DOING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

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DOING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Fourth Edition

Sarah Pink

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The first edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography*, published in 2001, was inspired by my own conviction that visual ethnography was emerging as a field of practice and my readings and viewings of, and conversations about, the work of visual anthropologists, sociologists and artists. Since then I have corresponded with and met many ethnographers who share an enthusiasm for the visual – across disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, and internationally. Some of the discussions in subsequent editions, including this new fourth edition, draw on the work of visual ethnographers who have dialogued with *Doing Visual Ethnography* in their publications and practice. I am greatly indebted to them for both appreciating my earlier work and for their own practice, which this new edition, in turn, dialogues with. Some authors have responded to my work in book reviews or in commentaries in their own texts. Often this provides constructive feedback which I am grateful for, while sometimes what I believe are limited readings of my writings and practice have been based on a reading of just one piece rather than a body of work. Instead of entering into combative rebuttals I believe it is more valuable to provide clarification, therefore I do not directly or explicitly write back to such commentators. Rather, I hope that a reading of this edition of the book will set the record straight about anything that I think is misinterpreted elsewhere.

As my work has developed over the years, I have collaborated with many colleagues with whom I have developed, reflected on and published about visual ethnography methods and approaches. Without such inspiring and creative colleagues I would never had been able to experience and discuss the range of methodological innovations and experiments that appear in this book. Rather than naming the many excellent people I have worked with here, I acknowledge their contributions as our shared work is discussed, and our co-authored publications are referenced throughout this book.

The ideas and examples discussed in this book also draw extensively on my own theoretical and methodological writings and practice around visual and digital methods and media. Such reflections and discussions form part of my ongoing participation in debates in a range of different research fields. While I do not directly re-publish any existing texts in this book, I refer often to the ideas and arguments that have formed part of my research trajectory over the last thirty years. Thus, most of the arguments and some of the examples given here are developed and discussed in more depth and detail or from different perspectives in other publications. I mention this both to acknowledge the relationship between this book and existing work and to highlight that, where relevant, existing works are referenced so interested readers can follow these up in more depth.

The book would not have been possible without the support of the many people who

have collaborated with my colleagues and I as research participants, who have agreed to be photographed and videoed, and often to have their images shared. A particular acknowledgement is due to all those who are mentioned in this book, but my appreciation also extends these thanks to everyone who has worked with me for showing me aspects of their lives and, in doing so, allowing me to continue to learn how to be a visual ethnographer.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Sarah Pink

is known globally for her innovation in digital, visual and sensory research and dissemination methodologies, which she employs in interdisciplinary projects with design, engineering and creative practice disciplines to engage with contemporary issues and challenges. She has an international reputation for her design anthropological research and collaboration across disciplines and with partners inside and outside academia. She has developed and collaborated in visual ethnography research across the world, including in the United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Brazil, Chile and Indonesia. Sarah is Professor of Design and Emerging Technologies, Founding Director of the Emerging Technologies Research Lab at Monash University Australia, and was previously Director of the Digital Ethnography Research Centre at RMIT University, Australia. She is International Guest Professor at Halmstad University in Sweden. She is also Visiting Professor in the Design School and Fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Loughborough University, where she was formerly a Professor in the Department of Social Sciences. Sarah is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary times call for new visual methodologies. We need collaborative, ethical, responsible and interventional methods capable of showing up and communicating local and global challenges and imagining, proposing and initiating routes to new and better futures. Visual ethnography is at the centre of this move. How does visual ethnography embrace new ways of being, emerging technologies and the complexities and contingencies that surround our possible futures?

Images are 'everywhere'. They permeate our academic work, everyday lives, digital and social media worlds, societal narratives and imagined futures. They inhabit and inspire our imaginations, technologies, texts and conversations. In the contemporary moment, more than ever before, camera and screen technologies are also almost everywhere. They involve an expanding range of forms and modes of imaging, including smartphone, wearable, surveillance, and other embedded and mobile photographic devices.

Doing Visual Ethnography responds to the needs of and demands on qualitative researchers in this evolving context of research and practice. Here, alongside the new intelligent and automated technologies, previously the stuff of science fiction, which are entering our everyday lives, new modes of everyday hope, anxiety and uncertainty are emerging. This book presents an approach to research that accounts for and harnesses this human experience, imagination and action. It goes beyond the focus on visual methods of research and representation that dominates existing accounts of and guides to visual methods or ethnographic film: it invites researchers to a more theoretically and technologically advanced visual ethnography practice for studying the worlds we inhabit; and it sets out a new approach to qualitative methodology that embeds visual practice in research which accounts for futures, impact and the interventional and interdisciplinary possibilities of the social sciences.

We have seen rapid changes in the ways that visual ethnography can be practiced over the last twenty years. As personal digital and connected mobile technologies and media became ubiquitous, images were embedded in our social activities and encounters and in the digital architectures of the environments we move through in our everyday lives. Images are used to record and reconstruct the past through, for instance, archiving and visualisation techniques. In the present the visual is inextricably interwoven with our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as with definitions of time, space, place, reality and truth. Utopian and dystopian images inhabit our mediated worlds, giving view to possible futures that we might hope for or dread, while it has been imagined that future images will be viewed through emerging screenless technologies. Our experience and use of the visual continues to evolve as people and organisations, in varied ways across the world, make and improvise with images of different kinds in ways afforded by new and emerging technological innovation and possibilities. As new modes of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Automated Decision-Making (ADM) increasingly (and sometimes invisibly) become embedded in everyday technologies, services and processes, we will encounter new ways of making, experiencing and researching with, through and about the visual. Visual surveillance and big data analytics have rapidly become part of the way social and human worlds are understood in the dominant narratives and visualisations of industry and the public sector. The visual content of everyday images is equally subsumed under this agenda, making it still more important for sensitive, ethical and situated visual ethnography research to be undertaken to both understand these changes and intervene where vast databases of visual images may be harvested and analysed in ways that are decontextualised from the everyday worlds where they were produced, and have shifting meanings and significance.

Ethnographic research practice is likewise intertwined with visual technologies, images, metaphors and ways of seeing, sensing and imagining. When ethnographers produce photographs or video, and use the continually evolving range of apps, emojis and sharing platforms that are associated with them, these images, and the experience of producing and discussing them, become part of their ethnographic knowledge and imagination. Images are part of how we experience, imagine, learn and know. They are continually shared across everyday life and research contexts. They are part of how we hope and fear, as well as how we communicate and represent knowledge. In research contexts images may inspire conversations, conversation might invoke images; conversation and performances visualise and draw absent printed or digital images into their narratives through verbal descriptions and references to them. Likewise, just as an image might invoke a memory of an embodied affective experience, experiences also inspire images. Photography and video are not simply recordings of life, but rather they are always emergent from the contingent and continually changing circumstances of life. Images are thus an inevitable part of the experiential environments we live and research in; *Doing Visual Ethnography* is an invitation to engage with images, technologies and ways of seeing, experiencing and imagining as part of the ethnographic process.

WHY DO WE NEED VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY?

Still and moving images have gradually become integral elements of the work of ethnographers, even when ethnographic research might have little direct focus on the visual as its subject matter. In part, this has been due to the realisation amongst many ethnographers that the visual elements of our research and ways of knowing in the world need to be attended to, whether this involves working with historical analogue photography or film, with the mixed photographic formats that most people will have as part of their life collections of images, or with new technologies. However, it is also clear that we are living in a moment where the circumstances of our research mean that it would be difficult to be a contemporary ethnographer without engaging with digital media, technologies and the social, material and infrastructural environments and practices associated with them. This applies to the way these aspects figure in our own lives, in our research practice and in the lives of those who participate in our research. Our fieldwork sites will often not only cross physical localities but also traverse the digital and material worlds and temporalities that are brought together as everyday lives are lived. This context, which constitutes the circumstances for *Digital Ethnography* (Pink, Horst, Postill, Hjorth, Lewis and Tacchi 2016), also has powerful implications for the practice of visual ethnography. Digital visual technologies and media, and the platforms and apps through which we engage with them, are part of how we constitute ethnographic knowledge, as well as being used to create representations of ethnographic knowledge. As such, visual ethnographic media and materials offer us forms of continuity between fieldwork in academic and applied research contexts that other media cannot. It is now almost inevitable that as ethnographers we will encounter and benefit from digital visual technologies and images in the course of our research and scholarly practice. We therefore need to understand how they become implicated in the production and dissemination of the ways of knowing that are part of the ethnographic process.

Along with their growing prevalence in ethnographic practice, visual methods and media are also part of how many of us learn to become ethnographers. Visual methods are taught as topics of university courses and in advanced research training workshops, and a global spread of conferences and seminars that focus on visual methods has emerged. While visual ethnography might be said to have originally grown from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, it is by now definitely not restricted to them. The benefits of a visually oriented ethnographic approach are increasingly recognised in other disciplines including geography, as well as in interdisciplinary fields such as consumer research, health studies, education studies, media studies, organisation studies, design research, human-computer-interaction research, buildings research and in reflexive arts practice. There is a corresponding wealth of existing literature about visual methods, selected elements of which I discuss in the following chapters of this book, spread across academic disciplines and informed by a range of methodological approaches. This context is a stark contrast to the late 1990s when I set about creating the first edition of this book. At that time I believed that visual ethnography was an emergent field that needed to be brought into view. I now see it as a growing and dynamic international and interdisciplinary field of practice.

Finally, we need visual ethnography because if social science researchers are to do research that has impact in the world, that is interventional and that communicates across disciplines and sectors, we need to be able to gain deep insights that get under the surface of what is visible, to share our findings and to engage others in our arguments and in the stories of those people who participate in our research. Visual research practice and the use of visual and digital, still and moving images and dissemination platforms offer us a powerful mode of engaging both inside and outside academia. It enables us to step up our engagement with contemporary societal challenges. This might be achieved through collaboration to generate visual ethnographic insights with those who wish to learn from our work, as a direct response to those who are advancing powerful predictive and deterministic narratives about futures, and through contesting narratives that bring ethnographic knowing and detail to the fore. Visual ethnography brings our audiences up close to our research findings and participants, it invites them to sense and feel other people's experiences. As such it offers a powerful interventional device for researchers who wish to participate in or influence the shaping of our as yet unknown and uncertain futures.

A SHIFTING CONTEXT FOR DOING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

To understand what doing visual ethnography means today, we need to understand something of where it has come from. To contextualise this here I account for its recent history, as it emerged as an acknowledged practice. I have worked with photography and video in my own ethnographic practice, through periods of technological and theoretical innovations and 'turns', each of which has offered new conceptual and practical possibilities. In the late 1980s proponents of the then 'new ethnography' introduced ideas of ethnography as fiction and emphasised the centrality of subjectivity to the production of knowledge. Anthropology, the discipline in which my work began, experienced a 'crisis' through which positivist arguments and realist approaches to knowledge, truth and objectivity were challenged (see Clifford and Marcus 1986).

These ideas paved the way for the visual to be increasingly acceptable in ethnography, as it was recognised that ethnographic film or photography were essentially no more subjective or objective than written texts, and thus gradually became acceptable to (if not actively engaged with by) most mainstream researchers. During the 1990s new innovations in visual technology, critical postmodern theoretical approaches to subjectivity, experience, knowledge and representation, a reflexive approach to ethnographic fieldwork methodology, and an emphasis on interdisciplinarity invited exciting new possibilities for the use of photographic technologies and images in

ethnography. Emerging from that context, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a flurry of new literature about and practical work involving visual methodologies. Traversing the social sciences and humanities these developments grew from social anthropology (Ruby 2000; Banks 2001; Grimshaw 2001; El Guindi 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2004; Pink, Kürti and Afonso 2004; MacDougall 2005; Pink 2006), sociology (Emmison and Smith 2000; O'Neill 2002; Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Pole 2004; Halford and Knowles 2005), and geography (Rose 2016), (see Pink 2006, Chapter 2). Collectively these texts set a new scene for visual methods in an intellectual climate where the impact of the postmodern turn had been assessed and put to rest leaving as its legacy, amongst other things, the reflexive approach to ethnographic and visual research that these works insist on. It was from that context that the second edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography* emerged, through three key influences. First, an enthusiasm for exploring new interdisciplinary themes, connecting ethnography and arts practice (e.g. da Silva and Pink 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2004; Schneider and Wright 2005; Bowman, Grasseni, Hughes-Freeland and Pink 2007). Second, recognising that visual research must also accommodate embodiment and the senses (e.g. O'Neill 2002; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2004; MacDougall 2005; Pink 2006, 2009). Third, a new emphasis on research about and training in methodology and ethical scrutiny emanating from the institutional requirements now made by funding bodies and universities (Strathern 2000a, b, Pink 2017a). This context on the one hand encouraged innovative methodologies; on the other it emphasised the importance of ensuring ethical practice through external scrutiny, and as such in ways often seemingly quite different from those suggested by the self-scrutiny of the reflexive ethnographer.

In this environment visual ethnographers needed to be not just self-reflexive about their methods, but also conversant about them in institutional languages (Prosser, Clark and Wiles, 2008; Clarke 2012). Moreover, visual ethnography began to emerge as an applied as well as an academic practice (Pink 2006, 2007a). These shifts were also reshaped by the further changes and 'turns' of the latter part of the first decade of the twenty-first century. When I was writing the second edition of this book, it was clear that a *visual* ethnography was fast encompassing a digital and web-based form of doing ethnography. Yet, there was still much that could be said about the doing of visual ethnography that did not need to be understood as digital practice. Once I was writing the third edition, certain changes had reframed this context. Visual ethnography was by then, in the years leading up to its publication in 2013, a practice which, in my experience, now involved using digital technologies and media, and was practised in a context where sometimes ethnographers and research participants had access to very similar technologies. While this latter point needs to be qualified by the acknowledgement that global and national inequalities and other forms of difference mean that of course we do not all have equal access to the same media and technologies, the equipment that is needed for a visual ethnography is no longer necessarily different from our everyday life technologies, unless we wish to use particularly high quality or specialised equipment or new technologies which are not yet generally accessible to a wider market. Researchers and participants – depending on a range of factors that impact on the skill levels and technology ownership of each – will often have equal access to image producing, editing and sharing possibilities. However, using visual methods in ethnographic practice does not have to involve digital media, as even recent examples (e.g. Grasseni 2012; Hogan and Pink 2012; Lammer 2018) show that using printed maps, paper, pens, pencils, analogue cameras and other 'old' technologies can be significant for visual ethnographic methods, the ways of knowing and meanings they can produce. Those readers who are holding this very book in its printed form as they read will be experiencing 'old' materiality that persists in the present. While other readers will be accessing these words and images through digital technologies, perhaps a laptop, tablet computer or smartphone, and developing a different relationship to its written and visual elements as well as the online materials it provides links to.

Contemporary ways of doing visual ethnography are also framed by a series of wider shifts that create the context in which visual research methodologies are more generally being shaped. During the first two decades of the twenty-first century these include a continually changing set of new technological possibilities, as well as a series of theoretical turns, which have cumulatively reshaped visual ethnography. One significant focus has been on concepts of practice, place and the senses (see Pink 2015a). This has necessitated a re-situating of the visual in ethnography – a question I address in depth in relation to sensory scholarship in my book *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Pink 2015a). The increasing importance of non-representational (see e.g. Thrift 2008) and 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer 2005) approaches in human geography and in anthropology (see Ingold 2011) demands that we reconceptualise how we think of the role of images in the world and invites an approach to the visual that departs from conventional cultural studies treatments (see Ingold 2010a; Pink 2011a). Simultaneously, we have seen a further shift towards public and applied visual research and scholarship. Visual methods and media have increasingly been engaged in applied research in anthropology and cognate disciplines (Pink 2007b, 2011b, 2012a; Mitchell 2011; Pink, Fors and O'Dell 2017). As is evident in the examples of recent work I draw on in the discussions in the following chapters, an increasing amount of recent visual ethnography practice is part of this move towards a more engaged, participatory, collaborative and public form of visual scholarship. Indeed in several cases these kinds of new engagements have led to the development of new iterations of ethnographic practice, in which visual ethnography remains an underpinning element. Examples of these include the development of 'short-term ethnography' (Pink and Morgan 2013), 'blended practice' bringing together design and visual ethnography (Pink, Akama and Fergusson 2017), and 'digital-visual stakeholder ethnography' (Pink, Postill, Leder Mackley and Astari 2017), discussed later in this book. However, the most urgent refocusing of visual ethnography is currently one that builds on these sensory and applied agendas, to engage with human futures.

This approach, led by the 'futures anthropology' movement (see for example Salazar, Pink, Irving and Sjoberg 2017) is informed by anthropological theories of futures as contingent and emergent, as a mode of contesting predictive quantitative understandings of futures. As I argue in the following chapters, the sensory, non-representational and applied modes of visual ethnography that have developed in recent years have a key role to play in this agenda.

Visual ethnography as practiced is therefore shaped by a range of interrelated influences, including disciplinary trajectories and commitments (which are discussed in Chapter 1), theoretical understandings of the meaning and potentials of images and media, technological possibilities, researcher's skills, biographies, subjectivity and reflexivity, relations of power and futures (see Chapter 2), the research question being addressed, research design, ethical issues and applied and interventional possibilities of research (Chapter 3). They are moreover framed by the ways that we define our research contexts and environments, the ways these change and how these are attended to by other scholars, researchers and participants and stakeholders in our research. As demonstrated by Figures 0.1, 0.2, 0.3 and 0.4, these elements come together in different ways in relation to different localities, identities, temporalities and technologies. Moreover, earlier examples of visual ethnography practice do not become redundant as new technologies emerge. Indeed, as we see in Figure 0.1, in the year 2000 themes of identity, technologies, texts and locality were equally important as they were in 2005 in Figure 0.2, in 2011 in Figure 0.3 and in 2016 in Figure 0.4. The temporality of these images progressively encompasses the digital materialities that are now part of many people's everyday lives. Yet Figure 0.1 remains equally as relevant today as it was in 2000.

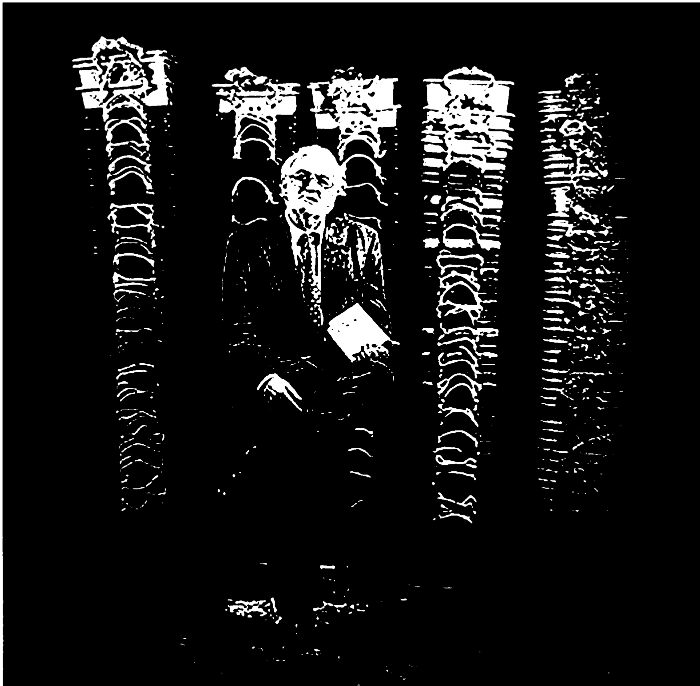
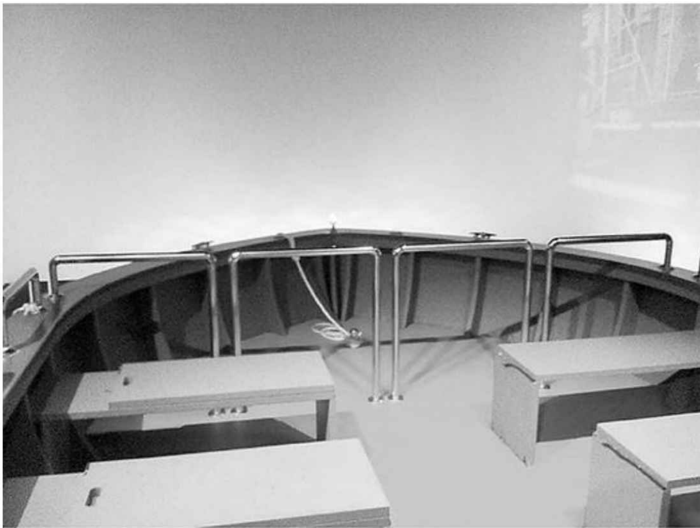


Figure 0.1 Master Caravela. © Olivia da Silva 2000, used with permission.
Master Caravela, a member of the fishing community in Matosinhos (Portugal) was represented in Olivia da Silva's photographic project, In the Net (da Silva 2000). da Silva used anthropological methods to inform her photographic practice, writing how 'As a participant observer I worked closely with the subjects of my portraits as they lived out their everyday lives to access the personal and domestic arenas of fishing communities and to record individual histories and narratives' (see da Silva and Pink 2004). The relationship between arts practice and visual ethnography is a two-way process: while visual ethnographic practices can inform photographic representations, the visual practices of documentary artists also provide new and inspiring examples for visual ethnographers.

Figure 0.2 David and Anne showed me a print of their plans for the community garden. © Sarah Pink 2005.
As part of my research about a community garden project in a UK Slow City (Cittaslow town) I photographed research participants in ways that were significant for them and their projects. In this photograph David and Anne showed a print of some digital photographs of the type of path that they and other committee members wished to have in the community garden they were developing.



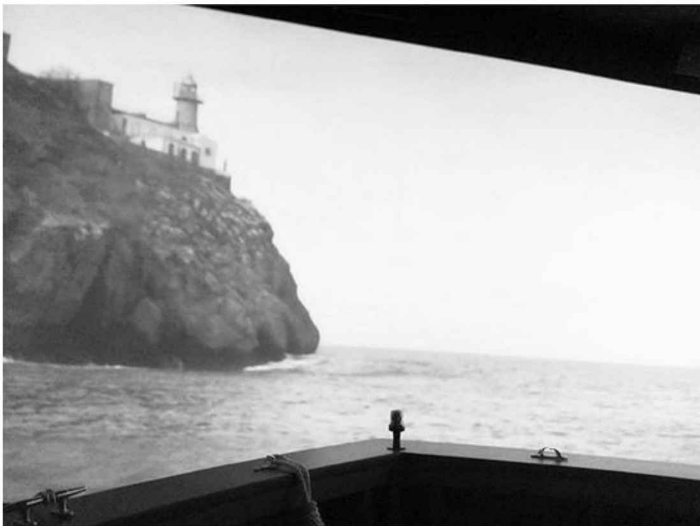


Figure 0.3 In 2011, Lisa Servon and I toured the Spanish town of Lekeitio with our hosts as part of our research into Slow Cities (Pink and Servon 2013). As we toured the port and then later the lighthouse I photographed as we went, using my iPhone as a research tool that would both digitally make images as I walked through the environment of the town and geo-tag these images on a virtual map (see Pink and Hjorth 2012 for a discussion of this in relation to camera-phone photography). When we entered the lighthouse, which had been established as a maritime heritage centre, my mobile ethnographic image making intersected with local audio-visual digital culture. Within one of the centre's installations we got into a boat and sailed out through a digital projection into the sea, passing the same lighthouse we were viewing as part of our trajectory (Pink and Servon 2013).

The boat in the port. © Sarah Pink 2011.

The virtual boat in the lighthouse. © Sarah Pink 2011.

The Lighthouse. © Sarah Pink 2011.

The lighthouse from the sea, as we journeyed through the digital projection. © Sarah Pink 2011.

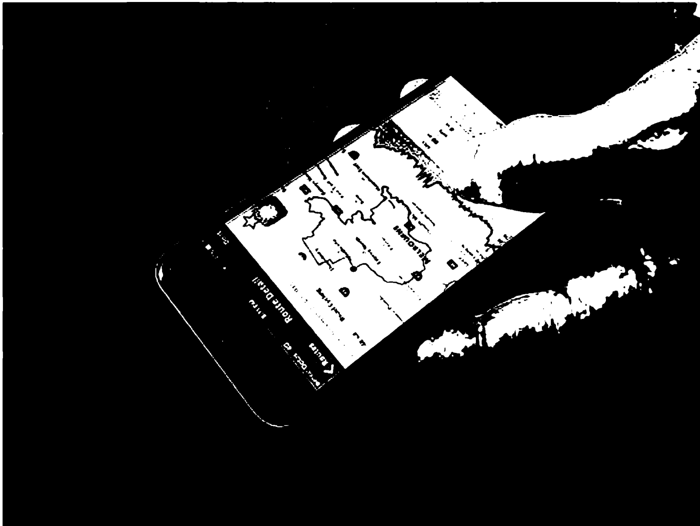


Figure 0.4 ‘Data visualisations and apps are part of our everyday visual cultures’. © Sarah Pink 2016.
As part of my research within the ‘Sensing, shaping, sharing’ project, focusing on self-tracking, body monitoring and personal data, participants often showed me how their data was visualised on their smartphone apps or other devices. Here while discussing his cycling activity, a participant showed me a data visualisation that represents one of the routes he had cycled. As discussed elsewhere people also use their routes to create images (Fors, Pink, Berg and O’Dell 2019).

