015)

[96] (Hanusch 2013, p.82)

[97] (Meadows 2009, p.515)

[98] (Coulthard 2014, p.45)

[99] (Hall *et al.* 1982, p.58)

[100] (Husband, lecture handout 2015)

[101] (Coulthard 2014, p.29)

[102] (Hall *et al.* 1982, p.221)

[103] (Coulthard 2014, p.26)

[104] (Husband 2013, p.2)

[105] (Cottle 2000, p.2)

[106] (Coulthard 2014, p.30)

[107] (Husband, 14 April 2015)

[108] (Coulthard 2014, p.43)

[109] (Coulthard 2014, p.30)

[110] (Cottle 2000, p.20)

[111] (Van Dijk 2000, p.49)

[112] (Batty, 1993)

[113] (Coulthard 2014, p.41)

[114] (Keskitalo 1994, p.24)

[115] (Coulthard 2014, p.39)

[116] (Coulthard 2014, p.45)

[117] (Smith 1999, p.44)

[118] (Smith 1999, p.60)

[119] (Meadows, 13 April 2015)

[120] (Husband, 14 April 2015)

[121] (Ross 2013, p.1314)

[122] (Ross 2013, p.1323)

[123] (Downing e Husband 2005, p.194)

[124] (Ross 2013, p.1314)

[125] (Mather and Lee, 14 April 2015)

[126] (Mather and Lee, 14 April 2015)

[127] (Meadows 2009, p.518)

[128] (Coulthard 2014, p.46)

[129] (Husband 2013, p.10)

[130] (Ginsburg 2003, p.295)
[131] (Ginsburg 2003, p.295)
[132] (Kovach 2009, p.94)
[133] (Kovach 2009, p.94)
[134] (Schwartz 2003, p.48)
[135] (Smith 1999, p.66)
[136] (Batty, 1993)
[137] (Bryson 2002, p.43)
[138] (Attenborough, 1963)
[139] (Bryson 2002, p.43)
[140] (Peterson, 2003)
[141] (Peterson, 2003)
[142] (Berger, 1972)
[143] (Rose 2007, p.225)
[144] (Pinney e Peterson 2003, p.5)
[145] (Azoulay 2012, p.50)
[146] (Faris 2003, p.93)
[147] (Becker 1995, p.6)
[148] (Moraes, 2011)
[149] (Roberts 2011, p.4) originally citing the work of:
        Agee, James & Evans, Walker (2006 [1941]). Let us now praise famous men.
        London: Penguin.

[150] (Roberts 2011, p.6)
[151] (Roberts 2011, p.35)
[152] (Coulthard 2014, p.30)
[153] (Roberts 2014, p.9)
[154] (Schnarch e National Aboriginal Health Organization. First Nations Centre.)
[155] (Kovach 2009, p.10)
[156] (Kovach 2009, p.11)
[157] (Kovach 2009, p.97)
[158] (Campbell e Power 2010, p.1)
[159] (Berger, 1972)
[160] (Azoulay e Bethlehem 2012, p.2)
[161] (Husband 2015, p.109)
[162] (Husband 2015, p.110)
[163] (Pinney e Peterson 2003, p.13)
[164] (Walter e Andersen 2013, p.3)
[165] created by Anishinaabe CBC radio and TV broadcaster, and member of the Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation, Duncan McCue
[166] created by Wuthathi/Meriam lawyer from Cairns, Terri Janke
[167] (Hoskins 2009, p.151) originally citing the work of:
        Ryan, James (1997), *Picturing Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

[168] (Roberts 2011, p.18)
[169] (Becker e Mary and Leigh Block Gallery., 1981)

[170] Though there is little room to expound in this text, the following quote from (Waller e Griffith Centre for Cultural Research., 2013, p.32) alludes to the general notion attempting to be conveyed by the term 'parachute journalism':

> "*Hess (1996) found 'parachute' journalists, such as those described above, 'know a great deal about covering crises but not necessarily much about the crisis they are covering' (1996: 100). Koch observed these reporters' lack of knowledge, time and rapport resulted in distrust on the part of Indigenous people:*
>
> > '*... there's this term, they call us 'seagulls' — politicians and journalists — because they say that we fly in, shit on them, and leave. (Tony Koch, journalist, The Australian).*'"

[171] (Hannerz 2003, p.205)
[172] (Hannerz 2003, p.212)
[173] (Ross 2013, p.1325)
[174] (Ross 2013, p.1325)
[175] (Meadows 2009, p.522)
[176] (Husband, 12 March 2015)
[177] (Husband, 12 March 2015)
[178] (Mather and Lee, 14 April 2015)
[179] (Campbell, 2011)
[180] (Campbell, 2011)
[181] (Campbell, 2011)
[182] (Campbell, 2011)
[183] (Husband, 15 Nov 2016)
[184] (Husband, 15 Nov 2016)
[185] (Pinney e Peterson 2003, p.1)
[186] (NPAA, 2016)
[187] Alaoui's formidable collection of work can be viewed on her posthumously maintained site: <http://www.leilaalaoui.com/>

[188] (Faris 2003, p.95)
[189] (Sámi allaskuvla, 2014)
[190] (Eira, 2015)
[191] (Becker e Mary and Leigh Block Gallery., 1981)
[192] (Berger 1972, p.17)
[193] (Azoulay 2010, p.11)
[194] (Harper 2003, p.263)
[195] (Harper 2003, p.248)
[196] (Taflinger, 1996)
[197] (Edwards 2015, p. 236)
[198] (Cole, 2016)
[199] (Ginsburg 2003, p.302)
[200] (**Who Killed the Newspaper?**, 2006)
[201] (Taflinger, 1996)
[202] (Becker 1995, p.7)

203 (Pinney 2011, p.56)
204 (Barthes 1981, p.98)
205 (Pinney 2011, p.28)
206 (Campbell, 2011)