As Figures 0.1, 0.2, 0.3 and 0.4 suggest, contemporary fieldwork domains, however we construct them and to whatever extent they traverse the online and offline or digital and material, are saturated with visual images, practices of image making and sharing, and of looking. None of these are closed natural research environments; rather they are the research sites we construct across interconnected domains of human experience.

Thus, the field of visual methods and methodology is burgeoning in a number of directions. While in 2001 when the first edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography* was published it was one of only a handful of books about visual research, this fourth edition is in dialogue with various related and contrasting approaches to encountering the visual in our social, material and sensory worlds. In Chapter 1, I outline this context as it has emerged across disciplines and methodologies and situate visual ethnography within a growing field of visual research practice. In the remainder of this Introduction I set out my agenda, through a discussion of the relationship of theory, methodology and method in this book.

Doing Visual Ethnography is a methodology book. This means that rather than simply being concerned with describing methods, my concern is with bringing together the theoretical, conceptual and practical elements of visual approaches to learning and knowing about / in the world, and communicating these to others. To achieve this we need theories of how we produce knowledge, as well as of those things we produce knowledge about.

THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND METHOD IN *DOING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY*

The relationship between theory and method is important for understanding any research project. Similarly, an awareness of the theoretical underpinnings of visual research methods is crucial for understanding how those images and the processes through which they are created are used to produce ethnographic knowledge. Such questions have long since been debated in the literature on visual research methods. For example, in the 1990s Edwards (1997a: 33) criticised Collier and Collier’s (1986) earlier work for being ‘centred on how-to manuals of method and analysis working within a largely unmediated realist frame’. Similarly, Prosser’s ‘image-based research methodology’ (1996), tended to propose prescriptive frameworks that aimed to distance, objectify and generalise, and therefore detract from the very qualities and potentials that the ambiguity and expressivity (see Edwards 1997a) of visual images offers ethnography. In its first edition, *Doing Visual Ethnography* along with other new volumes published at the beginning of the twenty-first century (e.g. Banks 2001; Pink, Kürti and Afonso 2004) signified a departure from this scientific and realist paradigm towards a new approach to making and

understanding ethnographic images. Therefore, the first edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography* was written in opposition to the arguments of those visual sociologists who sought to incorporate a visual dimension into an already established methodology based on a 'scientific' approach to sociology (e.g. Grady 1996; Prosser 1996; Prosser and Schwartz 1998). Their proposal that visual images should support the project of a scientific sociology, I argued, suffered from the problem that it must subscribe to the dominant discourse in order to be incorporated. Thus, its advocates were obliged to prove the value of the visual to a scientific sociology that is dominated by the written word. Effectively this meant evaluating the worth of images to research on the terms of a sociological agenda that has rejected the significance of visual meanings and the potential of images to represent and generate new types of ethnographic knowledge.

In the late 1990s, the contrasting view I took was that to incorporate the visual appropriately, social science should, as MacDougall has suggested, 'develop alternative objectives and methodologies' (1997: 293). This meant abandoning the possibility of a purely objective social science and rejecting the idea that the written word is essentially a superior medium of ethnographic representation. I argued that images should be regarded as an equally meaningful element of ethnographic work and therefore visual images, objects or descriptions should be incorporated when it is appropriate, opportune or enlightening to do so. In some projects the visual may become more important than the spoken or written word, in others it will not. I continue to argue that there is no essential hierarchy of knowledge or media for ethnographic representation. Rather, different epistemologies and technologies complement each other as different types of ethnographic knowledge that may be experienced and represented in a range of different textual, visual and other performative and sensory ways. This, however, is not to say that images and words can or should have to play the same role in academic, applied or public scholarship. As I insist in the final chapters of this book, visual representations bear an important relationship to, but cannot replace, words in conventional theoretical discussion.

In a current theoretical and practice-based climate, where visual methods have proliferated widely across disciplinary and interdisciplinary fields, the approach I advocate in this book equally needs to be situated. My own approach to ethnography has evolved since writing the first edition. It is now informed by phenomenological anthropology (Ingold 2001, 2010), geographies of place and space (Massey 1995), design anthropology (Smith et al. 2016) and futures anthropology (Pink and Salazar 2017). These theoretical commitments are not necessarily compatible with others. For instance while visual ethnography methods can be used in relation to multimodality approaches (e.g. Jewitt Bezemer and O'Halloran 2016), or visual culture studies, my own approach does not share their commitments to semiotic theory and its treatment of visual text to be 'read' (Pink 2011c, 2012b). Yet it is not my intention to be adversarial to approaches different to my own. Interdisciplinary research needs to be based on an appreciation of the value that is offered by different ways of knowing and researching.

Since the outset *Doing Visual Ethnography* was not intended as a recipe book for successful visual research, and I also continue to insist on this point. This book rather suggests an approach, invites readers to engage with this approach, to assess if or how it might work in their own projects, and to appropriate and change it as they wish. As regards the status of methods and methodology, many points made during the 1990s – a period when there was intense discussion of ethnographic fieldwork methodologies – still hold. In the words of the cultural studies scholar Jim McGuigan, 'as most good researchers know, it is not unusual to make up the methods as you go along'; indeed, '[t]he methods should serve the aims of the research, not the research serve the aims of the method' (McGuigan 1997: 2). Methodologies tend to be developed for/with particular projects, they are interwoven with theory, with our own biographies as researchers and, as the anthropologist Lizette Josephides stressed, 'our ethnographic strategies are also shaped by the subjects' situations, their global as well as local perceptions, and their demands and expectations of us'. Therefore, she wrote, 'There can be no blueprint for how to do fieldwork. It really depends on the local people, and for this reason we have to construct our theories of how to do fieldwork *in the field*' (Josephides 1997: 32, original italics). The same point still applies to using visual images and technologies in fieldwork now; specific uses should be creatively developed within individual projects. Visual methods are not simply transferred from one project to be used again on another. Rather, as shown in Figure 0.5, methods themselves have biographies (Pink and Leder Mackley 2012), they evolve through different projects, bringing with them, inviting and inspiring new methodologies through their practice and findings. That is, the uncertainty of what we are going to learn as researchers, which is integral to anthropological research (Amit 2000a; Pels 2000; Strathern 2000; Pink 2017a), also underpins visual ethnography. Rather than prescribing *how to do* visual research I draw from my own and other ethnographers' experiences of using visual images and technologies in research and representation to present a range of examples and possibilities. These are intended as a basis, or even point of contrast, from which new practices may be developed.

Figure 0.5a Conducting a video tour of the home as part of research into energy demand in UK homes with Kerstin Leder Mackley in 2011. © LEEDR 2012, used with permission.

Figures 0.5b and c Undertaking the video tour in the home of a participant followed by his re-enactment of his daily commute to the city with us in 2016. © Vaike Fors 2016, used with permission.

Methods themselves have biographies. For example, my use of the camera to explore people's lives with them began in my earlier studies of everyday life in the home, focusing on gender and self-identity through the 'video tour' method (Pink 2004). I later continued to develop this method in my collaborations with colleagues in video work on energy in homes (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017), on locative media in homes (Pink, Sinanan, Hjorth and Horst 2016), with Nadia Astari, as a documentary filmmaking technique in our film Laundry Lives (2015), and later in the method of 'in-car video ethnographies', both before and after the commute

(Pink, Fors and Glöss 2017).

THE BOOK

Chapter 1 situates visual ethnography in its wider historical and disciplinary context. It is chronologically placed because it is a chapter about the background of the methodology that I discuss; it comes before the more contemporary discussions of the practice and theory of visual ethnography. However, books are not necessarily to be read directly from start to finish, and it will depend on the reader to decide whether to read this chapter first or later. For the reader who takes it as a first chapter, it will offer a historical and disciplinary narrative of how the visual ethnography approach discussed in later chapters came about. In it I tell the stories of the different disciplines through which visual ethnography practices and principles emerged, and the debates that have been had within them since the 1990s. We still find some of the traces of these debates and arguments in contemporary texts on visual methods, and Chapter 1 will help readers to recognise them.

Chapter 2 outlines an approach, situating visual images and technologies in relation to a reflexive ethnography that focuses on subjectivity, creativity and self-consciousness and considering how visual images and technologies are interwoven with both the cultures that ethnographers study and the academic cultures they work in. In Chapter 3 this discussion is followed by a focus on the more practical aspects of preparing for visual fieldwork including project design and ethical considerations.

The following two chapters begin the second part of the book by examining visual ethnography methodology and methods through a focus on the different visual and digital technologies that have conventionally been used in its practice. In Chapter 4, I focus on uses of photography in ethnographic research practice. Building on its roots in visual sociology and anthropology I show how it may be engaged across a range of fields and in different ways. In Chapter 5, I discuss how video might be used in visual ethnography research. Here, departing from the focus on ethnographic film, which has dominated the practice and literature of visual anthropology, I consider the different ways in which video might become part of the ways we know in ethnographic contexts. Chapter 6 follows from these two chapters to focus on the organisation and interpretation of visual materials in the ethnographic process.

In the final part of the book I turn to the use of digital and visual images in the dissemination and sharing of our work as ethnographers, and explore how this might form part of both more conventional and futures-focused practice. While Chapter 7 focuses on the integration of visual ethnography in academic scholarship, Chapter 8 explores how it is blended with documentary practice to engage audiences through still and moving images, and Chapter 9 considers visual ethnography as an interventional practice.

PART 1 INTERDISCIPLINARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

Part 1 of this book grounds visual ethnography in the historical, disciplinary, theoretical, practical and ethical context of research. It introduces readers to the interdisciplinary worlds and principles, and academic and interventional modes, of visual ethnography. It accounts for the uncertain nature of ethnography, which alerts us to expect the unexpected, including new visual ethnographic innovations and interdisciplinary encounters. For this we need to be well prepared in the theoretical and practical possibilities of visual and digital research methods, and reflexive in their implementation. Chapter 1 introduces and maps out the historical and interdisciplinary context of visual ethnography. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the practice of visual ethnography. Chapter 3 outlines the practical and ethical issues through which visual ethnography methodology is articulated.

1 INTERDISCIPLINARY VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Contemporary challenges require interdisciplinary collaborations, they call on us to both reflect on what we can achieve through our single discipline perspectives and how we might appreciate and work with the expertise of others. Visual ethnography theory and practice has always been interdisciplinary and is ideally suited to this context. It is at the forefront of new drives towards digital, futures, and interventional research in social science and humanities disciplines. What can a new interdisciplinary visual ethnography achieve? How does it help us to shape better futures?

Over the last two decades since the publication of the first edition of this book I have discussed *Doing Visual Ethnography* with many people from across the world. I have learnt much from these dialogues and have also developed my approach to visual ethnography through hands-on research collaborations with colleagues from diverse fields. One of the most interesting and exciting outcomes has been to take me far beyond my first disciplines – I originally trained as a social and visual anthropologist and had a position in sociology within the social sciences for over a decade. Since then I have had appointments in faculties of design, media and communication and information technology. Working closely with scholars and researchers from other disciplines and giving lectures, seminars and workshops in departments and research groups beyond anthropology, and outside academia, has offered me opportunities to learn about the priorities and needs of these related fields and to understand how visual ethnography can contribute to their practices, scholarship and engagement. This has included directly collaborating with scholars and researchers in, for instance, design, architecture, engineering, the construction industry, the automotive industry, urban planning, media studies, education studies and the arts. It has led me to dialogues with scholars in fields including geography, health studies, sports studies, ethnology, tourism studies, organisation studies, pedagogy and art therapy. Moreover I am always left with the feeling that there are more collaborative possibilities to develop. In this chapter I map out the key influences and developments in the disciplinary pasts and possibilities of visual ethnography, trace how its theoretical and practical trajectories have shifted and changed across and within disciplines, and show how disciplinary influences and interdisciplinary theoretical 'turns' and debates have shaped this trajectory. This demonstrates the interdisciplinary situatedness of visual ethnography practice as well as offering points of connection for researchers who feel they belong to a discipline or field of study but are open to others, and seek to learn and innovate in their own practice. Many connections remain to be fostered, and this book follows the same approach that characterises my methodological writing. It entails an invitation to make new connections and relationships, rather than simply setting out to define those that are already there.

Figure 1.1 Visual ethnography in encounters with health and arts practice. © Christina Lammer 2012, used with permission.

Christina Lammer develops visual ethnography methods alongside and in relation to her work with surgeons, artists, documentary filmmakers and photographers. Her website shows how she combines these different perspectives and media in her research and arts practice. In one exercise during her 'Features' project Lammer used her own face and a very traditional medium – photo-booth photography – to explore patient experiences.

In a blog post of the 10 January 2012, Christina Lammer wrote a short text and included some images that she took of herself in a photo cabin at the Westbahnhof (train station) in Vienna. The photographs with her text below are a selection from twenty-one self-portraits in which Lammer followed a series of facial exercises, designed for patients to do after surgery. Here we can see how using photography can enable us as researchers to develop and communicate about empathetic understandings of what we imagine other people's experiences to be. As Christina Lammer explains:

human expressiveness is not limited to a smiling or angry face. The whole body is included in how a person expresses him- or herself. Making faces is very much like dancing. However, we

automatically read in the faces of other people. Feelings are shared. A smile can be contagious …
I am working together with facially paralyzed persons who are treated in plastic and reconstructive surgery. After surgery the patients need to do exercises in front of a mirror on a daily basis. They get a list with schematic drawings of a human face and explanations of particular movements they shall do every day.
More details on the 'Features' project at: www.corporealities.org/features-2010-2014/

Figure 1.2 Visual ethnography in encounters with construction industry and safety research. © Dylan Tutt, used with permission.
This photograph was taken by Dylan Tutt, as part of an interdisciplinary project about worker safety and health in the construction industry. Our ethnographic research was developed in collaboration with our colleagues who had expertise in safety and in organisation studies, as well as the industry itself. Using photography enabled us to 'see' things that would otherwise have been invisible, as the participant guided Dylan's photographing.

DISCIPLINARY CONCERNS AND VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY RESEARCH

Ethnography is not an academic discipline but a methodology, and is rarely the sole means or end goal of a research project; particular disciplinary uses of ethnography situate it differently within their processes of research and representation and might combine it with textual, historical, narrative, statistical or a whole range of other research practices that intertwine and overlap or link conceptually as the research proceeds. Within this, visual ethnography is an approach to research that might be combined with other research methods, or with other visual methods, about which there is a growing interdisciplinary literature (e.g. van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2000; Pole 2004; Pink 2012a; Gómez Cruz, Pink and Sumartojo 2017; Pauwels and Mannay 2019).

Visual ethnography is interdisciplinary in two ways: it is used across disciplines and practiced in ways influenced by the theoretical tenets of those fields; and is informed by disciplines that analyse visual images, audiovisual media, mobile technologies and digital media and communications and other emerging visual technologies. Visual ethnographers have a dual task of understanding the visual technologies, practices and images that participate in other people's worlds, while casting a reflexive focus on their own visual practices, images and ways of knowing. This involves applying a theoretical approach that is coherent across the ways we understand research practice, and the findings of our research, but which might vary according to the discipline of the researcher.

To develop the understandings of visual ethnography practice I apply in my own work I draw on a range of fields, including: visual anthropology, media anthropology, digital anthropology, futures anthropology, design anthropology, visual sociology, media studies, visual and visual culture studies, science and technology studies and human geography. In the remainder of this chapter, I bring these fields together to outline the interdisciplinary foundations of visual ethnography, while arguing that its contemporary practice needs to go further: by generating a future-oriented approach to ethnographic practice, and the reflexive, ethical and interventional responsibilities this brings; and accounting theoretically and practically for our digital and emerging intelligent technological environments.

VISUAL AND MEDIA ANTHROPOLOGY

Historically, ethnographic uses of the visual in anthropological research were a debated area. From the 1960s to the early 1980s debates focused on whether visual images and recordings could usefully support the observational project of social science (e.g. Hockings 1975, 1995; Collier and Collier 1986; Rollwagen 1988). During this period some social scientists claimed that as a data collection method visual recording was too subjective, unrepresentative and unsystematic. Ethnographers like Margaret Mead, John Collier Jnr. and Howard Becker set out to prove otherwise in their theoretical arguments and practical applications of photography and film. Visual ethnographers were forced to confront the accusation that their visual images lacked objectivity and scientific rigour. Mead's response was that cameras left to film continuously without human intervention produced 'objective materials' (Mead 1995 [1975]: 9–10). Others, suggesting that the specificity of the photographed moment rendered it scientifically invalid (see, for example, Collier 1995 [1975]: 247), endeavoured to compensate for this. For instance, Becker advocated a systematic approach to photography as the social scientists' key to success (Becker 1986: 245–50), in an echo of Collier, who warned that '[t]he photographic record can remain wholly impressionistic UNLESS it undergoes disciplined computing' (1995 [1975]: 248). Thus some disputed the validity of the visual on the grounds of its subjectivity, bias and specificity. Others responded that, under the right controls, the visual could contribute as an objective recording method.

One of the most influential publications of this era was Collier's (1967) *Visual Anthropology: Photography as Research Method* (revised with Malcolm Collier and reprinted in 1986), a comprehensive textbook on the use of photography and video in ethnographic research and representation. Collier and Collier advocated a systematic method of observation whereby the researcher is supported by visual technology, where the research plan was key to the ethnographer's project of recording an appropriate version of the reality he or she could observe, and ethnography was an observation of reality, as opposed to the constructedness of the narrative-based communication 'stories' of scripted films (Collier and Collier 1986: 162). However, alongside their approach, also in 1986, in the now landmark collection, *Writing Culture*, James Clifford made the rather different suggestion that in fact ethnographies themselves are constructed narratives: in a word, 'fictions'. Clifford used the term 'fiction', not to claim that ethnographies are 'opposed to the truth' or are 'false', but to emphasise how ethnographies cannot reveal or report on complete or whole accounts of reality; that they only ever tell part of the story (1986: 6). For Clifford, not only was ethnography a constructed version of truth, but 'Ethnographic truths are … inherently *partial* – committed and incomplete' (1986: 7, original italics). The selectivity, predetermined categories and precautions that Collier and Collier assumed would prevent ethnography from being a 'fiction' rather than a realist observation were in fact the very cornerstones upon which Clifford's ethnographic 'fictions' were constructed. Their work was inconsistent with the 'postmodern turn' in ethnography, and while they made a key contribution to the development of visual ethnography methods that endure today, their work supported the agenda of a scientific realist anthropology which was surpassed by theoretical shifts during the 1980s and 1990s.

Indeed Clifford's ideas helped to create a favourable environment for visual ethnography. The emphasis on specificity and experience, and recognition of the similarities between the constructedness and 'fiction' (in Clifford's sense of the term) of film and written text, created a context where ethnographic film became a more acceptable form of ethnographic representation (Ruby 1982: 130; Henley 1998: 51) and the reflexive ethnographic film style of David and Judith MacDougall and their contemporaries (Loizos 1993) was particularly coherent with the postmodern turn. In the 1990s a new literature emerged around the historical debates and developments concerning the relationship between photography, film and the observational approaches in anthropology sociology (e.g. Edwards 1992; Loizos 1993; Banks and Morphy 1997; Henley 1998). Rather than attempting to fit visual anthropology into a scientific paradigm, whereby visual research methods could support and enhance an objective anthropology, David MacDougall proposed looking 'at the principles that emerge when fieldworkers actually try to rethink anthropology through use of a visual medium' (1997: 192). This implied a radical transformation of anthropology that would 'involve putting in temporary suspension anthropology's dominant orientation as a discipline of words and rethinking certain categories of anthropological knowledge in the light of understandings that may be accessible only by non-verbal means', and 'a shift from word-and-sentence-based anthropological thought to image-and-sequence-based anthropological thought' (1997: 292). MacDougall advocated that since '[v]isual anthropology can never be either a copy of written anthropology or a substitute for it … [f]or that very reason it must develop alternative objectives and methodologies that will benefit anthropology as a whole' (1997: 292–3). By the middle of the first decade of the 2000s literatures were emerging on visual anthropology practices (Banks 2001; El Guindi 2004; Pink, Kürti and Afonso 2004) and on the relationship between visual anthropological and arts practice (da Silva and Pink 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2004; Schneider and Wright 2005). The representational practices of visual anthropologists had taken new directions as further critiques of ethnographic documentary filmmaking (e.g. Ruby 2000; Chalfen and Rich 2007) inspired new ethnographic documentary video practice (e.g. MacDougall 2005), anthropological hypermedia (e.g. Kirkpatrick 2003), art and drawing (Ramos 2004), and applied visual anthropology (Pink 2007a). The challenge for visual anthropology in the twentieth century was no longer to be accepted by the mainstream, but how to connect with and contribute to mainstream anthropological debates (Pink 2006: 3), develop a sensory focus and engage with new Web 1.0 and DVD hypermedia technologies. The short rise of DVD hypermedia publications is a good example of an emergent media form that appeared to offer exciting new possibilities but was quickly surpassed,

as a Web 2.0 context made online visual publications increasingly viable, while predictions for the qualities and possibilities of Web 3.0 lay in waiting. In 2009, Nancy Baym and Annette Markham highlighted how 'The Internet changes the way we understand and conduct qualitative inquiry' (2009: viii), and this is equally the point for how we do visual ethnography. Yet, for visual ethnographers, these changes did not entail absolute departures, and involved, as Elisenda Ardèvol put it, 'reformulating the dimensions of visual research and expanding fieldwork from face-to-face encounters to virtual social contexts' (Ardèvol 2012: 86). Indeed, as Veronica Barassi and Emiliano Treré wisely demonstrated, these web forms were defined by the ways that practitioners engage with them as much as by their technological possibilities (Barassi and Treré 2012: 1283).

As subsequent years revealed, there has been a fast-changing context, characterised by a new focus on platform studies, social media, big data and algorithmic cultures, to mention just a few. As researchers doing visual ethnography with the internet and digital and emerging technologies, we need to draw on contemporary theory developed in cognate disciplines including media studies and science and technology studies to inform our understandings of the contexts of our research, and to acknowledge that this will continue to change in the following years. Recent works in digital anthropology (Miller and Horst 2012; Geismar and Knox forthcoming), digital ethnography (Pink, Horst, Postill, Hjorth, Lewis and Tacchi 2016), digital materialities (Pink, Ardèvol and Lanzeni 2016b), technoanthropology (Bruun and Wahlberg forthcoming) and design anthropology of emerging technologies (Pink et al. 2020) provide a starting point from within anthropology. Additionally analyses of platforms, such as YouTube (Burgess and Green 2018) provide background for an ethnographic focus on everyday experience in contemporary visual cultures. In the final section of this chapter I discuss this emerging technological context from an interdisciplinary perspective.

However, it is not only the technological environment of visual anthropology that has shifted. During the second decade of the twenty-first century visual anthropologists began to interrogate their theory and practice anew (see Banks and Ruby 2011). Cristina Grasseni's work on skilled visions draws on the work of the anthropologist Tim Ingold to interrogate vision as 'situated practice' (see Grasseni 2011: 21–32) arguing that we should 'consider our visual inscriptions as *artifacts* and that we assess the way in which they contribute to structuring a material, cognitive and social environment for situated action' (2011: 42–3), implying that visual ethnographers might likewise consider their own disciplinary and scholarly visions through this lens. An impulse towards a more engaged, applied anthropology and a more participatory and interventional and public anthropology also signified shifts in visual anthropology practice across public, NGO and industry sectors (Pink 2007a, 2011b). More recently this can be conceptualised as a 'digital visual stakeholder ethnography' (Pink, Postill, Leder Mackley and Astari 2017) to reflect on how projects can emerge at the intersection of different stakeholder interests.

In the third decade of the twenty-first century visual anthropology is emerging in renewed form. Visual anthropologists and anthropological filmmakers alike are asking new questions about the subject matter and meaning of their work. At the core of this is a turn towards futures anthropology (Salazar, Pink, Irving and Sjoberg 2017; Waltorp 2020), which surpasses the past-oriented focus of much existing visual anthropology, connecting with design and other creative practice disciplines to take new steps in visual anthropological interdisciplinarity.

VISUAL SOCIOLOGY: CHANGING APPROACHES TO IMAGES AND SOCIETY

Historically, visual sociologists (e.g. Wagner 1979) have been most associated with the development of ethnographic photography, initially within the realist paradigm (Harper 1998a: 27). In the 1990s concepts of 'validity', sampling and triangulation were stressed in sociological ethnography texts (e.g. Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 227–32; Walsh 1998: 231) and often visual sociologists attempted to incorporate these conditions into their use of visual images, making their visual ethnographic 'data' succumb to the agenda of a scientific and experimental sociology (e.g. Grady 1996; Prosser 1996; Prosser and Schwartz 1998). However, others responded to feminist and postmodern critiques to develop interdisciplinary approaches to the sociology of visual culture (e.g. Crawshaw and Urry 1997) and the implications of photography for sociological understandings of the individual and self-identity (Lury 1998), and Douglas Harper emphasised the collaborative approach developed in the 'new ethnography' and a postmodern approach to documentary photography that 'begins with the idea that the meaning of the photograph is constructed by the maker and the viewer, both of whom carry their social positions and interests to the photographic act' (1998a: 34–5, 1998b: 140). A key critic of traditional approaches to the visual in sociology was Elizabeth Chaplin who engaged post-feminist and post-positivist agendas to advocate a collaborative approach which explored the potential of the visual as sociological knowledge and critical text (1994: 16), thus going further than most visual sociologists by engaging with the visual not simply as a mode of recording data or illustrating text, but as a medium through which new knowledge and critiques may be created. In the early twenty-first century, other sociologists developed participatory visual approaches further, placing collaboration between researcher and participants at the centre. For example, linking sociological theory with performance art, Maggie O'Neill suggested that 'by representing ethnographic data … in artistic form we can access a richer understanding of the complexities of lived experience which can throw light on broader social structures and processes' (2002: 70). Such developments, and the work of Caroline Knowles and Paul Sweetman (2004) and Susan Halford and Caroline Knowles (2005), signified new territory for visual sociology through methodological

innovation. Since then further innovative works of sociologists have included: Dawn Lyon (2013), who has collaborated with a photographer to research and represent a refurbishment project; Christina Lammer (2012), who draws together sociology with other disciplines in visual and research practice; and Maggie O'Neill's collaborations in the participatory arts (2012). The focus on the sensory and public dimensions of sociology represented in the work of Lammer and O'Neill is also reflected in the sociologist Phillip Vannini's interest in public ethnography through photography and documentary filmmaking (Vannini 2019).

Others have refocused visual sociology by exploring questions relating to the image in a digital context. Francesco Lapenta reframed the ways that we understand photography in the context of digital cartography (Lapenta 2011), subsequently offering new ways of conceptualising how visual ethnography might be undertaken (Lapenta 2012), and Douglas Harper (2016) has noted the growing impact of the digital on the subdiscipline. Further development in the technological environment in which sociology is practiced has led to a growing literature on digital sociology (e.g. Orton-Johnson and Prior 2013; Lupton 2014; Daniels and Gregory 2016; Marres 2017; Selwyn 2018), which has examined the consequences of such shifts for the discipline more widely. Of particular interest here are the works of Deborah Lupton (2014) and Noortje Marres (2017) because their reconceptualisations of sociology through the digital enable us to consider the implications of a revised sociology, which attends to and indeed is transformed by the digital, for sociological renderings of visual ethnography practice. I examine this further later in this chapter.

GEOGRAPHY: A 'VISUAL' DISCIPLINE

There is a strong argument for understanding geography as a 'visual discipline' (e.g. Rose 2003; Garrett 2011) and a growing use of visual ethnography methods. Visualisation, Gillian Rose shows, is important to how geography might be thought of as a visual discipline (she mentions 'maps, videos, sketches, photographs, slides, diagrams, graphs'), but she notes that more important are 'the ways in which particular visualities structure certain kinds of geographical knowledges' along with the power relations of these (2003: 213). By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, according to Bradley Garrett, photography had fared rather better as a method in geography, including the use of some methods associated with visual ethnography (Garrett 2011: 522). Garrett argued that 'video is a useful geographic research tool because it captures movement; video tracks the multisensual fluidity and rhythms of everyday life' (2011: 522). Other uses of video in ethnography by geographers attend to movement and the senses, for instance the work of Justin Spinney who used video to research cycling in the city (e.g. Spinney 2009), and Garrett has more recently explored new drone technologies as a mode of visual recording in research (Garrett and McCosker 2017).

The theoretical interests of human geography relating to questions of place and space and movement, as well as non-representational theory, offer ethnographers useful frameworks for understanding the contingencies and temporalities and power configurations of the everyday contexts in which we research (see Pink 2015a). Doreen Massey's critical stance on the idea of the map as a 'technology of power' and the idea that maps can 'give the impression that space is a surface' (2005: 107) helps us to understand the ambiguous and contingent power relations of digital mapping. The platforms, software and corporations with which digital maps are implicated imply one form of power, while their potential for participatory ventures (and research) makes them a potential tool for resistance or self-definition (Farman 2010; Lapenta 2011). Given that digital maps shape a part of the way that many visual ethnographers and research participants experience and navigate everyday environments – through our laptops, smartphones and other technologies – these existing critical perspectives on mapping assist our understandings of the digital materiality of maps. The new turn to 'digital geographies' (Ash, Kitchin and Leszczynski 2018) also provides context for understanding contemporary digital visualities. These moves combined with non-representational (e.g. Thrift 2008) or more-than-representational (e.g. Lorimer 2005) theory in geography offers us ways to engage with the visual, and with images themselves, beyond representation to focus on the tacit, sensory, habitual and sometimes seemingly mundane elements of everyday life. They give an emphasis on flow and movement and invite us to explore unspoken and ongoing activity in the world as it is performed and experienced.

Therefore, along with a growing commitment to the interrogation of the visual (Rose 2016), geography offers convincing theoretical propositions concerning how we might comprehend the visual and digital and power relations they are embedded in, as well as more practical examples of uses of visual ethnography methods.

VISUAL CULTURE STUDIES: A CRITICAL DEPARTURE

Earlier cultural studies approaches to photography and video developed established ways of studying visual representation and visual cultures. For example, Stuart Hall's influential text *Representations* considered issues related to the negotiation of visual meanings, emphasising the contested nature of meaning and 'the practices of representation' (1997: 9–10), in tune with a wider cultural studies emphasis on interpreting images and objects and the social and cultural conditions of their production (e.g. Cooke and Wollen 1995; Jenks 1995; Evans and Hall 1999). Martin Lister and Liz Wells formulated 'visual cultural studies' which, mirroring the eclecticism of its parent discipline, focused on analysis of 'the cycle of production, circulation and consumption of the image

through which meanings accumulate, slip and shift' (2000: 90) and analysed photographs as part of social processes (2000: 64), which offered a useful framework to bring together with earlier renditions of visual ethnography. Recent work on digital photography advances this, acknowledging how everyday visual cultures and the practices associated with them are shifting with the widespread photographic documentation and representation of everyday life through smartphone photography, uploading to social media platforms and the rise of the 'selfie' (Pargana Mota 2016: 35). The visual culture studies scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff suggests that 'Today there is a new world view being produced by people making, watching and circulating images in quantities and ways that could never have been anticipated in 1990' (Mirzoeff 2016: 11). There is therefore a new digital visual culture studies that connects with contemporary visual ethnography practice.

Visual culture scholars have also connected the study of the visual and sensory: W. J. T. Mitchell suggested that visual culture 'entails a meditation on blindness, the invisible, the unseen, the unseeable, and the overlooked; also on deafness and the visible language of gesture; it also compels attention to the tactile, the auditory, the haptic, and the phenomenon of synaesthesia' (Mitchell 2002: 90); and Elizabeth Edwards and Kaushik Bhaumik saw 'vision and sight as something sensorially integrated, embodied and experienced' (2009: 3). However, the anthropolgist Tim Ingold has critiqued visual culture approaches for treating 'seeing' as having 'nothing to do with observation, with looking around in the environment or watching what is going on. Nor does it have anything to do with the experience of illumination that makes these activities possible. It rather has to do, narrowly and exclusively, with the perusal of images' (Ingold 2011: 316). While the senses have become part of the agenda of visual culture studies, for Ingold, 'they have simply added worlds of sounds, of feelings and of smells'. He criticises that this led to the study of 'scapes' of every possible kind. Instead Ingold argued that in reality, of course, the environment that people inhabit is not sliced up along the lines of the sensory pathways by which they access it. 'It is the *same* world, whatever paths they take' (Ingold 2011: 316). The work of the art historian Barbara Maria Stafford sought to resolve these issues by exploring the relationship between art and the neurosciences. Stafford's work went far beyond the task of rethinking the concept of visual culture; her proposal is that 'the neurosciences, cognitive science, and the new philosophy of mind need to come together with the variegated historical, humanistic, or cultural-based studies of images' (2006: 207). In particular, Stafford's departure from 'linguistic models of representation' to what she calls 'visual models of presentation' suggests that rather than being representations that 'hang around in our heads', instead we 'reperform' and 'reinvent' visual compositions when we see them, so that 'when you open your eyes and actively interrogate the visual scene, what you see is that aspect, or the physical fragments, of the environment that you perform' (Stafford 2006: 215).

If, as visual ethnographers we are to attend to the place of media and representations in the worlds we work in, then we need to attend to the theoretical shifts and turns. Ingold's and Stafford's redefinitions of visual culture, together with non-representational theory, refocus our inquiry to ask about the roles images and representations play in people's lives. This is the approach of visual ethnography, focusing on how people experience, learn and know with the visual, rather than on collecting visual content or data. These phenomenologically inspired understandings of the image offer visual ethnographers fruitful ways of understanding how images participate in our everyday lives, beyond being representational devices. For example, adapting Ingold's (2013) concept of the wayfarer, who weaves their way through the world, I have discussed the idea of the 'digital wayfarer' through the example of how people create and share camera-phone images while in movement (Pink and Hjorth 2014). The notion of the digital wayfarer suggests how digital technologies, images and image making participate in a world where online and offline are entangled, as part of the digital materiality (Pink, Ardèvol and Lanzeni 2016a) that characterises contemporary environments. Alongside the concept of digital materiality, which defines the processes and things that constitute the environments in which we live, that of the digital wayfarer enables us to consider how images are in and part of such a world which is at once digital and material, and that we move through as we go about our everyday activities. It also acknowledges how images and technologies are emplaced (Pink 2015a) and that, like people and practices (Van House 2016), are in movement and form part of everyday life as people engage in social media and other digital practices.

The visual cultures of our everyday lives are moreover changing as new digital and emerging technologies increasingly become part of our worlds, going beyond watching and uploading YouTube videos and the sharing of photographs through social media platforms. They now incorporate a range of other modes of visualisation including the visualisation of personal data, and apps that create and modify images in many ways, some of which become surrounded by questions of ethics and other controversy.

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND DIGITAL AND EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES

Above I have outlined how visual ethnography has been developed in and is inflected by different single and interdisciplinary fields. The discussions I have noted are recent, but they are not and will never be complete or concluded. This is a fast-moving field, which cannot be captured or held still, but it is nevertheless important to reflect on its implications for visual ethnography. There is indeed a sense that we are currently at a turning point, often referred to as a fourth industrial revolution, described on the World Economic Forum website as 'characterized by a range of new technologies that are fusing the physical, digital and biological worlds, impacting

all disciplines, economies and industries, and even challenging ideas about what it means to be human' (www.weforum.org/about/the-fourth-industrial-revolution-by-klaus-schwab). If we take this as our context for the discussion of visual ethnography as it moves into the future beyond this book, then we should account for how the technological possibilities signified by new modes of automation and connectedness and the merging of things and processes of different kinds will create new subject matter, new image making and sharing technologies and new ways of connecting with and engaging with others as both academic and public and applied ethnographers.

Daniel Miller and Heather Horst's (2012) and Haidy Geismar and Hannah Knox's (2020) respective editions of the *Digital Anthropology* volume have established a digital subdiscipline in anthropology with a material culture studies focus. This is built on through a design anthropology of emerging technologies (Pink et al. 2020) and a digital futures anthropology (Pink, forthcoming b) which involves seeking to understand how new automated and intelligent technologies are designed, how their futures are imagined and how initial human experiences of new technologies and simulated possible future technologies can be understood. It seeks to challenge narratives of technology design and impact as represented in industry, government and media, to argue for an approach that understands why people need technology and what they will do with it, rather than assuming that technologies will have impact on society and bring about change. Thus, anthropology of emerging technologies is critical of the statements about the 'impact' of the fourth industrial revolution made on the World Economic Forum website quoted above. While the description of the context is relevant and helps to frame our understanding of what is happening, there is a ring of technological determinism to such statements that predict that new technologies will have a profound impact on and change our worlds and our fundamental states of being. Aligned with the future anthropologies approach noted above, therefore, anthropology of emerging technologies instead takes a non-predictive approach to technology futures and asks how technologies will become part of human lives as they are lived out in our future shared environments with other things and species. These new approaches not only apply to the question of our technological futures (even if technology is inevitably involved), but also to the question of how visual ethnography should evolve, for instance through 'Digital–visual–sensory-design anthropology' (Pink 2014). These new approaches to anthropology also bring with them an emphasis on the need for anthropologists to engage with movements towards responsible and ethical futures, applied and public research agendas, and to seek to be involved in interventions. This also brings with it new ethical questions to visual ethnographies.

The ethnographic focus of an anthropology of emerging technologies will be diverse and uncertain, in that by nature emerging technologies are continually developing, however, examples include investigating future home automation technologies, self-driving or autonomous driving vehicles, new drone technologies, medical technologies and more. Such technologies equipped with sensors and cameras might have their own capacities to visualise and produce images as part of ethnographic research projects, while also being the subjects of futuristic and other visualisations. That is, they are already implicated in our visual cultures, and as they become increasingly ubiquitous are likely to become interwoven in the visuality of everyday life, and as such part of the subject matter of visual ethnographic studies, and even as possible machine assistants in future visual ethnographic research. Simultaneously digital photography and video, as made possible in new visual technologies, will continue to be part of visual ethnographic studies of and with people and lives in which emerging technologies participate. As the examples discussed in this book reveal, the use of photographic and video ethnographies of movement, homes or workplaces, which has been characteristic of my own and others' practice in visual ethnography, is equally being practiced in the context of investigations about emerging technologies. The visual ethnographers of the present and future need to be equipped with an understanding of this new technological context and the skills to bring about the possibilities for visual approaches to research and intervention in such environments. This creates an exciting new and emerging context for visual ethnography as methodological exploration and invites new modes of interdisciplinary collaboration.

In digital sociology overlapping narratives have been advanced, and of particular interest is the work of Deborah Lupton (2014) and Noortje Marres (2017). Lupton's work in digital sociology draws our attention to the ways that digital technologies and data have become part of our personal lives. One example of this is through her body of research into self-tracking technologies, which are now part of our everyday visual cultures and modes of knowing. However, Lupton reminds us that it is not only the people whom we study whose lives are shifting, but also as academics we have become digitised and quantified. This, as she discusses, has implications both for how sociology is practiced and for how we are measured in academia. As such, the new technological context frames the worlds we research and work in – in many ways. For example when our faces can be recognised by our personal devices and by face recognition technologies at airports, the visuality of our lives exceeds that which we experienced when I wrote the first edition of this book. Considerations of how we understand the visual in our lives should contribute to how we are reflexive about our practice as visual ethnographers. Indeed, as we enter a new technological context, visual ethnographic practice and its practitioners are tracked and traced and monitored in a number of ways, and we should be reflexive about the consequences of this for research.

Digital sociology also shares a critical stance with the anthropology of emerging technologies. Noortje Marres (2017) critiques technologically deterministic ideas surrounding how new computational technologies might monitor, analyse and inform our lives, for their lack of attention to the complexity of the relationships that technology has in our lives. She suggests that dominant assumptions about how the digital could actually provide solutions to social problems are unfounded. Instead she proposes that digital technologies could create beneficial

interventions but that the focus needs to be on their interactivity in social worlds. The important addition for the discussion here is the bringing of social life into this interactive context, and asking how therefore we might understand social life and its participation in the ways that we create interventions involving digital and emerging technologies. This question is also at the core of the work of the anthropology of emerging technologies, and forms a fundamental theme in this fourth edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography*, in that it has now become fundamentally important for us to account for the societal narratives and discourses that ethnographic approaches to understanding the world can complicate.

Human geographers, similarly to anthropologists and sociologists, have problematised the narratives of technological determinism associated with dominant views concerning the impact of digital and emerging technologies on society, and called for wider investigations of the configurations of things and processes in which they become implicated (e.g. Ash 2017). The question of how to go about accounting for the digital has been confronted, in anthropology and sociology, through a focus on digital anthropology and digital sociology, indicating subdisciplinary agendas. In contrast, in human geography the emphasis has been on the notion of 'digital geographies' (Ash, Kitchin and Leszczynski 2018), thus pluralising the concept rather than forming a subdiscipline. The intent being for geographers to consider how the digital impacts across already existing subdisciplines, and thus we can imagine applying this principle to visual geography, and the modes of ethnography that its practitioners have developed, both as they focus on visual cultures and on the use of visual technologies and media in research.

Across these disciplines, and where they also cross over into media and communication studies, there is a common urge to resist technologically deterministic narratives about how digital and emerging technologies are impacting on and can intervene in our worlds. These arguments are fundamental to how we develop visual ethnography as a practice of research and intervention in the coming years. New narratives about technological change are complicated by visual ethnography practice because it brings to the surface the detail and complexity of everyday life as lived, and as it can be imagined in our futures. While I do not advocate that all visual ethnographic research should necessarily have a technological focus, it seems essential that we account for how visual ethnography is increasingly a digital practice and how most projects need to account for the new, emerging and varied digital visualities of other people's lives.

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

The moves towards phenomenological, sensory and non-representational approaches and a new appreciation of the digital and emerging technological dimensions of the worlds we inhabit offer an inspiring theoretical climate for the practice of visual ethnography. These theoretical and technological turns have shifted the ways of being, knowing and learning that characterise how we do visual ethnography as we enter the third decade of the twenty-first century. A focus on sensory experience is influential across disciplines. In a context where across the ethnographic disciplines the use of visual images and digital and emerging technologies in research and representation is becoming more frequently written about and more rigorously theorised, visual ethnography has moved far from its origins in the late twentieth century. It no longer needs to be supported by arguments that counter the twentieth century objections that they might be too subjective, and instead needs to be advanced further in a context where we are aware that we are surrounded by complex modes of representation. Here, questions of truth and objectivity have been superseded by the acknowledgement that images are made under all kinds of circumstances, where we have learned to understand the visual as experienced, constructed and constituted in a variety of ways.

If we are entering a new fourth industrial revolution, with new modes of ADM and AI, both the technological possibilities and subject matter for visual ethnography will shift. For the moment visual ethnography is practiced in a world where cameras, image making apps and images are an increasingly constant presence, through smartphones and other computing technologies, and are ubiquitous in public space. Emerging image making technologies, including data visualisation apps, or technologies with cameras, such as drones, offer new modes of investigating, and these will be explored as relevant in the following chapters. Attention to the digital and technological contexts where we now do visual ethnography is creating not only new possibilities in terms of the methods we can use, but also in relation to how we can understand the visual and vision theoretically. Moreover, the 'futures anthropology' movement is also impacting on visual ethnography practice, and the possibilities this opens up are discussed throughout the following chapters. Finally, the urge towards public and applied scholarship in the visual ethnographic disciplines is an important and necessary move.

Further reading

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2 SEEING, KNOWING AND SHARING

Theory is continually evolving and being debated and revised. Visual ethnography approaches and methods need to be developed in dialogue with theory. New perspectives on how to understand the world, life itself, our relationships with technologies and the visual enable visual ethnography to remain a dynamic and relevant field of practice. How can our reflexive engagements at the intersection between visual ethnography theory and practice enable us to create new and significant ways of knowing and intervening for better futures?

Visual images, practices and ways of knowing the past, and the present that immediately slips over into the past, figure increasingly in the critical, scholarly and practical work of researchers. This applies to work in the social sciences and humanities, and in their cognate and interdisciplinary fields of scholarship and research. As our focus increasingly turns towards researching futures ethnographically, visual methods and media are being engaged in new ways within speculative and future-focused research techniques. Visualisation is also important in disciplines including computer science, medicine, design and engineering, and visual ethnographic image making can involve collaboration, comparison and contestation in such areas. This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological framings that support visual ethnography practice and that situate the visual and visual practices in relation to sensory, technological, digital and material dimensions of the past, present and possible environments in which they might play out.

SITUATING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Visual ethnography is a dynamic, reflexive and situated field of practice, which involves researchers engaging with visual and digital methods and media in seeking to collaboratively create and share new ways of knowing and knowledge relating to specific research questions and agendas. It departs from traditional versions of ethnographic practice, such as those that treat ethnography as a data collection method, as necessarily a long-term fieldwork method, or as a covert or observational exercise, as well as those that see the ethnographer as a lone researcher. The anthropologist Tim Ingold has suggested that ethnography's objective 'is to describe the lives of people other than ourselves, with an accuracy and sensitivity honed by detailed observation and prolonged first-hand experience' (Ingold 2008b: 69), and suggests that an anthropological approach to this is 'an inquisitive mode of inhabiting the world, of being *with*' (Ingold 2008b: 88). Defining visual ethnography in this way, as a collaborative and reflexive exercise, takes on this anthropological disciplinary perspective, yet simultaneously connects with the participatory and collaborative trends in other disciplines and interdisciplinary fields. In practice, ethnography is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles, including particular theories of knowledge. Contemporary visual ethnography, through its engagement with digital and emerging technologies and media, offers more than just a set of fixed theories and methods to be employed. Rather it is itself a process of continuous innovation.

A fundamental assumption of visual ethnography as I define it is that it is concerned with the production of knowledge and ways of knowing rather than with the collection of data. I understand ethnography as a process of creating and sharing knowledge or ways of knowing that are based on ethnographers' own experiences and the ways these intersect with the persons, places and things encountered during that process. Visual ethnography, as I advance it, does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, the embodied, sensory and affective experiences, and the negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced. This may entail reflexive, collaborative or participatory methods. It may involve participants in a variety of ways at different points of the research and representational stages of the project. It should account not only for the observable, recordable realities that may be translated into written notes and texts, but also for objects, visual images, the immaterial, the invisible and the sensory nature of human experience and knowledge. It should engage with issues of representation that question the right of the researcher to represent other people, seek ethical ways for us to do this, recognise the impossibility of 'knowing other minds' (Fernandez 1995: 25) and acknowledge that the sense we make of research participants' words and actions is 'an expression of our own consciousness' (Cohen and Rapport 1995: 12). Additionally a renewed visual ethnography disrupts the assumption that ethnography is the activity of the lone researcher, leaning instead towards considering team ethnography, and emphasises its role in not only describing the present but in advancing experimental, interventional and futures research agendas.

There is no simple definition of what makes an activity, image, text, idea, or piece of knowledge ethnographic. No single action, experience, artefact or representation is essentially, in itself, ethnographic, but instead these will be defined as such through interpretation and context. Anthropologists have long since noted the absence of concrete boundaries between ethnographic and fictional texts (see Clifford and Marcus 1986), and between

ethnographic, documentary and fictional film (see Loizos 1993: 7–8). Similarly, there is no clear-cut way of defining an individual photograph as, for example, a tourist, documentary or journalistic photograph (see Chapter 4), or of deciding whether a piece of video footage is a home movie or an ethnographic video (see Chapter 5). The same applies to the, sometimes arbitrary, nature of our distinctions between personal experience and ethnographic experience, autobiography and anthropology – all of which were discussed in depth in the 1990s (see Okley and Callaway 1992; Okley 1996) – and fieldwork and everyday life (Pink 2000). When researching everyday life as ethnographers, we do this from inside, we become immersed in its flow and, indeed, our own actions and feelings become part of the very contexts that we are researching. When we become immersed in shared visual research materials produced with or by co-researchers in team ethnography, likewise we begin to participate in and feel aspects of these environments. Any experience, action, artefact, image or idea is never definitively *just one thing* but may be redefined differently in different situations, by different individuals and in terms of different discourses. It is therefore impossible to measure the ethnographicness of an image in terms of its form, content or potential as an observational document, visual record or piece of data. Instead, the ethnographicness of any image or representation is contingent on how it is situated, interpreted and used to invoke meanings, imaginings and knowledge that are of ethnographic interest. One way to conceptualise this is to ask when an image or visual rendering of some kind becomes part of what I have elsewhere, in discussing sensory ethnography, called the 'ethnographic place' (Pink 2015a). The ethnographic place is defined as an abstraction, rather than a tangible site or locality. It is where the different materials, theories, arguments, narratives, technologies and feelings that all together make up ethnographic practices of research, analysis, intervention and dissemination are brought together. It is that intense place where research processes and practices are co-configured. It is the context where things of different qualities and affordances co-exist because they are related to each other within ethnographic practices and processes. For the purposes of this book, we can moreover see the ethnographic place as being where visual elements of ethnographic practice come together with the rest. Following this idea, it is when visual technologies, images or recordings participate in the ethnographic place, that is, they become entangled in our ethnographic research practices and processes, of research, analysis, representation and dissemination, that they can be defined as 'ethnographic'.

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE SENSORY TURN

In Chapter 1, I noted that recent interest in the senses has impacted on the ways that the visual is now understood and studied across the social science and humanities disciplines. The sensory turn in scholarship (e.g. Howes 2005), accompanied by developments in non-representational approaches (Thrift 2008; Ingold 2011), has pushed forward new agendas for research and scholarship. These moves have contributed to scholarship in visual ethnography, particularly in questioning how the visual and vision are understood in ethnographic practice. Indeed, the turn to the senses by no means renders visual ethnography irrelevant and it has moreover been led in several ways by visual anthropologists themselves: for example, attention to the senses was already integral to the visual anthropology of David MacDougall in his earlier writing (e.g. MacDougall 1998), and central to my own work on *The Future of Visual Anthropology* (Pink 2006) and in *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Pink 2015a). I understand visual ethnography as a practice that attends to the visual elements of the worlds that we inhabit in terms of their inseparability from other elements of sensory experience, and to visual and digital media in relation to how we might use them to produce ways of knowing that acknowledge this interrelatedness of the senses. As the examples discussed in the following chapters reveal, doing visual ethnography offers a route to comprehending those aspects of experience that are very often sensory, unspoken, tacit and invisible. The twenty-first century turn to the senses and the non-representational is, for visual ethnography practice and scholarship, an equally welcome move, as was the reflexive turn of the late twentieth century.

Therefore, to do visual ethnography we need to attend to the constructedness of this distinction between the visual and other categories of experience, materiality, digital resources or text. Thus, while we commonly speak of 'visual research methods', this does not refer to anything that is purely visual. I believe that the label itself is still useful since it emphasises that visual technologies, media and images are centred in such methods. Visual methods pay particular attention to the visual aspects of the worlds we inhabit, of people and our relationships, of different cultural forms, material objects and of technologies. They also involve the experiences and practices of vision. Vision similarly cannot be understood as a pure sensory channel of experiencing or knowing (see Ingold 2000; Pink 2015a). Such challenges to the categories of the visual and of vision similarly have ramifications for the way we do visual research. Visual methods cannot be used independently of 'non-visual methods'. It would be just as hard to identify a method that was totally non-visual as it would be to find one that was exclusively visual. Similarly, there cannot be a purely visual ethnography or an exclusively visual approach to culture, society, experience or environments. The visual is thus a category that might be on the one hand easily recognised in modern western cultures, and on the other hand it is deeply problematised.

THE NEW DIGITAL MATERIALITY OF VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Visual ethnography is a mode of engaging with the past, present and future of everyday life and involves the materialities and technologies of these different temporalities. This means that to do visual ethnography in a

contemporary context we need to be able to engage with the practices and processes of analogue, digital and emerging technologies, both in terms of understanding other people's experiences and imaginations related to these, and as materials and tools of our research practice.

Photography and video have been appropriated in varying forms and degrees by many individuals, and in most cultures and societies. However, visual and digital images and technologies are not only elements of everyday life, cultures and societies that academics study, they also pertain to the academic cultures and personal lifestyles and subject positions from which contemporary ethnographers approach their projects. As Chaplin argued for sociology, ethnographic disciplines should not distance themselves from the topics they study (1994: 16). For Chaplin, this meant thinking not simply of 'the sociology *of* visual representation' but of sociology *and* visual representations as elements of the same cultural context. The same point stands in a contemporary context in that ethnographers should treat visual and digital images and technologies as an aspect of the material culture and practice *of* social scientists as well as a practice and material culture that is researched *by* social scientists. A good example of this is the rise of social media as both a societal phenomenon that is studied by researchers, as well as a platform for the discussion and dissemination of research amongst both academic and wider audiences. We now live in a context where people grow up both consuming and making digital visual content (e.g. as YouTubers, using Snapchat and other platforms) (Pink and Ardèvol 2018). If, as Miller and Sinanan claim, 'today social media has become almost synonymous with the practice of contemporary photography, the destination to which virtually all contemporary photography is posted' (Miller and Sinanan 2017: 10), then this provides an ideal example of how academic and everyday life practices of image sharing overlap.

This shift to digital photography and video practices and the growth in social media however should not only be understood as a form of social change. Rather it is also part of a shift in how we understand the very environments in which we research, whereby we can no longer see the digital as being separate from the material world. To understand the ways the digital and material are emerging in relationship with each other, with Elisenda Ardèvol and Débora Lanzeni, I have developed the concept of 'digital materiality' (Pink, Ardèvol and Lanzeni 2016). By digital materiality we refer to things and processes in which digital and material qualities are entangled, and in which the material does not necessarily precede the digital, and thus whereby the digital is not an add-on to a previously material world. Rather, things that are inextricably digital and material in different ways are now part of our lives. In this understanding we might think of the materiality of software (Dourish 2016) or the digital characteristics of an interactive slide (Ferrer, Ardèvol and Pares 2016). With regard to photography we might consider the different ways in which digital and material elements might configure in photographic practices of making and sharing images. For example, in the case of social media photography, we might consider how the software and hardware of the devices through which the images are produced and viewed involve digital and material elements, and how the devices themselves are used in material and social environments, both of which impact on the composition of images themselves and the experience of viewing them. We should moreover regard digital materialities themselves to be in continual processes of development and change. The emerging nature of these technologies requires us to be attentive not only to how people use them but also to how the ongoing processes of technology design and human use of technologies co-evolve, and for the purposes of visual ethnography, how this creates new modes of visual practice and visual cultures both for participants in research and in the work of ethnographers themselves, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. As explained in Figure 2.1, through the example of the drone, the digital material entanglements of design, technology and research practice are always co-implicated. We should also be attentive to the reality that, often, new technologies do not create an abrupt and conclusive change in practice, but that they tend to become part of mixed economies of old and new technologies that are used in relation to each other.

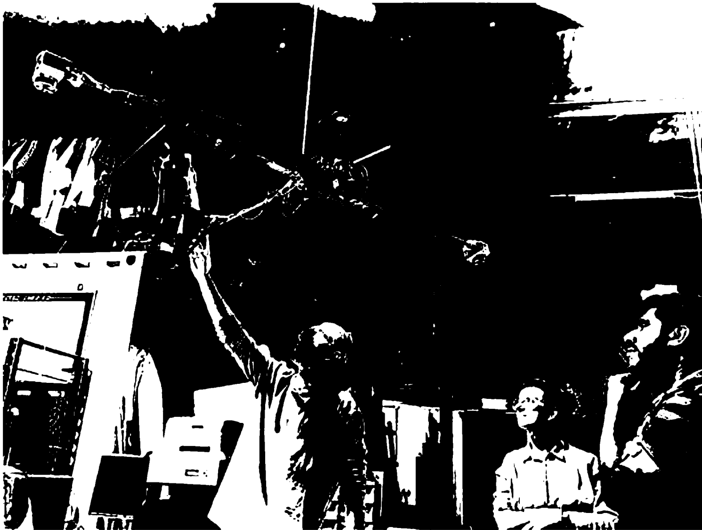

Figure 2.1 Digital materiality and drone photography. © Sarah Pink.
Anthropologist Débora Lanzeni, documentary filmmaker Citt Williams and I spent time doing ethnography in a makerspace in Melbourne, Australia. One of the activities we followed was a drone project, which our research participants were developing as a possible drone photography business (Lanzeni and Pink forthcoming; Pink forthcoming b). Drones are an ideal example through which to consider the digital materiality of our work: the drone design process is one where the material, digital and photographic are part of an entanglement of things that need to be balanced in terms of battery storage, weight and size so that the drone can fly for long enough, photograph and create the data needed. Therefore the uses drones can have are contingent on these configurations, both for participants in research, but also for researchers, since photographic drones also have uses in research, which are likewise contingent on how different digital, material and human relationships can play out (see Chapter 3).

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS A REFLEXIVE PRACTICE

Ways of seeing, knowing and imagining are inevitably personal and individual, even though framed by culturally and socially specific biographies, circumstances and imaginaries. This means that as visual ethnographers we need to be reflexive. That is, to bring our own ways of seeing and visualising into view, and to interrogate them in relation to those other ways of seeing that we hope to understand and represent to others.

Since the 1980s, in their critique of natural science approaches, authors of traditional research methods texts emphasised the constructedness of ethnographic knowledge (e.g. Burgess 1984; Ellen 1984), increasingly coupled with a stress on the central importance of reflexivity (see also Fortier 1998; Walsh 1998). It is now generally accepted that reflexivity forms an important part of ethnographic practice. A reflexive approach recognises the centrality of the subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of ethnographic knowledge. Reflexivity goes beyond the researcher's concern with questions of bias and is not simply a mechanism that neutralises ethnographers' subjectivity as collectors of data through an engagement with how their presence may have affected the reality observed and the data collected. The assumption that a reflexive approach will aid ethnographers to produce objective data represents only a token and cosmetic engagement with reflexivity that wrongly supposes subjectivity could (or should) be avoided or eradicated. Instead, subjectivity should be engaged with as a central aspect of ethnographic knowledge, interpretation and representation.

Figure 2.2 Mirror reflexivity. © Sarah Pink.
Using the video camera and collaborating with co-researchers mean that visual ethnographers are often 'in the frame' themselves. I have often filmed my colleagues when we are talking with research participants, been photographed or filmed by them, or as in this screen capture, caught myself filming in the mirrors of people's homes.

To understand reflexivity in the social sciences we need to turn again for a moment to the 1990s, when the reflexive approach to ethnography became consolidated. During this period postmodern thinkers argued that ethnographic knowledge and text can only ever be a subjective construction, a 'fiction' (Clifford 1986) that represents only the ethnographer's version of a reality, rather than an empirical truth. Anthony Cohen and Nigel Rapport moreover argued that our understandings of what participants in research ('informants', as they put it then) say or do, was an expression of the researchers' own consciousness (Cohen and Rapport 1995). Following this logic, if the researcher is the channel through which all ethnographic knowledge is produced and represented, then the only way reality and representation can interpenetrate in ethnographic work is through the ethnographer's textual constructions of ethnographic fictions. Rather than existing objectively and being accessible and recordable through scientific research methods, reality is subjective and is known only as it is experienced by individuals. The acknowledgement of subjectivity that was so central to scholarship in the 1990s therefore endorsed the reflexive approach through its focus on how ethnographic knowledge about individual experiences of reality is produced, through the intersubjectivity between researchers, participants and their research contexts (Fortier 1998).

During the reflexive turn of the 1990s, anthropologists (e.g. Okely and Callaway 1992; Kulick and Willson 1995; Okely 1996) also stressed the inseparability of personal from professional identities and the importance of autobiography and personal experience in the production of ethnographic knowledge. Autobiographical ethnographic work that emerged in the 1990s, where the ethnographer's own existing personal images are appropriated or drawn into academic work, demonstrated this well. For example, the anthropologist Judith Okely analysed her past experiences of attending a girls' boarding school anthropologically, using photographs and memories from this period of her life in what she called 'retrospective fieldwork' (1996: 147–74). Indeed, ethnographers' photography, video and online practices and skills may interweave their professional fieldwork narratives or personal biographies. Moreover, photographs and video can represent an explicit meeting point, or continuity, between personal and professional identities. They are given new meanings as they move through different situations. Photographs of research participants who are also friends will be found in research archives and vice versa. As I discuss in Chapter 6, digital archiving makes it possible for a photograph to simultaneously be involved in multiple localities in new ways. The example of analogue photography is also instructive: when I returned to England from fieldwork in southern Spain in 1994 I had two sets of analogue photographs: one of friends and one of 'research'. As time passed these photographic prints shifted between categories as I reflected on what I had learned from them and what they meant to me. They moved out of albums and eventually into a series of envelopes and folders. The personal/professional visual narratives into which I had initially divided them gradually became dissolved into other categories as I worked through the experience of fieldwork as life in an attempt to translate it into ethnographic knowledge. Some of the photographs had been copied for research participants and therefore they developed simultaneous biographies in these contexts gaining other situated meanings in other people's photography collections. As the work of Edgar Gómez Cruz shows, the boundaries between life and fieldwork can become equally blurred in digital visual ethnography. In his ethnographic research about contemporary digital photography practices in face-to-face photography clubs and online platforms, Gómez Cruz became as much a participant as a researcher (Gómez Cruz 2012). Writing of the people who participated in his research he describes how: 'I took photographs with them, ate with them, we were in constant contact through the Internet and mobile phones, I interviewed them, they guided me and taught me a lot about photography and about life' (2012: 25, my translation from Spanish). When doing such in-depth fieldwork, the work of the visual ethnographer can thus become part of life, while at the same time life becomes part of research.

Reflexivity was also advocated strongly in anthropological and other visual methodology books in sociology and geography (e.g. Ruby 2000; Banks 2001; Rose 2001; Edgar 2004; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2004; Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Pink, Kürti and Afonso 2004; Pole 2004; Schneider and Wright 2005; Pink 2006). This period of methodological reflection, clearly informed by the postmodern turn of the 1980s and 1990s, played an important role in characterising not only the visual methods literature, but also qualitative research literature more generally into the twenty-first century where visual methods have become more consolidated as a field of practice (see Pink 2012a; Gómez Cruz, Pink and Sumartojo 2017), and reflecting on the processes and practices through which visual research is produced has become further embedded (e.g. Ardèvol 2012; Hindmarsh and Tutt 2012; Martens 2012). These literatures have continually reinforced the need for visual ethnographers to account for and maintain an awareness of how different elements of our biographies, existing experiences, and elements of our identities become significant during research. As I have explained elsewhere, through an emphasis on the sensory knowing that ethnographic fieldwork entails (e.g. Pink 2015a) we can also understand this in terms of asking how we come to learn and know as researchers. There are two key things to keep in mind:

First, it is only through our own existing experiences and knowledge that we can begin to come to empathise with and understand the experiences of others – or indeed distinguish their experiences from our own and attempt to imagine what these might have been like. The same applies when we are undertaking ethnographic research into futures, since the aim is to seek to understand how possible future scenarios (which might be simulated, represented as speculative futures or imagined by participants) are experienced by others. These modes of empathetic understanding do not necessarily represent what others actually feel, but enable us to engage our own experiences to understand and probe about those of others.

Second, elements of our identities such as gender, age, ethnicity, class and race are important to how researchers are situated and situate themselves in ethnographic contexts. Therefore, as ethnographers we need to be self-conscious about how we represent ourselves to research participants and to consider how our identities are constituted and how they are understood by the people with whom we work. These subjective understandings will have implications for the knowledge that is produced from the ethnographic encounter between researcher and participants. We should moreover be aware that the technologies and media that we use in visual ethnography research will also become implicated in how we are situated in fieldwork. This might relate to the cost or level of everyday or professional status of the technologies used, or the types of online platforms or apps we use. That is, the way we navigate digital visual environments is also part of the way we are constituted as people in research scenarios, and thus in how and what we are able to know as researchers.

Therefore, being a reflexive visual ethnographer involves interrogating how we are situated within the ethnographic research context. There are a number of ways in which this can be approached, and in part the analytical emphasis taken may depend on the research question. For instance, in my own experience of doing research about gender in Spain I was concerned with the question of how my identity as a woman and photographer shaped the ways that I could produce knowledge. This focus on gender was indeed coherent with the kinds of interrogations that were at the time happening in the reflexive methodology literature, where the gendered nature of fieldwork itself was a key theme (see especially Bell, Caplan and Jahan Karim 1993; Kulick and Willson 1995), and also developed in discussions of visual research (e.g. Barndt 1997). Indeed, I found that my professional identity was not only shaped by my relationships with others, but also because my research was of interest locally, it was shaped in the local media representations of me and of my work. In other contexts researchers might be more concerned with exploring these questions through, for instance, regional, class, ethnic or generational identity. For instance, when doing research about Slow Cities in the UK, I had a sense of 'closeness' and common reference points when I did research in towns close to the place where I had grown up, and I was interested in reflecting on how this shaped how I understood these contexts.

In team ethnography, researchers might take on different roles in the research process, whereby different fieldwork relationships become established across a team, involving different proximities to both research participants and visual technologies. This might mean that particular researchers are suited to undertake research with different groups of participants, and that the team as a whole should reflect on how this could impact on the nature of knowledge and the types of images produced. In my more recent work, which has increasingly involved team ethnography, reflexivity becomes an important mode of understanding how ethnographic knowledge is produced when there are different distances between research participants and the various researchers in the team. For example, when I have been analysing video recordings made by participants, and by my colleagues, in situations where I have never met these particular research participants, it has been necessary for me to reflect on my own positionality in the research process, and what and how it is possible for me to feel or know about another person's experience. For example, as discussed elsewhere (Sumartojo and Pink 2017), when viewing the GoPro video made by a cycling participant in a study with co-researcher Shanti Sumartojo, who had met and interviewed the participant, I became interested in how my own perception of the participant's video made me feel uneasy when she was cycling alongside a river, feeling that she was too close to the edge of the water (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 A still image from a research participants' GoPro video, created during a research exercise. Published with consent of the research participant.
As I viewed the GoPro video I imagined that the cyclist was much closer to the river's edge than she had experienced herself as being.

I had started to sense the experience of the participant but I couldn't be sure that my interpretation of the recording represented how she had felt. Indeed I learned that she had not shared my feeling of uneasiness, which served as both a confirmation of the point that to understand experience represented in video we need to discuss with participants, rather than making assumptions, as well as reinforcing the need to communicate within research teams in the processes through which we produce knowledge. When participants or visual ethnographers record videos or take photographs, such recordings tend to be made from the embodied perspective of the person holding or carrying the camera. It is through our personal and embodied engagements in activities and environments that ethnographers learn about other people's lives, whether or not we are present in the same locality as the participant or not. In other studies I have worked at distance, viewing and analysing videos made overseas by research teams I collaborate with, again requiring a particular mode of reflexivity regarding my collaborations with the co-researchers and where their expertise lies, and an understanding of the different but interdependent roles that we play in producing knowledge through the research materials. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Within the context of the increasing uses of visual ethnography in applied and public scholarship and practice, however, there is a further layer of reflexivity to be accounted for. Since the researcher is not only implicated in relationships with research participants and with co-researchers, but might also be engaged with other stakeholders in the research, for whom she or he will also have a particular identity. This context means that the identities of researchers are increasingly complex, and as in much applied research means that we need to bring research knowledge – often through photography, video or visualisations, into situations where it can be engaged to bring about or seed ideas for beneficial change and intervention, as is discussed further in Chapter 9. Such public and applied roles have implications for the reflexive visual ethnographer as she or he passes through different contexts in the research and dissemination process and suggest that we need to reflect further on how the intersubjectivities of such contexts also shape the ways of knowing and modes of knowledge and understanding that we produce.

VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE UNOBSERVABLE

Visual ethnography does not only reveal what can be seen or observed but entails the visual in a broader sense of images that might be remembered or imagined. Underpinning this element of visual ethnography is the significant anthropological critique that has problematised an observational approach to research as being objectifying (e.g. Fabian 1983), and thus leads us to understand that simply using video or photography as an observational tool can likewise objectify research participants and their lives by crystalising them into the moment in which they were photographed. Thus, we should neither expect to produce objective knowledge as detached observers nor to record it with a camera. Indeed, often the visual forms part of human imaginations and conversations or dreams without necessarily involving material images (Edgar 2004; Orobitg 2004). This means we need to engage with the inpermanence and non-material dimensions of the images, things and resources that constitute everyday life. While many of the tangible material, digital and visual artefacts that we encounter when we do ethnographic fieldwork might have an inevitable visual presence, this is not always the case. For example, visual images are not necessarily either material or permanently inscribed on the screens or surfaces through or on which we view them. There are many instances of this, ranging from rainbows to Snapchat images. Nevertheless, the intangibility or fleeting nature of things or images we momentarily see, or which are only described verbally, imagined or remembered, make them no less meaningful. Likewise, our investigations might focus on people's experiences of intangible elements, such as electricity, light or air which can neither be captured visually nor necessarily seen in

ways that differentiate them from other things. Thus, neither human experiences nor material realities can always be observed visually, recorded, captured and then analysed. This invokes the question of: what do we record when we participate in a particular social, sensory and material environment with a camera?

The answer to this question lies in understanding how we and our cameras are situated in research situations. The principles for both photography and video are the same, since both are produced as we move with our cameras through the environments that we are part of. Photographs and video recordings are composed not simply by capturing what is in front of the camera lens; rather they are made in relation to what is behind and around the camera and photographer or videographer. This means that they are, on the one hand, as the anthropological filmmaker David MacDougall puts it, 'corporeal images' which stand for the positioning in the world of the body of the person who was holding the camera (MacDougall 2005). Yet simultaneously they are framed by the totality of the environmental configurations that also encompassed that camera-person. Ingold's provocation around the question of the status of drawings and paintings helps us to think about this question. He asks:

> Should the drawing or painting be understood as a final image to be inspected and interpreted, as is conventional in studies of visual culture, or should we rather think of it as a node in a matrix of trails to be followed by observant eyes? Are drawings or paintings *of* things in the world, or are they *like* things in the world, in the sense that we have to find our ways through and among them, inhabiting them as we do the world itself? (Ingold 2010a: 16)

Following Ingold's proposal, photographs and video can be understood as being taken in the world and not simply of it, or of persons and things in it.

Such an understanding of images as emergent from particular configurations explains how they emerge from within research processes and relationships, rather than being of them, or depicting them. The ways images are interpreted and given meaning is also similarly situated and culturally and biographically specific. We should be aware of this on two levels. First, analytically, as we go about interpreting the status of the knowledge that is revealed by research photographs and videos. However, second, we need to account for the slippage between our own cultural ways of being and theoretical ways of knowing. As ethnographers, we may understand theoretically that it is impossible to objectively record an observable experience. However, depending on our own personal cultural understandings and biographical influences, we should also keep in mind that we too in everyday life as well as in research situations might use images to refer to certain versions of reality, and treat images as referents of visible and observable phenomena. For example, many readers will have turned on their camera-phones to show images of people, things and localities as if they were objectively existing realities, memories of pasts or referents to hoped for or imagined futures. Indeed, the ways in which we live in the world and the ways we theorise it academically might not coincide. These ambiguities are part of any research project. They can be acknowledged and resolved to some extent through a commitment to the reflexivity I have called for earlier in this chapter. Subjective and situated understandings of visual meanings in ethnography can be qualified by a reflexive awareness of from where meaning is derived, its intentionality, the cultural conventions that frame it, and other situationally relevant elements.

Therefore, visual ethnography does not necessarily involve simply recording what we can see, but also offers ethnographers routes through which to arrive at understandings of those very things that we cannot see, as well as things that would be otherwise hidden. This point can be applied very broadly. For example: it enables us to consider how video ethnography methods help us research how invisible and intangible resources such as electricity and gas are consumed in domestic homes (e.g. Pink and Leder Mackley 2012), or to make apparent otherwise hidden elements of the infrastructures of home (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017: 53–4) (see Figure 2.4); or how hand-over-the-camera methods might provide routes into comprehending other people's embodied workplace knowledge or ways of knowing, allowing us to see things and processes through their lines of vision (e.g. Tutt, Pink, Dainty and Gibb 2013) that would otherwise remain unseen by the ethnographer. When using the camera takes us into other people's worlds or homes it enables them to show us the everyday practices that we would normally never encounter, and would possibly remain hidden in an interview situation detached from the specific circumstances in which practices are played out. For example, in the documentary film *Laundry Lives*, which I co-directed with Nadia Astari (Pink and Astari 2015), in one scene we see how in one household in Indonesia the laundry is washed by hand before being put on the spin cycle in the washing machine. This brought to the surface a practice that would otherwise have been invisible to us, but once made visible still needed to be understood through the perspective of the research participants themselves (Pink forthcoming c). In a different way, in research with colleagues within the 'Transmedia literacies' research project, by going under the surface of what was immediately obvious, we learned that teenagers participated in a number of creative digital visual practices, and shared these with their peers, in ways that remained hidden from their teachers and parents (Pink and Ardèvol 2018).

Figure 2.4 Video tours can bring otherwise invisible materialities to the surface. © LEEDR 2017, used with permission. Also shown as Figure 3.5 in Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra (2017: 53).

This video still, for a home tour that I video recorded, in a research encounter with Alan, the participant, and co-researcher Kerstin Leder Mackley, shows Alan discussing his home, the walls and insulation that he had put in, as noted elsewhere: 'As we observed the walls all we could see were carefully decorated rooms, but as he explained the work that had gone before, we realised that he could feel a very different materiality'. Alan's discussions with us made visible this element of his home which we could not see, and it was through the video tour and his showing us the walls that this became apparent.

Acknowledging that images might be intangible moreover invites us to consider how images are part of our imaginations and interior worlds (Edgar 2004; Irving 2010), and how images invite us to imagine (Ingold 2010a). This can also apply to how we might imagine our futures. Researchers have increasingly attended to the human imagination, dreams and interior thoughts as a site of ethnographic fieldwork, and visual ethnography methods can play an interesting role in this field. Iain Edgar's 'imagework' and 'dreamwork' approaches involve accessing and analysing the images that are produced through our imaginations and dreams – 'both refer to the mind's spontaneous production of imagery that people may consider "good to think with"' (2004: 10). As Edgar points out, imagework is largely non-verbal, it tends to produce verbal narratives about intangible images, which form the materials that the researcher then analyses. Other approaches that also seek to understand interior thoughts make images and visual practices more central throughout the research process. For instance, Andrew Irving has also engaged visual practices for understanding other people's thoughts by inviting participants to photograph and narrate their feelings as they followed familiar paths through urban environments (Irving 2013). In research with Susan Hogan, we explored questions around the relationship between visual ethnography and interior feelings by drawing on correspondences between Hogan's scholarship in art therapy and visual ethnography to suggest that feminist art therapy, as engaged by Hogan, can support a visual ethnography of interiority (Hogan and Pink 2012). The relationship between seeing and knowing in visual ethnography research is therefore by no means straightforward. Photographs, videos and other images produced in material or digital visible forms that can be shared with others, or in imagined form as part of the research process, do not necessarily take on the status of being knowledge about the research question or findings in themselves, but rather can be understood as routes to knowledge and tools through which we can encounter and imagine other people's worlds. As these examples demonstrate, visual ethnography offers us various ways in which to understand other people's experiences *through* the visual, rather than simply through the analysis of observable phenomena.

IMAGE-MAKERS AS PRACTITIONERS

Photographers, video makers, digital artists, or web designers, whether or not they are also ethnographers, are individuals with their own intentions working in specific social, technological and cultural contexts. In order to understand the practices of both ethnographers and research participants as image-makers, it is important to consider how relationships develop between individuals, visual and digital technologies, practices, society and culture. Visual practices are also framed by institutional and corporate contexts. As Evans and Hall suggested for analogue photography (1999: 3) visual practices would intersect with camera and film manufacturing industries and developing and processing companies. In a digital context it has been demonstrated that the ways we experience and engage with the internet and social networking platforms (see Miller 2011) and digital mapping (see Farman 2010; Lapenta 2011) are framed likewise by corporations and software (Pink 2012d). While these framings do not singularly determine how we enact digital photography and video practices, we need to comprehend the ways that they intersect with other elements.

The quest to understand visual production and images has long since been part of academic scholarship and a

review of selected existing contributions shows the complexities of this task and some of the debates and issues it raises. To understand visual ethnography as a practice we therefore need to turn our attention to the ways that scholars who already work on questions relating to visual media have approached these questions. Such approaches offer us ways to analyse the media and digital practices of research participants, and to comprehend our own uses of visual media and digital technologies in the ethnographic process within the same theoretical frame. There is a significant history of social science studies of photographic practices, from Pierre Bourdieu's (1990 [1965]) suggestion that photographs express 'the explicit intentions of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group' (1990 [1965]: 6), and Elizabeth Shove and Mika Pantzar's argument that digital photography represented 'a substantially new practice, the details of which continue to unfold' (Shove and Pantzar 2007: 157), to Gómez Cruz's argument that digital photography practices seem different from analogue practices and they 'acquire meaning through the constitution of assemblages and socio-technical networks which in turn give meaning to this digital culture' (2012: 231, my translation from Spanish). In media anthropology a practice-focused approach has also been advocated by some. John Postill has argued for the importance of an engagement with practice theory for understanding 'what people do with media' (2010: 6). Yet media anthropologists have also criticised a practice approach (e.g. Hobart 2010; Peterson 2010; Pink 2012d), in particular for its limitations in understanding human agency, and its lack of attention to the 'messiness' (Law 2004) of everyday life.

Media theorists have also used theories of place to account for the unstoppable ongoingness of practical activity, and how this activity is contingent on the changing configuration of things with which it is co-implicated (Pink 2012d). This involves understanding how media is part of a wider context, for instance the concept of 'mediaspace' as developed by Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (2004) considers how digital media and everyday life form part of the same spatial realities. More recent developments in design anthropology theory and research enable a further step in understanding the visual practices of both ethnographers and participants in research. Design anthropology emphasises human creativity in the face of the contingency of everyday circumstances (Ingold 2013), and helps us to understand how people innovate to use technologies to accomplish what they need to in their everyday life situations, and in how they integrate new technologies into their routines and activities. If we see both research participants and visual ethnographers as creative everyday designers, who are continually innovating in small ways in our visual and digital practices, then this enables us to understand the dynamism of both other people's and our own image-making practices. This approach alerts us to the significance of studying how people adapt and appropriate new visual technologies and media as part of their everyday lives, and of reflecting on how we as researchers also do so. Such a perspective also leads us to focus on understanding the anticipatory modes in which people use visual media and technologies in relation to their possible futures, and on how we as academics also anticipate futures as we make images within research projects. For instance, in how taking an image in one moment in the research process might involve anticipating how that image could be shared with participants in the research or across a research team, and how it might be used later to represent or disseminate the research.

When we do visual ethnography, especially when it involves making images with, in ways parallel to and/or for participants, we can become implicated in their visual and digital practices. This might involve learning to make the same types of images as participants, and sharing online or publishing them, exhibiting them or simply collecting them in the same ways or participating in the same digital platforms as research participants. When we start to contribute to these activities through our own images or sharing images we begin to also participate in the making of the digital material places and visual cultures we are researching. The images we produce and the practices we engage in thus belong simultaneously to the different but connected material and digital cultures of visual scholarship and of the culture(s) the researcher seeks to learn about and with, through visual ethnography practice. This invites a series of questions, the consideration of which can create interesting reflections on the ways we make ethnographic knowledge. For instance: what happens when ethnographers start to produce the very material, visual or digital culture they are studying; what happens when ethnographers participate in and contribute to the visual and digital practices and innovations they are analysing; and what happens to ethnographers' images when research participants appropriate them for their own purposes? Some of these scenarios are considered in the examples discussed in the following chapters.

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced ways of defining and understanding visual ethnography and its relationship to the sensory and the digital. I have explored the reflexive nature of visual ethnography practice and the need to engage with this to understand how ethnographers become integrated and understood in local research contexts. I have also highlighted the implications of this for how visual meanings and ethnographic knowledge are produced. Precisely how individual ethnographers approach the visual in their research and the representational and non-representational modes through which it is shared is inevitably influenced by a range of factors, including theoretical commitments, disciplinary agendas, personal experience, gendered identities and their visual and digital practices, skills and cultures.

Further reading

Gómez Cruz, E., Pink, S. and Sumartojo, S. (eds) (2017) *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ingold, T. (2010) 'Ways of mind-walking: reading, writing, painting', *Visual Studies*, 25(1): 15–23.

Pink, S. (2015) *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: SAGE.

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3 DESIGN, ETHICS AND PRACTICE

Visual ethnography is an ethical practice, in its approach to research and in our engagements with participants in projects, and beyond that in its ethical commitment to the world in the present and future. A contemporary dynamic, interventionist and interdisciplinary visual ethnography has particular implications for ethics. It demands that we interrogate our encounters with participants in research . It also requires us to examine the politics, power relations and inequalities of the worlds we live in, and the stakeholders and emerging technologies through which they are articulated and sustained. How can we design an ethical visual ethnography practice for a contemporary world?

Ethnographic research is always uncertain. Its strength is to surface experiences and knowledge that we could not have previously imagined, while simultaneously responding to specific research questions. This chapter outlines a flexible approach to research design to emphasise that rather than being prescriptive about the details of research processes, ethnographic research designs benefit from being responsive to the emerging circumstances of fieldwork. Visual ethnography methods should be chosen and used where they support the aims of a project and when participants are comfortable with them. This means preparing for an ethical and responsible mode of researching where ethics in visual ethnography does not simply concern the governance of research in advance by institutional ethical approval committees. It also entails an ethics of responsibility, which understands visual ethnography as a mode of engagement with and possible intervention in emerging everyday worlds and global futures. Yet, funding agencies and sponsors often need to scrutinise detailed research plans and budgets, and research ethics committees require clear explanations regarding what they will approve. Therefore I account for how research is usually designed within such institutional frames, and how visual ethnographers might respond to them in planning and practice.

IDENTIFYING, SELECTING AND DESIGNING VISUAL METHODS

While it is difficult to circumscribe bounded fields of visual ethnography practice, dividing methods into different types helps to situate them within the research process. Earlier on, the visual anthropologist Marcus Banks proposed dividing visual research methods into three broad activities: 'making visual representations' (studying society by producing images); 'examining pre-existing visual representations' (studying images for information about society); and 'collaborating with social actors in the production of visual representations' (Banks n.d.). In a contemporary context three additional categories acknowledge the rise of applied and public visual ethnography: creating (or co-creating with participants) visual interventions; using the visual as a mode of 'cultural brokerage' (Chalfen and Rich 2007) between different groups or as contestation (see Pink 2006, 2007a; Pink, Osz, Raats, Lindgren and Fors, forthcoming); and methods of visual dissemination as a mode of public scholarship. In each of these six categories, analogue technologies, printed images, the digital materiality and automated features of digital and emerging technologies, platforms and apps can be implicated and are often entangled. Each category also, as the following chapters explain, can involve methods that seek to unfold questions about futures as well as the present.

Visual methods are always in progress, or evolving in practice within the social, technological and environmental relationships and activities of fieldwork. Yet, acknowledging this, visual ethnographers need to use knowledge of existing methods to plan new projects. In Chapters 4 and 5, I discuss already established visual ethnography research methods which are helpful for this. However, the specific applications of already documented visual research methods vary in practice. Indeed methods themselves and our understandings of them can emerge, change and grow as we apply them across different projects. Unanticipated uses of the visual can be discovered by accident, retrospectively defined as visual research methods and refined throughout a research project. For instance, in the early 1990s I began photographing people at the many public receptions held to present trophies, exhibitions and book launches that were part of the thriving bullfighting culture I was researching. After my first reception I showed my photographic prints to the organisers and participants, they asked me for copies of certain photos, and in turn gifted some of these to their colleagues. By keeping note of their requests and asking them questions about the images, I gained a sense of how individuals situated themselves in relation to other individuals in 'bullfighting culture'. As I attended more receptions and bullfights themselves, I consciously repeated this method and developed my photography practices to respond to the photographs local people were interested in. My role as an amateur bullfight photographer emerged from these circumstances (Pink 1999) (Figure 3.1). This method worked in part because the ways I took and shared photographs imitated and was incorporated into local people's existing cultural and individual uses of photography and was directly linked to local visual practices at that particular technological and historical moment. To replicate the method would not involve performing the same activity, but rather would entail following similar principles of engaging with and learning through participants' interests and practices. If I was to approach a similar context in the contemporary digital moment, I might be interested in similar questions around how people shared, displayed and understood images, but my

work would be focused on social media and the digital material environments through which it was engaged.

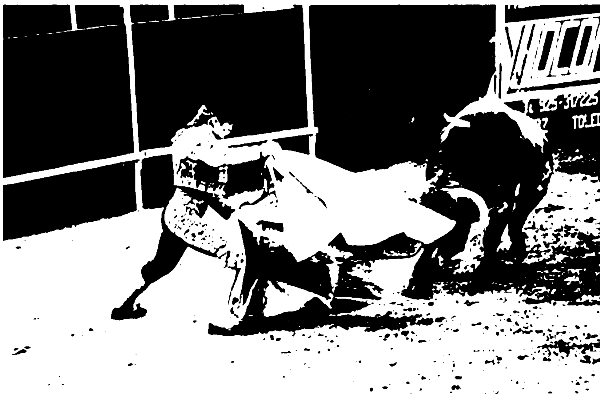

Figure 3.1 The woman bullfighter Cristina Sanchez performing. © Sarah Pink 1993.
When researching gender and bullfighting in Spain, one of the roles I played was as amateur bullfight photographer. My photographic prints, taken mainly in black and white, using a traditional stills camera, provided me with a way to fit in with and share one of the activities that local bullfight aficionados were involved in at that historical moment. Since doing that research, both technologies and local practices have shifted. If I began similar fieldwork in the 2020s I could not take for granted that exactly the same method would be appropriate. I would need to review how amateur bullfight aficionados use digital photography and the implications of this for their practice.

Indeed, the visual anthropologist Karen Waltorp's recent (2020) work, which is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, demonstrates another contemporary mode of engagement research with participants' visual culture and practices and shows how she learned during this process. Waltorp participated in the private image-sharing networks of young Muslim women in Copenhagen. Her research context differed from the public world of bullfighting photography in its digital materiality, and because the boundaries between public and private were differently constituted through her participants' particular values. Methods, thus, have their own trajectories and transformations, rather than offering static or fixed models. When we interrogate the 'biographies of methods' (Pink and Leder Mackley 2012) we can trace and understand how they change temporally and contextually, how they evolve across the work of different researchers, and how they are redeveloped in the light of new findings, theories and experiences. Such moments of learning are part of ethnographic research, and we should be attentive in order to recognise them when they arise. These developments moreover require us to reflect on how redeveloping methods across different projects impacts the types of knowledge we are able to produce.

When research sites are relatively unknown to the researcher, a substantial review of existing knowledge can underpin a research proposal that defines quite specifically how and to what ends visual technologies and images are to be employed. Such insights can be generated from reviewing prior research in the same culture through literature reviews, but should involve going beyond the traditional literature review to investigate museum sources, ethnographic films, photography and video sharing platforms, social media, industry and policy reports and other online resources, and contacting and discussing questions with relevant stakeholders in advance. We should also keep in mind that visual methods 'should be used where appropriate, with the rider that appropriateness will not always be obvious in advance' (Morphy and Banks 1997: 14); sometimes, visual methods simply do not support the aims of a research project or the researchers' expectations. Kirsten Hastrup's description of her attempt as a woman anthropologist to photograph an exclusively male Icelandic sheep market is a good early example, as she

wrote: 'While I was taking them I had the impression that I was making an almost pornographic record of a secret ritual. They showed me nothing of the sort but bore the marks of my own inhibition, resulting from my transgression of the boundary between gender categories' (1992: 9). Using a contemporary digital camera, a researcher would have a better idea of image quality, because these would be visible in the viewfinder; nevertheless in many situations light conditions or distance mean that it is impossible to achieve the images we had hoped for. For instance, when using digital video in homes, the sunlight streaming in through large windows behind participants can disrupt images, while some corners of homes are too dimly lit. Such images do not need to be seen as failures, but rather that what we learn from them and what we can communicate through them might not be what we had expected. Some of the unexpected issues that fieldwork raises, as well as those practices that we wish to test out, can be explored through pilot studies, as discussed in Chapter 5.

While my training in anthropology and my earlier projects focused on the long-term fieldwork approach, in which my relationships with participants and visual research practices would unfold and develop over time, more recently I have developed visual ethnography in more structured research projects. In such projects the methods planned should be used flexibly and collaboratively, in relation to research participants' wishes. These projects often involve teamwork, in collaboration with other ethnographers, colleagues from other disciplines, or non-academic stakeholders. This also tends to shape how the methods are engaged, since they are also framed with the contributions of other team members. One reason for creating a structured method, repeated in similar ways with each participant, is related to the subject matter. When working in a research team that seeks to do research with twenty or so participants, focusing on their experiences of particular activities, then we need to ensure that we can spend sufficient time with each participant when they are specifically engaging in those activities (or in the case of much of our research, re-enacting or performing aspects of that activity with us in focused ways), for example, when researching with participants as they engage with mundane everyday life domestic activities, as they commute to work, or as they participate in digital media practices. Both because we are accessing the intimate spaces and spheres of people's lives in doing such research, and because the amount of time to spend with each person is limited, approaching the research in a more structured way that allocates a few hours or days to our work with each participant enables us to work closely and intensively with them in ways that are not the same as, but differently compensate for, longer term processes of getting to know (about) someone's everyday activity. Another reason for creating structured methods refers to the team collaboration. When working in teams, often we will wish to accomplish comparable work across the team, to share similar materials, and to be able to draw comparisons across the materials. While each researcher in a team will inflect the materials with their own particularities, and will need to be reflexive about this, by following a shared and structured research process, it is possible to create research materials that will be able to be brought together more easily, since they will have shared categories and stages. Thus, in neither of these cases is the method repeated in exactly the same way on each occasion by each researcher, yet the purpose is to create sufficiently similar encounters.

PLANNING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY RESEARCH WITH STAKEHOLDERS

Applied, public and interventional visual ethnography projects are developed with possible stakeholders from industry, policy or activist settings. This creates different circumstances, demands and frameworks to those encountered in purely academic research, and also requires that common understandings and expectations are established at the outset.

Visual ethnographic materials provide ideal insights through which to demonstrate to non-academic stakeholders both the power of visual ethnography to reveal the otherwise hidden dimensions of everyday life, and to reinforce the social science principles that emphasise the need to attend to the everyday. For example, to introduce my approach to new research partners from outside academia I often show 'incisive clips', selected because they have been incisive in directing my own learning and analysis in earlier projects, in order to bring about similar moments of knowing for viewers. Incisive clips, which are usually between one and three minutes, are discussed in Chapter 9, along with other materials, such as ethnographic insight cards and maps, which are all designed to disrupt stakeholders' assumptions, and can be used in first meetings or workshops.

Different sets of relationships shape applied, public and interventional ethnographic projects, ranging from contract research commissioned to an agency to meet the needs of a client, to various partnership models between industry funders and academic researchers, or the participation of ethnographers in interventional research in which they are engaged as activists. Collaborative planning processes involve developing common understandings, objectives and concepts, as well as practical agreements regarding the ownership of research materials and processes for the approval of academic publications. I return to some of these questions in Chapter 9 where I explore working with applied, public and interventional outcomes; these are most effective when underpinned by solid planning. The approach to visual ethnography advanced here focuses on collaborative modes of investigation with all stakeholders, including research participants and organisations, and is always necessarily underpinned by theoretical, reflexive and ethical practice. This approach can be used by research agencies and in ethnographic consultancy, since the principles that inform it and the knowledge it generates offer a solid and rigorous base for creating insights in any setting. However, the academic theoretical and analytical

work that is involved in making sense of ethnographic materials is where the added value lies. Developing visual ethnography in partnerships with non-academic organisations, rather than treating them as clients who are purchasing a piece of work, provides a model for deeper investigation where the benefit to the researchers is intellectual and works towards ethical and responsible intervention, rather than being simply monetary. Therefore planning should include posing theoretical and methodological questions as well as empirical ones, considering how these might contribute to existing academic debate, and how subsequently any advances in knowledge the research makes might feed back into creating stronger and more effective applied and public ethnographic insights.

TECHNOLOGIES IN VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The technologies we use in visual ethnography practice become inextricably interwoven with the process of research, learning and knowing, and with our relationships with participants and stakeholders. Technologies do not have single meanings or uses, people innovate with them, appropriate them for new purposes, give them meaning and integrate them into everyday life in different ways at different sites. This happens equally in the sites that we research and in research practice. Moreover, the brands and models of technologies that we use in visual ethnography can define our identities during fieldwork and professional contexts, and are implicated in conversations with research participants, how we share images and how we collaborate or co-create digitally and materially. People can be simply at home with, fascinated by or suspicious of new technologies and gaining a sense of such feelings, and enabling people to make informed decisions about our use of technologies in research encounters is fundamental. As Gómez Cruz (2012) shows through his own experience and his research into those of other members of the photography club where he did his fieldwork, photographic technologies can be important in social and technological relations. There, the camera mattered because he was doing research with fellow photographers; in other situations cameras that are inconspicuous in size, design or branding might be more suitable. Such decisions will also be contingent on other practical issues, relating to power, connectivity, transport, the availability of post-production resources and editing expertise, and if technologies for editing or sharing images in face-to-face situations, such as an iPad, laptop, monitor or projector, are needed. As filmmaker Jonathan Taggart and sociologist Phillip Vannini discuss in their account of making the video materials for their documentary *Life Off Grid*, which involved fieldwork with people living disconnected from energy, water and communications networks, questions such as portability of cameras, extra batteries, and battery charging from their rental car were important in selecting equipment (Taggart and Vannini 2014).

In recent years a growing array of camera technologies has become available (reviewed by Favero 2019). First-person-perspective cameras (e.g. Lahlou 2011) include body-mounted technologies with which the embodied perspective of the participant or researcher wearing the camera can be recorded as they move through their world (Pink 2015b), and technologies such as the Narrative Clip, a small camera worn on the body (Fors, Berg and Pink 2016; Favero 2016, 2019), and the GoPro (Spinney 2015; Favero 2016, 2019; Sumartojo and Pink 2017) have been experimented with. Such body-mounted cameras are positioned differently to conventional video or stills cameras and participate in configuring new modes of often mobile ethnographic knowing, which invite reflexive consideration regarding what might be seen and felt through first-person-perspective video and photography and how to combine uses of these technologies with interviewing techniques. Drone-mounted cameras (Garrett and McCosker 2017) and the 360-degree camera (Gómez Cruz 2017; Favero 2019), offer different perspectives respectively in mobile aerial and composite imaging, requiring reflexive explorations of what can be known through them and how they might be combined with other methods. The introduction of the DSLR has been said to offer certain image quality and capacity, which can benefit ethnographic video, including for instance advantages when filming in low light (Nuska 2018). As new technologies increasingly become part of research contexts they imply new possibilities; they open up the 'technological possible' in ethnographic practice (Pink 2017b), rather than impacting on how we do ethnography in a predictable way. They offer new modes of experimentation and knowing that will be emergent in particular research circumstances in site-specific ways; they thus call for researcher reflexivity regarding the things and processes that they configure with in making new ways of knowing possible.

Doing Visual Ethnography is a guide to an approach to visual ethnography, rather than a manual on how to use the most recent equipment, therefore I do not provide advice on equipment use, and indeed, the practical skills needed to use different camera technologies both vary considerably and need to be updated as technologies change. At the time of writing, recent guides to technical aspects of using camera technologies in ethnography have been developed by Terence Heng (2016) and Phillip Vannini (2019).

ETHICS IN VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Much debate and research has been generated around the question of ethics in visual research, no doubt partly driven by a desire for guidance and consensus in this complex field. Visual research ethics has emerged as field of methodological discussion and debate (e.g. Prosser, Clark and Wiles 2008; Wiles, Coffey, Robison and Prosser 2012; Clark 2019), which has advocated a situated ethics approach (Clark 2012), interrogated ethics in

participatory visual research (Mitchell 2011), and discussed legal issues (Rowe 2019). The growing literature also offers a vast resource of examples of ethical practice that researchers might draw from. However, here my words are intended to invite readers to ethical considerations. I express views and arguments, however these are not recommendations or endorsements of what individual ethnographers 'should' do in order to practice ethically in any given situation. Ethics are always situated and imply personal responsibility, and therefore they need to be developed by individual researchers in the context of their own projects, in relation to the guidelines of professional associations, and with recourse to the relevant ethical committees, and national or situated legal requirements relating to display, exhibition and publishing of images.

Increasingly academic research ethics are regulated by national bodies that govern research integrity and are applied by university-based ethical approval committees. Ethnographic ethics are inextricable from social and power relations between project stakeholders, including ethnographers themselves, interdisciplinary co-researchers, research participants, other professionals, funding councils, gatekeepers, governments, the media and other institutions, industry partners and other non-academic stakeholders, and might cross academic disciplines. Ethics are not simply a local concern, or between researcher and participant, but are inseparable from the politics and power relations of national, global contexts. In ethnographic fieldwork beyond the governance of ethical conduct, we need a reflexive approach to ethics to understand the ethical nuances of research sites and their global situatedness, and to understand the uncertainties that are associated with approaches that see ethics as fixed or predictable, since ethics are embedded in and contingent on the specific circumstances in which the research plays out and are informed by incremental ethnographic learning and knowing. This centring of ethics demands that ethnographers gain a deep understanding of the ethical landscape of their sites of fieldwork, sharing and dissemination. For future-focused and interventional researchers this involves new encounters with the uncertainties of as yet unknown scenarios and how these might be ethically navigated. For visual ethnographers, this also means accounting for the ethics of image making, showing and sharing, how plural moralities might be at play, and how these are constituted, navigated and expressed, and how these codes and practices intersect with research ethics. In the following sections I outline key issues in and approaches to ethics in visual ethnography.

INFORMED CONSENT AND MODES OF COLLABORATION

Visual ethnography generates collaborative encounters between researchers and informed participants to generate learning and knowing about human experience, activity and imagination. For some researchers covert methods are a standard or at least acceptable means of observing and collecting data about people who are unaware they are being studied, photographed or video recorded. While some social scientists have argued that covert research is not necessarily unethical (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 263–8), it is neither compatible with the approach to informed consent I advocate here, nor does it – like other observational methods – reveal the otherwise invisible experiences and meanings that visual ethnography seeks to surface.

However, the concept of informed consent is not straightforward: first, because in different cultural or social circumstances consent may take different forms, involve different individuals and relationships and have different meanings; and second, participants in research and ethnographers might have differently situated understandings and intentions related to the research, its activities and visual materials. Therefore the extent to which consent can be fully informed, or how it might involve a process of shared learning during research processes, might vary. Consent to participate in visual ethnography goes beyond having a consent form signed off, and can entail careful explanation and negotiation, which may be revisited. The notion of informed consent is moreover conventionally based on the assumption of an unequal relationship between researcher and participants, whereby it is the researcher who stands to gain and the participant who must be protected. However, if ethnography is seen differently, as a process of negotiation and collaboration between researcher and participants who have an interest in the project, rather than simply as an act of taking information away from them, the ethical agenda also shifts. By focusing on collaboration and consultation, agency becomes shared between the researcher and participant. This approach also reframes the assumption that researchers should 'give back' something to participants. That is, if the participants have a stake in the research themselves then the idea of the researcher who extracts data and must give something in return becomes irrelevant. Visual ethnography offers particularly powerful modes of collaborating and sharing materials with participants, since as is emphasised in the discussions of methods in the following chapters, they become shared documents where different interpretations and uses can be navigated and understood. This is not to say that we should not offer participants financial and other compensation for the time and effort they put into time consuming research exercises, where this meets their expectations and the economies within which we research. Rather it is to emphasise that research should be designed to be relevant, engaging and rewarding for those who participate in it, and when research agendas seek to address key social issues this tends to be the case. There are several ways to ensure that consent is as informed as possible and revisited if necessary. For example, project websites can provide information and examples regarding the research process for participants to consult. Participant information sheets and consent forms (often required by ethical regulatory bodies) can be designed for participants to opt in and out of different research activities, and to maintain different degrees of control over visual and other research materials and how these might be used.

There is a long history of collaborative approaches to ethnographic image production, where for example local people have sought ethnographic films that they can use for marketing locally made artefacts (Engelbrecht 1996). In my own research in the UK, I provided copies of my own photographs of the Slow Food and Slow City events to the people who were developing local projects (Figure 3.2). In 2005 the town of Aylsham in Norfolk was a finalist in the international LivCom Awards, where it won a silver award. As part of the preparation for the event, I sent a set of photographs and video clips of the town and from its carnival and regional agricultural show which were, along with images produced by others, used in the presentation given at the awards event in Spain. As part of the LEEDR project (2010–14) (Figure 3.3) we supplied participants with copies of the home video tours we made with them to discuss in follow-up sessions, checking they were happy with us keeping copies of these recordings, and asking for their informed consent for the showing of all or part of the recording in presentations, at conferences or in publications, and where relevant checked that they were happy with our use of particular images, screen captures and clips before publication. Not only are ethnographic images shared as part of structured research processes but, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, through more spontaneous activity where there might be ongoing flows of images between participants and researchers. Some ethnographic filmmakers ask the subjects of their films to sign consent forms (see Barbash and Taylor 1997; Banks 2001: 131–2; Marvin 2005), and if this is not done, moral and legal issues of ownership of the images and of consent may arise. Yet, even when people have consented to being photographed or video recorded, it cannot be assumed that they have, in anticipation of the images being produced, been able to even imagine what these images will be like, let alone contemplate how they would feel if the images were in a publicly screened documentary video, posted on the internet or exhibited in a gallery. During the course of my research projects I have developed a consent form that allows participants to opt in and out of different visual and other research activities, maintain control of the materials that are produced with them in the ways that they wish, and add additional options if they prefer (Figure 3.4). This consent form has been revised over time through different projects. It is a work in progress to be adapted as the conditions of research shift.

Figure 3.2 Aylsham Slow City Leaders photographed at the Norfolk Show. © Sarah Pink 2005.
As part of my research in Aylsham, Norfolk, I provide copies of my own photographs of the Slow Food and Cittàslow events to the people who were developing local projects. In 2005 the town was a finalist in the international LivCom Awards (see www.livcomawards.com/), where it won a silver award. As part of the preparation for the event, I sent a set of photographs and video clips of the town and from its carnival and regional agricultural show which, combined with images produced by other people, provided a range of materials used to develop the presentation given at the awards event in Spain.

Figure 3.3 Rhodes revisiting her video tour with Kerstin in July 2011. © LEEDR, 2011, used with permission. Image first published in Pink and Leder Mackley (2012) in Sociological Research Online (www.socresonline.org.uk/17/1/3.html).

As part of the LEEDR project we supplied our participants with copies of the video tours we made with them then discussed these recordings with them in a follow-up session. At this time we checked that they were happy with us keeping copies of the recordings, and asked for their informed consent for the showing of all or part of the recording in presentations, at conferences or in publications. In some cases we also asked for consent to show images on an ongoing basis, giving participants the chance to opt out if they wished to during the course of the project.

Sample consent form

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved.

I have read and understood the information sheets and this consent form. I confirm that:

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and that I will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.

I agree to participate in this study and I also agree to (please tick yes or no):

Being interviewed and audio recorded as part of this study	Yes	No
Being photographed as part of this study	Yes	No
Being video recorded as part of this study	Yes	No
Photographic materials and video stills in which I am shown being included in the publications arising from this research	Yes	No
Video materials in which I am shown being published on-line	Yes	No
Photographic materials in which I am shown, being shown at conferences	Yes	No
Video materials in which I am shown being shown at conferences and workshops	Yes	No
I would like to be contacted to approve uses of my images prior to their publication	Yes	No
I would like to remain anonymous in all publications (this means that video recordings and photographs of me will not be used and my real name will not be used in publications)	Yes	No

I understand that any images and texts made during the research and that are given to me will remain in the ownership and the copyright of the [add name of project] project.

Your name: ______________________ (Please print)

Your signature: ______________________ Date: _ _ _/ _ _ _/_ _ _

Email address/ contact (optional) ______________________

Researcher's name: ______________________ (Please print)

Researcher's signature ______________________ Date: _ _ _/ _ _ _/_ _ _

Figure 3.4 Sample consent form.

HARM TO PARTICIPANTS AND RESEARCHERS

The question of harm to participants in research is often posed in ethics applications. While ethnographic research is not harmful in the sense of it being physically invasive, if not properly managed it can lead to anxiety, stress or other unwelcome experiences, and sensitivity to how individuals in different contexts or cultures may experience this is fundamental. The less frequently addressed question of harm to researchers is sometimes approached through researcher safety review processes within the context of occupational or worker safety and health, but has received less attention. Both questions however form part of a consideration of research ethics. Here, rather than prescribing actual methods of preventing harm to participants and researchers, I suggest a way of thinking about how research, anxiety and harm are understood and experienced. General methods of preventing harm to participants are not applicable across all research sites, since there are culturally and situationally different ways of understanding harm and of contributing to it with images. Moreover, the idea that participants find research processes distressing is often based on the assumption that they are having the research *done to them*. In this scenario the researcher is supposed to be in control of the research situation and therefore also assumes responsibility for the potential harm that may be inflicted on the participants. This approach would require that in taking responsibility to protect participants, researchers should be sensitive to the visual culture and experience of the individuals with whom they are working. Ethnographers need to judge, or ask (when appropriate), about personal or cultural reasons why people may find viewing particular images offensive, disturbing or distressing, or being photographed or videoed stressful. A collaborative approach should avoid the generation of such anxieties, through for instance joint ownership or control of how visual materials are produced and used and ongoing consultation and negotiation of consent. When ethnographic research involves making private aspects of people's

lives public, participants should be able to make informed choices regarding if and how this is done. However, in this context researchers should take responsibility for ensuring such choices are properly informed.

Researchers are generally more experienced in, or at least have greater knowledge of, the implications and outcomes of research processes than participants in research, simply because while researchers are likely to study and to undertake series of projects, often people who participate in research will only do so once, or in relation to one project or researcher. Therefore the responsibility of the researcher involves drawing on such knowledge, sharing it with participants, and/or using it ethically to inform decisions. For example, in the apparent intimacy of a video interview, a participant may make comments that he or she would not make elsewhere, and which may not only implicate themselves but others. Even if participants have agreed that materials can be published, sometimes ethnographers have to determine if it is ethical to do so in relation to the possible wider social and political impact, and might wish to discuss these questions further with participants before dissemination. In some cases it may be appropriate to use software that anonymises participants while still showing the processes that we wish to emphasise (Figure 3.5). Indeed, not only research participants themselves, but also the reputations of institutions, organisations and people connected with them – which it can be difficult to anonymise in visual research – should be considered in ethical processes. Once visual materials are publicly disseminated neither we, nor research participants, can control how they are interpreted. However, a personal, cultural and ethical sensibility and responsibility, rooted in in-depth engagement with participants, institutions and organisations, possible audiences, and the wider context can assist us in framing the meanings they might generate. It is impossible to indicate the full range of situations that might arise; the key point is to remain alert to them and interrogate them when they do.

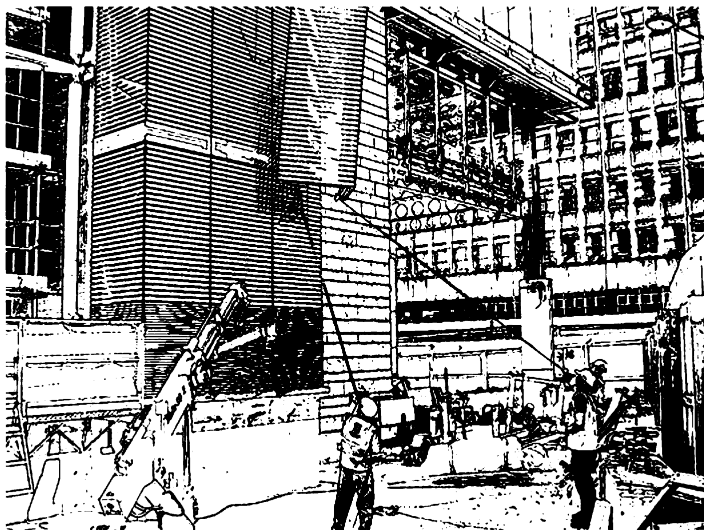

Figure 3.5 Using software to anonymise people and locations. © Dylan Tutt, used with permission. Software was used to anonymise the people photographed during research into worker safety in the construction industry, while still enabling us to use photography in order to show the different spaces of a safe work process that this particular group of workers had developed.

Consideration of potential harm to researchers should also form part of an ethical and responsible research process, both in lone researcher ethnographies and in ethnographic teamwork where researchers might take responsibility for the authorship of images, appear in ethnographic photography and video shot by others, and navigate relationships with research participants and institutional or other stakeholders in projects. By authoring and particularly by appearing in project publications, whether these are written or visual, researchers are also exposed to the scrutiny of the public. Research might also be undertaken in environments where the researchers' personal safety needs to be assessed. For example Jennie Morgan and I have argued that 'While we need to have ways of ensuring that people (including researchers) stay safe at work, as a regulatory framework OSH [Occupational Safety and Health] procedures tend to create a logic that cannot acknowledge or harness the creative potential of uncertainty' (Morgan and Pink 2018: 403). Given the uncertain and serendipitous nature of ethnographic fieldwork it thus becomes difficult to reconcile the anticipatory logics that inform OSH with the processual nature of research. Morgan and I call for a revision in OSH to go beyond the tendency to 'predict and plan for risks' to also 'better support researchers managing and responding to hazards as they unfold in and through ethnographic practice' (2018: 402). Based on Morgan's experiences of ensuring her own safety when undertaking ethnographic research about OSH in the construction industry, we have shown how 'personal and less explicit ways of knowing (including "feeling" and "sensing" safety through contingent and sometimes improvisory embodied, affective, and sensory engagements) are fundamental for researcher (and other workers') safety' (2018: 409). Alongside such approaches, other measures that can effectively be put in place include

researcher safety protocols. These can be used both in team ethnography and in lone-ethnographer studies. They involve the researcher having a 'buddy' who they might check in with on arrival or departure from fieldwork encounters, as well as other structured modes of response. While stressing that OSH policies and guidance are needed, Morgan and I emphasise 'the potential for alternative ways of knowing to be integrated (and not assumed to be oppositional) into researcher safety design' (2018: 409), and suggest that researchers themselves likewise seek to attend to both dimensions of their own safety – that is through the institutional OSH support that is available and by being sensitive to the contingent and contextual aspects of safety that cannot necessarily be predicted in advance.

FUTURE-FOCUSED VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND AN ETHICS OF RESPONSIBILITY

A new future-focused approach to visual ethnography presents us with opportunities to develop new research methods oriented towards exploring imagined futures and anticipatory concepts and feelings, and to participate in interventions towards better futures. It also requires us to consider the ethical basis of our practice from two new perspectives.

The first is to reflect on the ethics of our participation in futures ethnography practice – that is, to consider the ethics of responsibility that are entailed when we seek to make or contribute to processes of change (Pink 2017b). One way to consider this is from the perspective that, as social scientists, with the ethnographic and analytical skills to bring forward, communicate and advance critical insights for better futures, we have a duty to participate in such agendas. Can we justify standing back and dedicating our capacity only to theoretical scholarship and the pursuit of academic career building? Or should we further implicate ourselves in research that has a positive impact in the world? Our involvement is encouraged by institutionally driven and government endorsed impact agendas that seek to guide the social sciences towards research that is useful in industry and policy agendas. One option is to engage with these processes. Nevertheless doing so does not preclude us using our research to develop strong critical voices, endorsed by the ways of knowing that emerge from visual ethnographic practice, and advanced through the visual communication strategies that our work permits. Such an approach does not involve a paternalistic disregard for local voices and the views of participants in research; however, it does recognise that we are all differently expert and differently skilled. It invites visual ethnographers to consider how and where the particular skills and experience we have, and the pictures of the world our work reveals, can contribute, in relation to and in collaboration with those of stakeholders in research, which includes participants, organisations and other entities.

The second perspective concerns the need for an approach to ethics that accounts for future-focused ethnography (Pink 2017a). Existing research ethics protocols are not generally designed to govern research about possible or uncertain futures. Rather, they seek to create certainties around the possible risks that research generates, and to subsequently mitigate these risks through the application of procedures that will ensure that specific legal and moral codes are not violated. These protocols work well when they can be attached to structures of cause and effect, within controlled environments. However, ethnographic futures research creates uncertainties that it is difficult to audit, and unknown risks that it is impossible to mitigate in advance. Therefore the impulse towards impact also creates new ethical questions, since impact can neither be measured not evaluated before it has happened, it can be planned for but is only knowable after the event. In these circumstances a processual approach to ethics is needed; one that acknowledges that even when the period allocated to funding a research project ends, the relationships between researchers and participants and decisions about the use of research materials might not have concluded, and that acknowledges that when research is interventional and has impact there are always uncertainties associated with how impact back towards both researcher and participants might be experienced.

OWNERSHIP OF RESEARCH MATERIALS

While in the traditional mode of sole ethnographer visual research the ownership or copyright of an image would normally be attributed to the visual ethnographer, research participant or other person – photographer, filmmaker or artist – who created it, in other cases this can be more complex. In some cases, visual research materials are jointly owned by a set of different parties such as the ethnographer, other researchers who are involved if it is a larger project, participants, funding bodies, persons or organisations involved in post-production, and other institutions and universities or organisations. In such contexts it is important to ensure that approaches to ethics, use of materials, issues relating to ongoing consent as outlined above, and any other ethical questions and issues relating to the project are made explicit and agreed in advance. The way this is manifested in different projects can vary. In ethnographic team projects copyright of a photograph or video clip is often rightly attributed to its author. Sometimes other options are appropriate – for instance in figures from the LEEDR project included in this book (e.g. Figure 3.3 above) images are credited to LEEDR. Here, as a large research team, we determined to represent our shared ownership by using the project acronym. Similar questions arise when researchers share materials with research participants, relating to who can reproduce images and ensuring that anyone depicted in

the images is aware of and has consented to this.

Therefore it is advisable to clarify rights of use and ownership of video and photo-graphic images, and the kinds of content acceptable, before they are produced or shared, as well as through ongoing negotiations around consent as discussed above. Other contingencies may also arise in contexts relating to digital image sharing. When sharing research images on digital platforms and social media, researchers should make themselves, and participants in research, aware of the consequences of this for ownership and dissemination of images in ways that might become beyond their own control. When collaborating with non-academic partners and organisations often publishing agreements are put into place whereby partner approval is required before materials enter the public sphere.

Finally, ethics and ownership of images also apply in public contexts of sharing work through presentations. Since the early 2000s I have often found myself giving public talks in which audience members have taken their own photographs or videos of my slides or of me. As shown in an early example in Figure 3.6 this can be problematic. For instance, people who participate in the projects I am involved in or lead usually agree for the researcher to reproduce their images, but not for others to do so. In the age of the smartphone where conference audiences might photograph, video and share moments or images from our talks on social media this is even more problematic. Therefore it can be helpful to preface conference presentations or other public talks with explicit requests to audiences not to reproduce materials shown during lectures, or to make clear which can and which should not be reproduced. In a contemporary context, lectures are often filmed by conference organisers, with the agreement of the presenter, who will usually be asked to sign a release form – these aspects can be planned for. This can include requesting to view and suggest edits to video recorded talks in order to ensure that ethics agreements with participants are not broken through such dissemination methods.

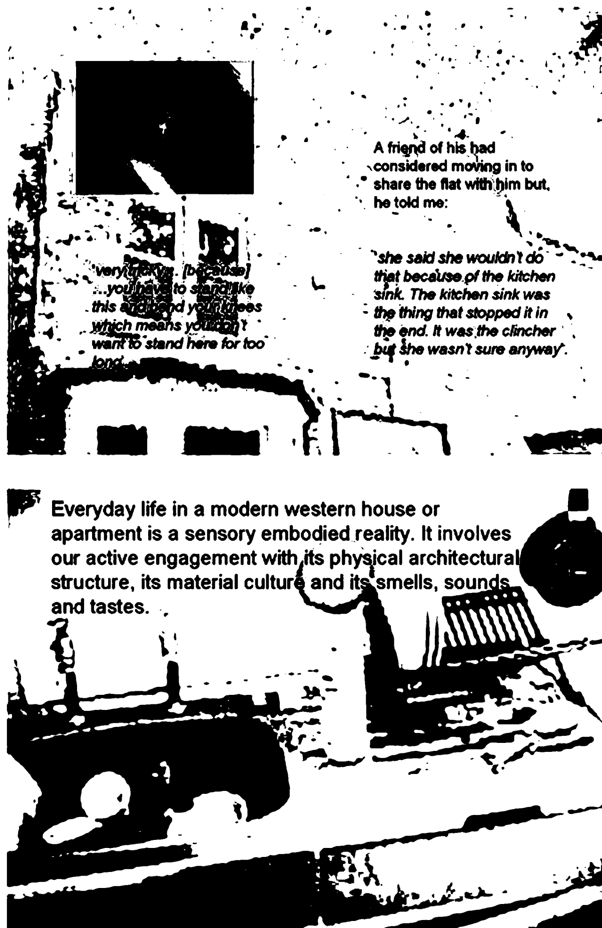

Figure 3.6 Showing visual slides in conference presentations. © Sarah Pink 2005.
When I presented a paper at a symposium in 2005 I used a PowerPoint presentation to combine video, photographs and written text. I was not alone in this, as several of the other speakers also used the same range of different media in their own PowerPoint presentations. In the slides reproduced here I show how I used close-up photographs of the textures of home (slide 1), a video still background foregrounded with a video clip contextualizing words and quotations from

the video transcript (slide 2), and a video still of an everyday domestic reality overlaid with academic writing (slide 3).
During the presentations an interesting ethical issue arose: some of the members of the audience were practising a form of visual note-taking during the presentations. They were photographing the slides from the speakers' presentations as they were screened. This raises another layer of issues relating to consent. A research participant may have agreed that a specific researcher may show a video clip of her or him in public, but not that another individual may subsequently copy it by photographing or video recording the presentation. I asked these members of the audience not to photograph during my presentation.

Summary

Preparing to do visual ethnography involves a range of academic, practical and ethical considerations that should ideally come together in ways that support each other to create a viable framework through which to plan and start the research. Yet there are also many unknowns and uncertainties, things that we cannot predict and questions that are as yet unanswered. In reality, many decisions about how to use visual and digital technologies and the ethical questions they raise are confronted during ethnographic research processes. Sometimes it is hard to make evaluations in advance as they are ideally informed by an ethnographic appreciation of the ways visual and digital technologies are already part of the context of the ethnography. This impossibility of knowing exactly what will happen is part of doing visual ethnography, and brings with it the possibility of learning about the otherwise invisible and the unexpected.

Moreover, following this logic, research ethics themselves are likewise not static, measurable or auditable in the ways that are often suggested by traditional approaches to ethics, and by the predictive modes of accountability that we are demanded to participate in by institutional ethical approval committees. Institutional ethical governance is useful in that it provides coherent frames within which to consider and apply ethics. However, it does not tell the whole story when we consider the wider contexts of our research, and as visual ethnographers we have an ethical obligation to develop research that enables the insights that we can create by using the camera to get under the surface of the observable everyday, that contest dominant discourses and that offer new routes towards better futures, to participate in agendas for intervention. We live in a world where, as we move into the 2020s political, environmental and public health disasters are acutely experienced, and where misconceptions of the ability of emerging technologies to solve societal problems are common. As visual ethnographers, we have the opportunity to expand our understanding of ethical research beyond the ethical conduct that we are already committed to regarding our relationships with research participants, and towards a wider ethics of responsibility.

Further reading

Pink, S. (2017) 'Ethics in a changing world: embracing uncertainty, understanding futures, and making responsible interventions', in S. Pink, V. Fors and T. O'Dell (eds), *Working in the Between: Theoretical Scholarship and Applied Practice*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Pink, S. (2017) 'Technologies, possibilities, emergence and an ethics of responsibility: refiguring visual-digital research techniques', in E. Gómez Cruz, S. Sumartojo and S. Pink (eds), *Refiguring Techniques in Digital Visual Research*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clark, A. (2019) 'Visual ethics beyond the crossroads', in L. Pauwels and D. Mannay (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods* (2nd edn). London: SAGE.

Rowe, J. (2019) 'Legal issues of using images in research', in L. Pauwels and D. Mannay (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods* (2nd edn). London: SAGE.

Morgan, J. and Pink, S. (2018) 'Researcher safety? Ethnography in the interdisciplinary world of audit cultures', *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies*, 18(6), 400–9.

PART 2 MAKING, KNOWING AND MEANING

Part 2 of this book invites readers into a world of visual ethnographic methods of research and analysis. It considers how knowledge and ways of knowing are produced through visual ethnography practice, through a discussion of methods as situated, dynamic and shifting, innovated and modified in practice and in context. It acknowledges that visual ethnography is not neutral, and continues the calls for a reflexive stance that interrogates not only the modes through which knowledge is produced but also the politics of its production and its potential for applied and public action.

The discussion is divided into three chapters to account for photographic and video ethnography methods and analysis. This division structures the discussion along the lines of existing literatures, debates and practices in the fields of photography and video in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. However, of course, photographic and video ethnography are not necessarily undertaken in isolation from each other and ethnographic analysis often begins during fieldwork. All three can be interwoven in the same practices. Analysis, discussed in Chapter 6, brings together diverse experiences and materials to create new ways of knowing. Here the focus is on reflexively situating, organising and interpreting research materials, rather than analysing visual materials in isolation.

4 PHOTOGRAPHIC ETHNOGRAPHY PRACTICE

Photography has been part of ethnographic research practice for over a century. Old, new and emerging photographic technologies, ranging from for instance analogue cameras, to digital images, social media posts, momentary Snapchat photos, and data visualisations, are part of our everyday public, professional and private worlds. How can photographs and photography practice enable us to better know and understand other people's worlds ethnographically? How does photography enable us to get under the surface, to view what would otherwise be invisible? And how does photographic visual ethnography inspire the critical visions that can lead to responsible and ethical interventions?

Photography makes a powerful contribution to a renewed visual ethnography practice. It is a mode of engaging with and bringing to the fore those aspects of experience, activity, environments and imaginations that cannot be articulated verbally, but are integral and fundamental to life. Photographic visual ethnography can support agendas for societal wellbeing, investigate the inequalities and misconceptions of existing dominant understandings of the past and present, and contest, critique, problematise and correct visions of human futures.

A photographic stills camera has been an almost mandatory element of the research 'tool kit' for several generations of ethnographers. Through diverse histories, ethnographic photography has supported different intellectual and political projects, and has been endorsed by a range of methodological paradigms. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, within practices which have since been critically reviewed and problematised, photography flourished as an objective recording method for the 'scientific' documentation of cultural and physical difference (Edwards 1992, 1997b). Now controversial, anthropological photography was developed by Alfred Cort Haddon in Britain, Franz Boas in the US, and Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen in Australia (Jacknis 1984; Morphy 1996). From 1915–1918 Bronislaw Malinowski used photography within his long-term fieldwork method (Young 1998), and in the mid-twentieth century Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (1942) used photography to record and represent Balinese culture (see Chaplin 1994: 207ff; Banks 2001). Even in the 1980s ethnographic photography was still often engaged to support scientific-realist approaches of positivist inquiry. However, this period was also a turning point from which the increasingly reflexive and critical stance to ethnographic practice I argued for in the first edition of *Doing Visual Ethnography* (2001) evolved. A reflexive awareness involves considering how ethnographers play their roles as photographers in particular cultural settings, how they frame particular images, what is behind, above and below these frames, and how these choices are related to the expectations of academic disciplines and institutions and those of participants, their visual cultures and relationships and the politics and power relations of the situations in which we photograph. In this chapter I explore and discuss the principles and fieldwork methods that support this approach, and outline how this underpins a new futures-focused and interventional social science.

Digital and social media photography are integral to contemporary everyday life and ethnographic practice. A growing literature about digital photography and its practice spans academic disciplines including anthropology, cultural studies, sociology and human computer interaction. This includes a focus on the relationship between digital and analogue photography (e.g. Pink 2011e), digital cartographies and camera-phones and the mobile nature of digital photography (Pink 2011a; Pink and Hjorth 2012; Gómez Cruz 2016a), how people become recruited to the practice of digital photography (Shove and Pantzar 2007), digital and personal photography (e.g. van House 2011), digital photography and everyday life (Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio 2016), the shift to the particular form of 'social' photography that is associated with social media (Jurgenson 2019) and 'nonhuman photography' (Zylinska 2017). This literature has evolved new discussions of digital photography, technologies and techniques in ethnographic practice (e.g. Gómez Cruz, Pink and Sumartojo 2017; Gómez Cruz 2019), consideration of the algorithmic dimensions of photographic processes and images (Urrichio 2011; Zylinska 2017) as well as much needed discussions of the technical processes of digital photography as situated within social research (Heng 2016). As Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio stress, the evolution of digital photography as part of everyday life means we need to look beyond earlier conceptualisations of both photography and everyday life to understand the 'complex entanglements' and the power relations entailed in contexts ranging from mundane everyday family photography to 'the politically unpredictable ways in which vernacular photography becomes part of forensic databases' (2016: 2). Nancy Van House has stressed that new archives of 'linked images and metadata' and big data analytics offer new ways to study photographic images and processes over time, yet simultaneously this approach 'removes images from social contexts and practices' (2016: 278). Visual ethnography in turn is needed to re-situate our knowledge of such images, and moreover, we must understand the different ways that images and the relationships in which they are entangled might play out in diverse sites across the world. Indeed, in different global sites the evolution and ubiquity of digital photography is emerging in specific ways and as part of differentiated histories of photography. For instance, Paula Uimonen reminds us that while 'Kodak culture' (Chalfen 1987) was seen as a key shaper of the ubiquity of vernacular photography and photographic cultures in the US, in places such as Tanzania, where her own fieldwork was undertaken, the mobile phone is the technology that has made cameras available to ordinary people (Uimonen 2016: 20). Till Förster

discusses research into how participants in Côte d'Ivoire use smartphone photography as a way to imagine possible futures in a contemporary African context where 'Today, almost all owners of smartphones have become photographers. Professional photographers who ran photostudios since many years, sometimes their entire life, are going out of business' (Förster 2018: 85). Julien Dugnoille's (2016) in-depth analysis of digital photography of cats and dogs in South Korea outlines how more-than-human relations are rendered in online visual cultures in this context. In this chapter my primary interest is less in the specific findings of such studies of emerging digital photography cultures, but in how they remind us that the sites of digital ethnographic photography create new complexities which visual ethnographers need to investigate in order to understand the dynamics through which their own and participants' photographic practice will emerge. As Boticello, Fisher and Woodward put it, 'in ethnographic fieldwork, digital images both follow and lead the trend towards greater equitability and transparency of the photographic ethnographic encounter' (Botticello, Fisher and Woodward 2016: 290).

Attention to how digital photography, and the data, algorithms and social relationships with which it is configured, become part of everyday life and research practice underpins contemporary visual ethnography practice. Yet people's digital skills are varied and analogue photographic technologies, techniques and materials remain part of everyday worlds: there is a continued presence of print photography in everyday and institutional archival collections and their materiality remains part of their meaning; there is a vintage revival of analogue photographic technology and techniques (along with vinyl and sound technologies) (e.g. Stummer 2018); access to digital technologies, skills and literacies are unevenly distributed nationally, globally and crosscut by age, gender, class and other aspects; and there exist continuities between contemporary photographic visual ethnography methods and those developed earlier. Although new technologies make possible different techniques and visual perspectives, they do not change all the principles through which researchers and participants make everyday meanings or imagine their uncertain futures, or the empathetic and participatory face-to-face, embodied and sensory modes of visual ethnographic practice. While digital and networked photographic practices and technologies have shifted the possibilities and realities of vernacular, professional and fieldwork photography, we should not treat these as separate developments or practices in visual ethnography.

ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHS AS SHARED VISUALITIES

It has long since been acknowledged that the academic value of photographs is constituted through how researchers engage with them. In the 1990s Elizabeth Edwards defined an anthropological photograph as 'any photograph from which an anthropologist could gain useful, meaningful visual information', defined not through its content but through how it was classified by its consumer (Edwards 1992: 13), and the sociologist Howard Becker proposed that the genre of a photograph depends more on its viewing context rather than on it pertaining to a particular (socially constructed) category (Becker 1995: 5). Within a reflexive and collaborative visual ethnography, ethnographic photographs are often shared, between researcher and participant, between researchers, and between different contexts and materialities. There is an ethics of openness and transparency entailed in sharing, making it a useful concept through which to conceptualise the relations of ethnographic photography.

The same photograph can serve different personal and ethnographic uses and, as it is shared, can be invested with contradictory meanings; as Edwards put it almost thirty years ago: '[m]aterial can move in and out of the anthropological sphere and photographs that were not created with anthropological intent or specifically informed by ethnographic understanding may nevertheless be appropriated to anthropological ends' (Edwards 1992: 13). Likewise research photographs created by ethnographers may be integrated into research participants' and others' personal collections, for their purposes (Pink 1996). For example, a photo I took of my friend and participant in my 1990s research in southern Spain was printed and became part of her personal collection and family album, while I used it in discussions with other participants, my PhD thesis and publications (e.g. Pink 1997a) and in my collection of photographs of friends (Figure 6.3). My photograph of the woman bullfighter Cristina Sanchez entitled 'The Bullfighter's Braid' (Figure 6.2) was in one context an 'ethnographic photograph' published on the front cover of my book *Women and Bullfighting* (1997a); it won an artistic journalistic photography prize, publicised the visit of a female bullfighter to Córdoba and was used in research participants' personal collections and wall displays. My bullfighting research taught me how ethnographic photography often involves collaborating and sharing, how photographs generate new contexual meanings, and how reflecting on these shifts generates new modes of ethnographic knowing.

Research participants have their own uses for ethnographers' photographs. The following is a transcription from a meeting I attended during my Slow Cities research in the UK in 2006:

> **Sue**: If there are any photographs, especially digital photographs of any of these barbecues and events that are going on they would be really good because we are going to be putting together a presentation for the LivCom awards and it would be very good. What I want to do is to build on the application we put in and so it mentions the community garden, so it would be nice to treat the presentation as almost an update on when we submitted the application and say 'here are the community garden people' doing their garden or enjoying their space or whatever, and so moving it on. So I'd be really grateful for, especially digital, but I can get photographs scanned so I would be grateful.

Sarah: I'm going to take some photos when I interview the chairman, it won't be of activities.

Sue: Yes that's fine.

Jenny: That's useful.

Sue: Anything at the moment, I'll just kind of mop it up.

(From Pink 2011e: 92)

Here, sharing images between research archives and contexts involved mixed authorship (researcher, participants and others) and digital and analogue materiality. In my Slow Cities research, photographs were shared from researcher to participants, and when participants began to see me as 'their researcher' as much as them being 'my participants', they sent me their 'project' photographs including prints, paper prints of digital photographs, and emailed digital images, depending on people's digital access. Sometimes images showed me activities I could not attend, or updated me at distance. Slow City participants kept detailed photographic records of their projects and some sent me these, including photographs of me. The meanings of these images shifted as they moved from participants' archives to my ethnographic archive.

Ethnographic research also brings us up close to contemporary (and evolving) digital photographic practices and their contextual meanings. Ethnographic studies of local digital photography practices, particularly focusing on smartphones, for instance in Tanzania (Uimonen 2016), Denmark (Waltorp 2020), Australia, Japan and China (Hjorth, Ohashi, Sinanan, Horst, Pink, Kato and Zhou 2020), show that digital image sharing and posting takes many forms, across public and private or semi-private domains. This has implications for research ethics, and forming the subject of study, as researchers might also become part of, or witness, the networks through which images are shared. Likewise the ways we do ethnography in everyday life vary. For instance, as part of research for the 'Locating the mobile' project, across Australia, China and Japan, our research team learned about how intergenerational families used their smartphones to make and share photos in their everyday lives through in-depth ethnographic audio and video recorded and transcribed interview-based encounters in their homes (Pink, Sinanan, Hjorth and Horst 2016; Hjorth, Ohashi, Sinanan, Horst, Pink, Kato and Zhou 2020). In other research, encounters with digital photography are less structured, or follow participants' activities, resonating more with anthropological fieldwork practice. For example, the anthropologist Melinda Hinkson (2017) describes how she learned about the meanings digital photography invoked for her indigenous Australian research partner as she accompanied her from her new home to visit her sister in a healthcare environment. Karen Waltorp (2020) discusses how she became embedded in social relationships and friendships during her anthropological fieldwork with young Muslim women living in Copenhagen, Denmark. Through her engagement with participants through the smartphone and the visual apps that they used, Waltorp learned about and participated in their lives. Here, the overlapping visual worlds of the ethnographer and participant were manifested in a process, where: 'The smartphone and, most importantly, its image-making technology constitute an infrastructure for seeing, thinking and knowing – not just for the women – but also for me as an anthropologist engaging in fieldwork' (Waltorp 2020: 1).

Photographic meanings are contingent and subjective; they depend on who is looking, the temporalities and social and cultural contexts through which they are looking and the dominant discourses, relations of power and ethics that surround them. A notable historical example involves how, once re-situated, colonial photography was used to critique the intellectual and scientific environment and framework of beliefs in which it was produced (Edwards 1992, 1997b). My 1990s research showed how the meanings of bullfight photographs such as in Figure 4.1 were renegotiated when anti-bullfight or animal rights activists interpreted them. In a digital photography context, changing meanings and digital materialities of photographs generate further modes of meaning and of presence, absence and evocation. Waltorp's descriptions of her experiences of Snapchat and Facebook demonstrate this well, as she writes:

> Nour grabbed her phone and said: 'Come, we do a selfie.' We moved closer together, eyes to the tiny lens on her smartphone. The pictures she took were quickly decorated with a few emoticons and sent as a Snap to girlfriends who were not there with us in the moment, and who only saw the picture in the moment they received it, since a Snap will cease to exist after 10 seconds. Other pictures were arranged in montages of pictures of the cakes, the fruit on the table, and us smiling to the camera. A filter was added in a photo app and the photo posted on Facebook, receiving comments from friends and acquaintances. (Waltorp 2020: 34)

Thus, although some digital photographs are momentary, not to be kept, our ethnographic learning and knowing still emerges from our encounters with them, and as Edgar Gómez Cruz emphasises, 'vernacular uses of photo-technologies are incorporating practices that move away, not only from traditional uses of photography, but even from representational realms' (2016b: 229) whereby smartphone photographic technologies are used, to capture

QR code, or as mirrors thus becoming ‘photo-interfaces’ (2016b: 223). These contingenices in photographic content and meaning mean that for various reasons images that we and others create during research are not even archived, but still participate in meaning making.

Ethnographic photographs are not fixed entities, with static or predetermined digital materialities, rather they are defined through the process of their participation in visual ethnography research. We learn with them in these processes.

Figure 4.1 Different interpretations of the same images © Sarah Pink 1993.
These photographs were taken at a performance of the woman bullfighter Cristina Sanchez during my research in Spain. Here Cristina got into some difficulty with the bull. She was tossed into the air, fell to the ground, and then got up to kill the bull.
The images and events can be invested with different meanings by different viewers who participated in my research, such as: bullfighting fans in favour of women performers; bullfighting fans who believed women unable to participate as 'real' bullfighters; and people who were against bullfighting. Each different perspective would invest different meanings into the story of Cristina being tossed into the air. One group might see them as showing how Cristina was able to recover her position and successfully complete her performance as well as a man could; another might argue that this demonstrates that women cannot perform as well as men; and another might interpret this as showing a triumph for the bull.
How do we explain this?
Fans of women bullfighters would assess Cristina's ability to 'prove' that she is able to conclude the performance with the bull well; those against women performers would see her being tossed as a sign of her lack of physical strength and skill; and those against bullfighting might interpret the performance as a 'fight' between the bullfighter and the bull, with the option of either of them 'winning'. These are very different interpretations of the performance, because bullfight fans do not see it as a 'fight', but as a performance, the idea that the bull could 'win' would not make sense in a bullfighting fan's interpretation.

THE DIGITAL MATERIALITY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHY

The digital materiality (Pink, Ardèvol and Lanzeni 2016a) of contemporary photographic practices is acknowledged in recent work on 'material visual practices' (Lehmuskallio and Gómez Cruz 2016: 5). Both research participants' and ethnographers' photography emerges within 'the complexity of the entanglements of human bodies, networked cameras and everyday photography' (Lehmuskallio and Gómez Cruz 2016: 5). Examples include Vaike Fors' research into Swedish teenagers' use of a photo-diary social media web platform called Bilddagboken (BDB) where users microblogged with photographs, connecting with friends whose photographs they can also comment on through links to their pages or to specific dates (Figure 4.2). Fors emphasised 'websites as fleeting, temporary and ephemeral place-events', emphasising movement and the potentiality of the meanings that were created as users moved through this online environment (Fors, Backstrom and Pink 2013).

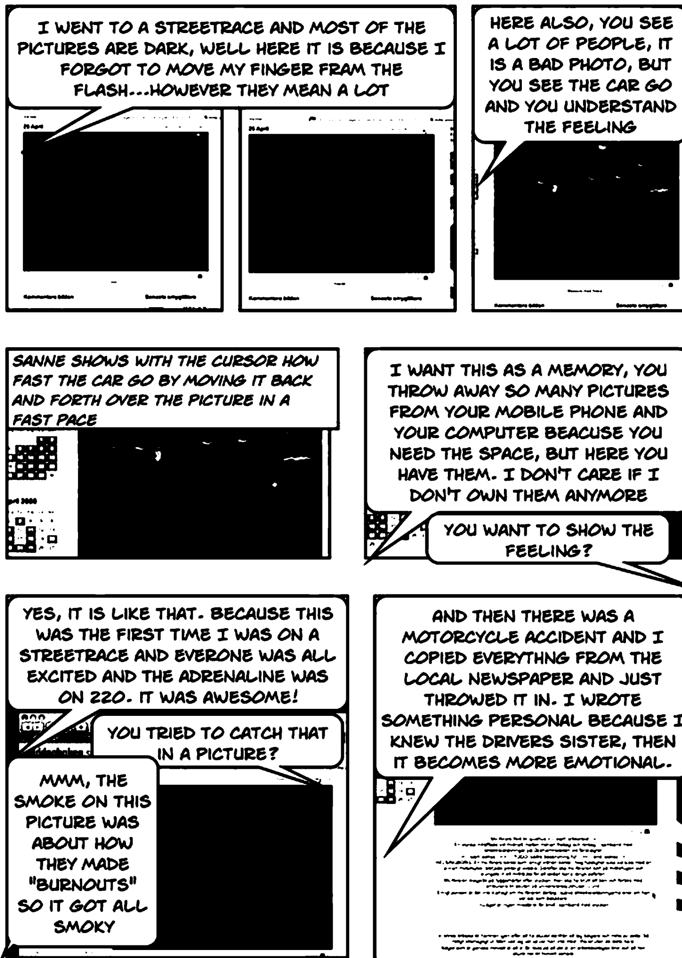

Figure 4.2 Vaike Fors shows how a teenage participant in her research described and showed her photographs on the photo-diary web platform. © Vaike Fors 2013, used with permission.

Edgar Gómez Cruz's long-term ethnography in Spain and the UK where he participated as a Flickr photographer showed how digital-material relationships were constituted through photographic practices around this platform. As a reflexive digital visual ethnographer he shared common activities with research participants, showing how participants' digital photography practices were part of contexts or places that spanned an online and offline world, which the visual ethnographer similarly navigated (Gómez Cruz 2012.) Eve Forrest's (Forrest 2012) research with UK Flickr photographers used walk-through methods to explore their online contexts with them, likewise linking production and dissemination of images in new ways and situating photographers socially, digitally and in terms of the places and environments of which they are a part. My own camera-phone photography research with Larissa Hjorth (Pink and Hjorth 2012) similarly tracked how photographs were made and posted, as part of the same practice, and Waltorp's later work shows how contemporary smartphone photography involves posting to diverse platforms with different meanings and access (Waltorp 2020) as people move through and experience and make environments in material and digital contexts simultaneously.

As these examples demonstrate, to understand people's digital practices and meanings we need to follow them as they move between and/or simultaneously participate in everyday material and digital sites and platforms.

PARTICIPATING IN PHOTOGRAPHIC CULTURES

Participating as a photographer in the very world that one is researching can form the core of visual ethnographic practice, and has been developed by researchers across a range of analogue and digital technologies and platforms. Visual ethnography practice is always situated within particular photographic cultures, which means we need to reflexively understand and consider the implications of these site-specific aspects for how we develop our practice and for our ethnographic learning.

The question of when to take the first photograph varies. In some projects photographing can help to initiate the

research process, involve us in learning about and participating in a photographic culture, and to establish relationships with participants, while in others it may be appropriate to wait longer. In some contexts photographing can raise suspicions: Paula Uimonen who, in recounting how she was shouted at by an angry Tanzanian, asking her if she intended to sell a photograph she was taking of a mobile phone stand in Europe, emphasises how such concerns about 'exploitative photography by cultural others' can be justified, given the colonial history through which it can be understood (2016: 29). Deciding how and when to photograph, and the relationships within which ethnographic photography is best embedded, should be informed by learning about practice and meaning of photography in the research context, global inequalities that inform understandings of photographic practice, and by discussing and negotiating with participants in relation to ethical issues.

Several examples demonstrate how photography may help initiate research. In one of the earliest texts on photographic research methods, Collier and Collier (1986) referred to the camera as a 'can-opener' in two ways that can help establish rapport with research participants. First, playing a photographer role can put researchers in an ideal position to observe the culture or groups they are researching. Second, showing photographs to participants can provide feedback on the images and their content, forge connections with community members, provide excuses or reasons for further meetings, or home visits. Sometimes photography is a way to contact local participants. Donna Schwartz (1992) began her research by photographing buildings in Waucoma, the town she was studying, both to inform the residents of her presence and to observe the goings-on of everyday life. This provided her with an entry point since seeing a stranger photographing the town made many people curious enough to ask what she was doing. They became interested in and supportive of Schwartz's work and the photographic aspect of the project became a key point of communication. In my research in Spain I began to photograph as soon as I became engaged with the groups I was interested in working with. Since I attended many events alone, and spoke little Spanish initially, photographing gave me something to do that was culturally acceptable, and I was grateful to have a role as 'photographer'. My photography was endorsed by the organisers and participants since at any such public event a number of press photographers were expected to be present. Once my photographs of the receptions were printed, I showed them to the organisers and other participants, we discussed the events and the people who were present, and people often asked for copies of particular images, usually of themselves with particular people, so that they could pass them on to their friends, colleagues or contacts within the bullfighting world. Therefore, in addition to getting feedback about the events, I learned about how social relationships and alliances were mapped out and constructed amongst bullfighting experts, fans and enthusiasts by studying who wanted to be photographed with whom and tracking the collection and distribution of the copies of the images people asked for. In other public contexts photography might begin in a more formalised way, in conjunction with the use of other methods. For example, in my Slow City research I began my encounters with most key participants in the research with an audio-recorded interview, after which I usually took a portrait photograph of each participant in the location of the interview, in a way that they chose themselves (see Figure 6.1).

Photography can lead us into fieldwork situations in unanticipated ways. Ethnographers can use photography to communicate about themselves and their intentions. Sharing photographs with participants can engender their trust, interest and feedback. Photographic visual ethnography methods therefore develop with and are interwoven with relationships we build as our research evolves in specific sites.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEYS AND TOURS

Photographing the material physical environment in/about which we do research is a common visual research practice, spanning from the twentieth-century use of the photographic survey (Collier and Collier 1986), to more recent methods of touring and researching in public space (Gómez Cruz 2016a, 2017; Young and MacDowall 2017). In earlier work the creation of photographic surveys was sometimes based on the assumption that the artefacts photographed have specific symbolic meanings. Collier and Collier proposed a 'cultural inventory', where, for example, by producing a systematic photographic survey of visual aspects of the material content and organisation of a home, one may answer questions relating to the economic level of the household, its style, decor, activities, the character of its order and its signs of hospitality and relaxation (Collier and Collier 1986: 47–50). This provided a way of visually comparing specific material aspects of different households or even cultures, and similar methods were employed by visual sociologists to study the symbolism of material items within the home (Secondulfo's 1997) and in a material office environment of Brussels (Pauwels 1996). However, such photographic records are limited because they do not indicate how these objects are experienced or made meaningful by those individuals in whose lives they figure.

Surveying our research environments photographically moreover might not necessarily take the form of a formal survey process, but can instead follow the intuitive hunches of anthropological fieldwork – what elsewhere I have referred to as the 'ethnographic hunch' (Pink 2021) whereby concepts, experiences and ideas are picked up as we go through our fieldwork sites, and followed through the research process, to create stories and narratives which bind their presence across different temporalities, sites and lives. An example of how the ethnographic hunch can be articulated as we survey the fieldwork environment photographically lies in how we photograph materialities, moments, emotions and sensations of significance in an attempt to invoke these in our research

memories, archives, publications, and discussions. In the 'Design for wellbeing' project, which investigated the sensory and affective experience of healthcare environments, with a research team of Melisa Duque, Laurene Vaughan and Shanti Sumartojo, we used various methods of photographically surveying the built environment of a psychiatric department as it moved from an older building to a new award winning architecturally designed hospital building. In this project, while we undertook research with patients and staff, our photography was focused on the building itself. Shanti, who undertook fieldwork in the old hospital, photographed aspects of the old building, including, for instance, a sensory room and its artefacts, which patients used in conjunction with staff for sensory modulation therapies, and a message tree painted onto the wall, which had significance for patients and staff (Sumartojo, Pink, Spong and Vaughan 2017). Laurene undertook a photographic survey of the old hospital once emptied; we photographed aspects of the materiality of the new hospital when we were taken on a tour of it before it was inhabited. Melisa undertook long-term fieldwork in the new hospital and created images of the shifting materiality and uses of the site as the participants in our research improvised ways of inhabiting the space. These photographs were informed by and stood for our interviews and discussions with participants, and enabled us to visualise aspects of sensory change. One of our research findings was that participants in our research agreed that the new hospital was a vast improvement on the old site, and generated new modes of patient and staff wellbeing. Yet, they also missed, and over time worked towards reproducing, some of the feelings of homeliness that they had experienced in the older site (Duque, Pink, Sumartojo and Vaughan 2020). Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show the visual materialities of the older and newer site. They were photographed because they were felt to be significant and attention was drawn to them through research with participants. This was followed through in the new site, where related visual materialities and experiences emerged in different ways. This enabled us not only to compare the visual materialities of these two sites, but also to understand how they were related to human experiences and values. The photographic survey brings elements of the material environment together with personal narratives and meanings.

Figure 4.3 The Message Trees. First photo © Shanti Sumartojo 2015 (old site), and second photo © Melisa Duque 2015 (new site), used with permission. Images were produced within the 'Design for wellbeing' project 2015–19. The project report is available at:
www.monash.edu/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/2090242/Report_080120.pdf
The message trees created in the old and new hospital sites show how staff were able to reproduce visual-material artefacts differently across the two sites in order to generate the feelings associated with the old hospital display in the new environment.

Figure 4.4 Photographing the feel of the material environment. © Shanti Sumartojo 2015, produced as part of the 'Design for wellbeing' project 2015–19. Images used with permission. The project report is available at:
www.monash.edu/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/2090242/Report_080120.pdf
Part of the way hospital environments were experienced was in relation to the surfaces, which were touched by patients and staff on an everyday basis. These photographs were taken by Shanti Sumartojo during her fieldwork in the old hospital and when we toured the as yet unoccupied new hospital. They informed how we thought about, discussed and contrasted the different values and modes of appreciation that a participant associated with the feelings of homeliness invoked by the old wooden furniture of the old hospital, and the more clinical, clean and professional feel of the new hospital.

PHOTOGRAPHING IN MOVEMENT

As digital and visual technologies have increasingly become associated with mobile technologies, possibilities for photography as a mobile ethnographic method have grown. Methods that combine walking or otherwise moving and photographing therefore create images as we go through the world, often accompanied by others, who, as participants in the research may share some of our interests. Walking and photographing enables us to attend to elements of the ways that people experience and give meanings to their environments, and also enables a focus on the sensoriality of place (see Pink 2015a) and the feelings that place might invoke. This differs from the survey method of photographing the environment, to focus on the idea of photographing and viewing as we move *through* and *in* and *as part of* environments, keeping in mind Ingold's point that:

> knowledge is grown along the myriad paths we take as we make our ways through the world in the course of everyday activities, rather than assembled from information obtained from numerous fixed locations. Thus, it is by *walking along* from place to place, and not by building up from local particulars, that we come to know what we do. (Ingold 2010b: S122–3)

Walking methods not only enable researchers to learn about other people's experiences, but also invite modes of researcher reflexivity regarding this process of learning as we move in and through environments with others. For instance, Nick Emmel and Andrew Clark discuss photographs taken during walkabouts in the fieldwork locality by the researcher; they suggest such practices create a 'visual research diary' which can 'allow us to map our reflexive engagement with the research field', and 'sharpen our gaze through framing the field in the viewfinder' (2011: 39).

The anthropologist Andrew Irving has developed a range of different combinations of accompanied and unaccompanied photographic walking methods with participants, bringing to the fore the 'interior dialogues and imaginative lifeworlds' of participants (Irving 2010: 24–5) as they contemplate moments of their lives that have been confronting and life-changing. In walks around urban areas (in Kampala, New York and London) Irving asked people who have been diagnosed as being HIV positive to re-walk the route that they took to and from the clinic on the day of their diagnosis, combining audio-recorded verbal narratives with photographing meaningful locations or things during the walk. Some such photographic and audio narratives were created by two research participants walking together and recording and photographing one another's experiences (Irving 2007), and in another Irving walked with them, recording and photographing while the participant narrated (Irving 2010). Irving's work demonstrates how photographic walking methods enable routes to understanding otherwise invisible ways in which people contemplate their personal identities and futures.

Ethnographic walking tours can also be engaged to bring to the fore different sets of concerns, hopes and imagined futures. For example during my research in the Welsh Cittaslow town of Mold in the UK, I was invited to tour the town with a series of different town leaders, each of whom took me to a location where I could experience a particular Cittaslow element of the town. During these walks I used photography, video, audio recording, written note taking and maps at different moments to orientate and record my experiences and conversations. At these moments participants imagined past and future landscapes onto present ones, and explained the rhythms of the year. The extract cited in Figure 4.5 explains the contexts in which these photographs were taken and invites us to imagine their meanings as part of an ethnographic tour, rather than for their objective content or aesthetic value.

Figure 4.5 The road from the church to the cenotaph, and a view from the hill. © Sarah Pink 2006. During my research in the Welsh Cittaslow town of Mold in the UK, I was invited to tour the town with a series of different town leaders, each of whom took me to experience a particular Cittaslow element of the town. For this trip I carried with me a rucksack with a digital stills camera, a video camera, an audio recorder and my notebook and pens, not to mention my mobile phone and a printed map I had been sent. During this tour, as I describe in an article that reflects on this research process, I used all of these technologies at different moments depending on the

appropriateness of the technology to the moment. The following extract from the article explains the context in which each of these photographs was taken, and as such invites us to imagine their meanings as part of an ethnographic tour, not in terms of their objective content or aesthetic value:

At the church we were met by Bryan Grew the current Mayor of Mold. Bryan was to take me to the cenotaph and to meet Ray Dodd with whom I would have lunch. It was now raining gently. Walking up to the cenotaph we followed another local route [top photo above]. There is a remembrance service and event every year which involves a walk along the same, although then crowded, road to the cenotaph. The material symbols remained, now plastic poppies replacing the real flowers used historically. We walked further up the hill, imagining the past where there was once a bowling green and where a children's playground remains. We appreciated the view out to the hills, the modern buildings of the theatre and district council offices, and a local cement factory which Bryan told me is a significant local employer. Visual experience became increasingly important and I felt compelled to continue our search for a suitable view to photograph through the trees [lower photo above], despite feeling increasingly cold and wet.

The photograph achieved, we walked back down to meet Ray … (Pink 2008a: 187)

Smartphone or connected digital photography emphasises the situatedness of such photography. Figure 0.3 in the Introduction to this book shows how I toured the Spanish Cittaslow town of Lekeitio in 2011 with Lisa Servon, with whom I was researching the town, and our hosts Nekane and Xavi (Pink and Servon 2013). Using my iPhone my photos were digitally tagged onto a map, leaving a record not only of what was in front of the camera, but a geo-location of where the photos were taken. The four photographs shown in Figure 0.3 were taken in the harbour area during our walking tour. Each photo-graph stands for the materialities of the town that we encountered and for the ways that they reminded me of themes that were emerging in our research, including the relative isolation of the town, the routes that crossed within it and its relationship to the sea. These images were made as part of the process of moving through the town, they represent what was in front, behind and around them as much as what is 'in' them. Geo-tagged, I view them as moments in a route, and as part of an environment rather than as flat pictures of it. Figure 4.6 shows another point in our tour, which serves as a reminder that the sea was experienced as part of the town.

Figure 4.6 Lekeitio from the land. © Sarah Pink 2011.

The method of walking and photographing is becoming increasingly popular in research that seeks to both represent the experience of, and issues related to, particular environments. In doing so researchers are able to use the environment itself as a prompt or probe in the research process, and to engage this to underpin suggestions for future policy or design. For instance, Maggie O'Neill and Phil Hubbard (2010), Susan Hogan (2011) and Gary Bratchford (2018) have used walking and photographing together in articles that discuss experiences of urban environments in contexts related to policy and to local politics. As part of our 'Design for wellbeing' project, Melisa Duque photographed the areas that staff working in a psychiatric unit used to take their breaks (see Figure 4.7). While staff had been provided with a new common room, which many enjoyed using, they also identified the need for quiet rooms for their breaks, particularly when they had experienced difficult incidents. We learned that they used other existing rooms for this purpose, where they were out of the view of patients and could be quiet alone or to debrief with a colleague, such as the medications rooms or empty meeting rooms (Pink, Duque, Sumartojo and Vaughan 2020). The visual documentation of these sites helped us as a research team to be able to gain and share a sense of the relationship between the aesthetics of the rooms and what mattered to

the staff.

Figure 4.7 Staff breaks in the psychiatric unit. © Melisa Duque 2020.
Above are photos of the official staff common room, which many staff appreciated. Below are photos of the rooms that staff also used to take breaks when they needed quieter spaces where they could be alone or speak with a close colleague.

Walking and other mobile photographic methods therefore lead us through other people's routes and environments and to the meanings and feelings associated with them. Photographing and narrating around mobile images offers us ways to surface personal, social and community meanings that might be overlooked in the bigger pictures of policy and design, precisely because they highlight the unspoken and the experienced realities of life as lived, as they are invested in the materialities of everyday worlds.

TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS WITH PARTICIPANTS

Ethnographers collaborate with research participants to produce photographs in a variety of ways. Earlier collaborations with analogue photography included working alone with a single research participant to document everyday activities (e.g. Collier and Collier 1986; Harper 2016), with groups engaged in creative works (e.g. Chaplin 1994) or ceremonies (e.g. Larson 1988), eclectically within wider ethnographic projects (e.g. Banks n.d.; Lammer 2012), and by systematically building collaboration into a research design (e.g. Radley, Hodgetts and Cullen 2005; Clark 2012). When we collaborate we bring together our own interests and intentionalities with those of participants; the photographs we produce together are contingent on the negotiations that entails. Collaborative photography also somehow brings together participants' local or cultural photographic conventions with the demands of academic practice in ways appropriate to different research sites. For instance, participants might be interested in collaboratively producing social media profile photos, family photographs, images that will provide legal evidence, documentation of local traditions or of work processes, artistic exhibits, souvenirs or publicity photographs.

Existing ethnographic examples indicate that people are usually quick to teach a potential photographer what kinds of images they wish for. Participant-directed photography helps ethnographers to learn to photograph in culturally appropriate ways, and learn about local expectations, experience and processes in ways that can reveal and challenge our existing assumptions. In an early example, the anthropologist Christopher Pinney described how, during fieldwork in India in 1982, he learnt how local people wanted to be represented through his attempts to photograph them in terms of his own aesthetic designs. He took a photograph of his neighbour that fitted the type of image he wanted to produce: 'candid, revealing, expressive of the people I was living among' (Pinney 1997: 8). This photograph was a half-length image taken around 5 pm in the fields: 'a good time to catch the mellowing sun' (1997: 8). But the participant was not satisfied: he 'complained about the shadow and darkness it cast over his face and the absence of the lower half of his body. The image was of no use to him' (1997: 9). Instead Pinney discovered that the photographs people wanted 'could not be taken quickly since there were more lengthy preparations to be made: clothes to be changed, hair to be brushed and oiled (and, in the case of upper-caste women, the application of talcum powder to lighten the skin)' (1997: 9). Moreover, their content and symbolism conformed to different expectations: 'These photos had to be full-length and symmetrical, and the passive, expressionless faces and body poses symbolised for me, at that time, the extinguishing of precisely that quality I wished to capture on film' (1997: 9). In addition to creating photographic portraits, anthropological ethnographers have a long history of photographing at ritual or other collective activities. In another example in urban India, the anthropologist Marcus Banks found that at communal ritual events, sometimes participants actively 'directed' his photography: at one event they insisted that he 'took a pre-posed photograph of the woman

who had paid for the feast, ladling a dollop of a rich yoghurt-based dessert on to the tray of one of the feasters' (Banks n.d.). Banks emphasises how this experience brought together his own 'visual aesthetic' with his friends' understandings of the position of the donor of the feast and its religious meaning. This 'directed' photography became a way of visualising and reinforcing his existing ethnographic knowledge about the 'social facts' at play, which were legitimised through photography (Banks n.d.).

My experience of photographing in Spain was equally instructive when, during an evening reception given after a talk by the woman bullfighter, Cristina Sanchez, people who were already involved in my research directed my photography. They asked me to photograph them posing in groups with Cristina, making me a collaborator in creating photographs that followed local conventions in bullfighting culture. When I attended a performance with some women members of a bullfight club, again one of the younger women told me what and when to photograph, covering the conventional stages covered in bullfight photography and moments in her personalised narrative of the event such as when her favourite bullfighter waved to the area of the ring where we sat with other members of his supporter's club. When he was about to kill a bull she asked for my camera, to photograph it herself. I already knew that for most bullfight fans the kill is a pivotal moment of the performance, and also the key photographic moment. Through her actions she both demonstrated this in practice, using the camera to express her own embodied knowledge of the bullfight, which enabled her to follow and predict the movements of the performance, to know when to ask for the camera and the right moment to actually photograph. The resulting photographs were images that had already been imagined by the people in them or who had wanted to take them: they followed the conventions of social and performance related bullfight photography as seen in magazines and displays, and they connected the participants personally to bullfighters. A similar pattern emerged in a team-based ethnographic project into migrant workers' safety and health on UK construction sites. Dylan Tutt was photographing with a digital camera as he researched communication processes on one construction site. As we describe: 'On the twelfth floor [of a building in construction] Dylan asked if he could photograph what Viktor could see and who he could communicate with when he worked'. Here, the participant took charge to show Dylan what he would see – 'Noticing Dylan's awkwardness and reluctance to lean over the edge – with no head for heights – Viktor offered to take some photographs himself'. It was these photographs that enabled us to gain a sense of Viktor's perspective, and 'made us question our own assumptions about the scene' (Tutt, Pink, Dainty and Gibb 2013: 45) (see Figure 1.2).

Visual ethnography involves paying attention to how participants see, what their expectations are and how they imagine images, and collaboration underpins this. In each example discussed in this section a configuration of different things combined to inform the moments and movements through which photographs were taken and how they were composed and negotiated. By attending to these we learn about social relationships, the actions, things and persons that matter and how photography is engaged in establishing, reinforcing and standing for these connections and feelings.

COLLABORATING WITH PHOTOGRAPHERS

While contemporary photographic technologies are ubiquitous, giving everyone the opportunity to take photos, professional photographers work with theoretical and practical ways of image making in ways that can enable ethnographic photography that is both investigative and representational in incisive ways. Collaborations between ethnographers and professional photographers have created hybrid practices where the subjectivities of photographer and ethnographer intersect, and are played out in relation to participants and their practices and narratives. For example, the sociologist Dawn Lyon discusses her visual ethnography of a renovation project undertaken in a building in Chatham in the UK, where she and the visual artist Peter Hatton developed what she calls 'strategies of looking' (2013: 25). She reflects on how her strategy involved 'incidental attention' which was 'casual, not trying too hard to see everything but to absorb the sensory feel and activity of the space, and taking photographs as part of that process' and focusing on photographing work as it was done (2013: 26). In contrast, Hatton's approach was one of 'steady concentration', which Lyon writes was 'a more structured approach' and 'a deliberate act of looking ahead and noticing what was going on in a bounded and specific space, and the result is several sets of images from multiple but fixed perspectives' showing how the work impacted on the building (2013: 26). These two techniques produced different types of image and different ways of knowing about the building work, thus showing how photographic ways of seeing are bound up with intentionalities and subjectivities in such research.

RETURNING THE GAZE

Where most people have cameras or smartphones, being spontaneously photographed by the people we are researching with is unsurprising. These serendipitous moments when the people who we are learning from take control of the camera or use their own technologies to photograph and post enable ethnographers to learn about what matters to participants.

My first experience of such a moment was during my PhD research when in 1993 Cristina Sanchez, who was then a famous woman bullfighter, visited Córdoba in Spain where I was based. The Director of Museums, who was

hosting her day in the city, invited me to accompany them and a local bullfighting journalist during their tour of the town. My role was to photograph their day in Córdoba and the Director frequently told me what to photograph. When we were all sitting in a bar during the visit he asked for my camera, and photographed me sitting at the table with Cristina. Essentially he had taken the photograph that, according to the standards of the visual culture of bullfighting photography, I should have wanted to have (see Pink 1997a: 102). I connected this photograph to my existing knowledge. I had already studied bullfighting fans' personal photographic collections and historical images of bullfighters and their associates and knew that this was a recurring image composition. It was similar to the photographs I had already taken, guided perhaps subconsciously by my knowledge of these conventions, of Cristina being interviewed by a local bullfighting journalist. By situating me within the conventional composition, the Director's photography confirmed for me visually what I was learning from other sources.

Local photographic practices and images that incorporate the ethnographer can teach us other unexpected things. During his ethnographic research in Malaysia in 2003–4, the anthropologist John Postill was photographed with a group of people with whom he was doing research, standing behind a banner. Postill wrote:

> It all started when a web forum user opened up a thread on the trouble he was having getting the municipal council to fix a drain that had collapsed outside his backyard. The forum thread grew longer and longer and eventually a group of residents, led by the person who started the thread, decided to take action and organise a demonstration to draw media attention to this issue. Being a dutiful fieldworker, I joined the demo but tried to keep a low profile. Yet this was a poorly attended demo, and when I was asked to stand behind the only banner to make up the numbers I foolishly obliged. As a result, the following day my portrait appeared in the Chinese-language press, alongside that of the demonstrators. This photograph was the cause of much strife and conflict, both online and offline, as the web portal founder accused the demonstrators of misusing the portal's domain. He felt that the banner in question was not only rude about the municipal council; its author had also tarnished the portal's domain name (USJ.com.my) by displaying it on the banner. He demanded a public apology on the web forum, as well as to the municipal council. (Postill 2005)

Having appeared in the photograph, even though he was not intending to be part of the demonstration, Postill also had to apologise and explain his mistake to the town council. The incident shows how photographic meanings are generated on different levels. First, the photograph transformed a small demonstration into a reportable reality for the news media. Once online, the photograph took on another meaning; as evidence that the web portal's name had been misused, and by whom. Through this Postill learnt how, identified photographically, he had inadvertently become implicated. To explain his appearance in the photograph he needed to refer back to the intentionalities and motives that had informed its moment of production (Postill, personal communication).

Figure 4.8 David photographed me as I videoed him. © Sarah Pink 2005.
Through the very act of researching the community garden I became subject to David's own process of documenting the project, as he likewise photographed me sitting at the same table for his own records. When we proceeded outside so that I could video David as he showed me the plot of land and explained the plans for it, again my own visual production was balanced by his: the video still above shows David photographing me.

I was also photographed during my research with the UK network of the Slow City movement. One of the projects I followed involved the transformation of a piece of disused land in a residential area of the town into a community garden that local people could comfortably walk through on their way to town, take their young children to play in, and sit and relax in. To follow this project as it developed I first interviewed David Gibson, its leader. I arrived at his and his wife Anne's house one very rainy morning and was welcomed into their living room. We sat around the table with coffee and biscuits and discussed many things relating to the town and the community garden, and David talked me though his file on the project, which he was meticulously documenting. I photographed David and

Anne holding a photograph of the type of path they were proposing to have put down across the garden (Figure 0.2). Due to my research, I was also a subject of the documentation process. David said it was 'tit-for-tat'. He photographed me for his records. First, sitting at the table during the interview, and later, standing outside in the garden itself, with a jacket and umbrella kindly lent to me by Anne, as I videoed him showing me around the plot in the pouring rain (Figure 4.8).

As visual ethnographers we are not the only people who actively use photography to explore, construct and understand other people's experiences and worlds. We can learn much by attending to how other people use photography to insert us into their categories, projects and agendas.

INTERVIEWING WITH IMAGES

During ethnographic research we often have opportunities to discuss photographs with participants, whether as a structured and planned research activity on the part of the ethnographer, or if it emerges in a social situation with participants more casually in long-term fieldwork. The term commonly used to refer to photographic interviewing is 'photo-elicitation', which 'is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview' but also goes beyond that in the interview in that 'the photo elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information but rather one that evokes a different kind of information' (Harper 2002: 13). The photo-elicitation method was established in the work of John Collier Jnr. (Collier and Collier 1986 [Collier 1967]). Researching, for instance, farming families who were also employed in urban factories, Collier used his photographs of work locations as reference points in photographic interviews to examine his informants' attitudes to city life, factory work and migration to the city. Later, the visual sociologist Douglas Harper developed an approach that related photo-elicitation to the 'new ethnography' of the reflexive and postmodern turn of the 1990s, redefining it as 'a model of collaboration in research' (1998a: 35). For Harper, photographs were not simply visual records of reality, but representations interpreted in terms of different understandings of reality. In a photographic interview, therefore, ethnographer and informant would discuss their different understandings of images, thus collaborating to determine each other's views. Taking a similar approach, Donna Schwartz showed how interviewing with photographs led her to new knowledge. She identifies her photographs of a Waucoma community as representations of her own vision of the physical and social environment. Basing her analysis on the principle that 'the photograph prompts personal narratives generated by the content of the image', her use of photographs in interviews 'was informed by the unique and contradictory nature of the medium … photographs elicit multiple perceptions and interpretations' (Schwartz 1992: 13). There is a growing literature on this method and the different forms it takes in research (e.g. Lapenta 2011). In the context of visual ethnography, the connotations of the term elicitation itself however, might be problematised. Taken literally it seems focused on the idea that information might be extracted from a participant, and my own preference is to think of photographic interviewing as informed by the ideas of inviting, co-creating and making knowledge with photographs rather than eliciting knowledge from respondents through them.

In my own earlier work I discussed photographs with participants when seeking to learn about the bullfight. However, the layers of knowledge produced and referred to were further complicated in relation to the genre of bullfight performance photography. For example, when learning to photograph the bullfight myself I studied existing bullfighting photography and then photographed the performance myself from my position in the audience – as did many keen amateur photographers. I showed my photographs to local people who were knowledgeable about the bullfight and had well informed opinions about how it should be photographed. In commenting on my prints, they were critiquing my intellectual and embodied knowledge of the bullfight as expressed through my formal knowledge of the right stages to photograph and the extent to which I was developing an ability to be able to predict the moves and take the photograph at the right instant. Simultaneously they invested their own knowledge in evaluating the performances of the bullfighters I had photographed, judging how their postures and skills were manifested in that moment (Figure 4.9).

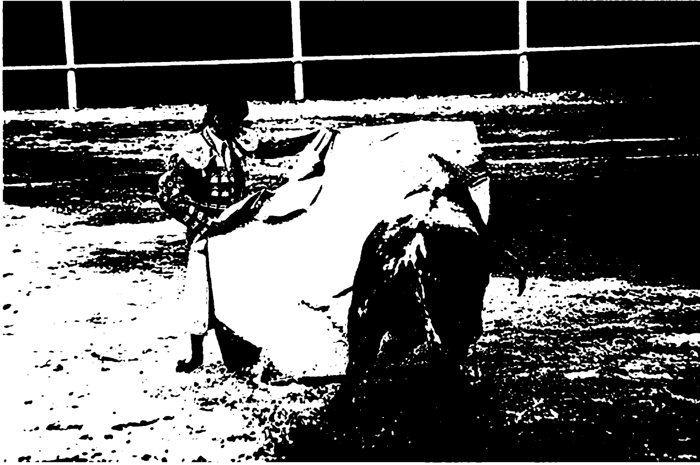

Figure 4.9 During my fieldwork in Spain I discussed photographs of the bullfight with participants. © Sarah Pink 1993.
These photographs of Cristina Sanchez (above) and Finito de Córdoba (below) became part of the way I discussed bullfighting during my fieldwork in Spain. Research participants used these photographs to comment on the bullfighters' performance skills and on the development of my own skills in learning to take the photograph at the 'right' moments of the bullfight. In doing so, they were able to represent their own expert knowledge of the bullfight. From these discussions I was able to learn about the knowledge that was meant to inform appropriate bullfight photography as well as the values and knowledge that participants used to inform their commentaries on the images.

The value of interviewing face-to-face with images endures with digital photography, where new technologies offer alternative modes of bringing participants in research up close to the materiality of everyday environments. For example, in a 2019 comparison, Rebecca McLaughlan examined three methods – Virtual Reality (VR), photo-elicitation (using photographs taken *in situ* by the researchers on their smartphones), and walking tours – which were tested in a hospital environment in Australia. She concluded that 'the data quality currently obtainable from a VR-interview, where a conversationally-based walk-through method is employed, does not match the quality of what can be obtained during a photo-elicitation interview' (McLaughlan 2019: 263). However, both traditional photo-elicitation methods and more conversational discussions of series of photographs with participants in research can also be effectively developed online, and therefore these methods are easily adapted as distance research methods. For example, this can include viewing and discussing images together with participants using the many platforms for live video chats, or audio chats or phone calls. Photographs can be shared visually on video platforms, through screen sharing, or posted or sent digitally. As discussed in our book *Imagining Personal Data* (Fors, Pink, Berg and O'Dell 2019), during our interviews with participants they showed us the data visualisations, route maps and other images on their smartphones or wearable devices that were produced through these activities. Some of our meetings with participants were face-to-face, in bars, cafes or the university (see Figure 0.4). Others were undertaken online, for instance, Vaike Fors undertook Skype interviews with some participants to understand their everyday self-tracking practices, using smartphone apps and wearables. During

these interviews they showed her the images of the data visualisations on these devices over Skype. Therefore in this project, distance research methods meant that participants with whom it was not practical to meet face-to-face could still be interviewed, and relevant images could still be viewed with them. The possibilities for distance modes of interviewing with images vary in relation to the technologies available, and the nature of the research project and questions asked, however as this example shows, they can offer viable alternatives to face-to-face research and can be practically the most suitable way forward.

Photographic interviews can thus provide a context where ethnographers and research participants discuss images in ways that connect or compare their experiences of realities. In doing so they can bring forth normally unspoken dimensions of experience, meaning and knowing and enable ethnographers routes into understanding participants' perspectives.

TALKING WITH OTHER PEOPLE'S PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS

We often show images, in our homes, our wallets, on smartphones and social media to describe or refer to something that is difficult to express verbally. During video interviews, these forms of expression are quite common, especially when participants have photographs at hand and know that they are 'showing' an image to the researcher and for the video. There are excellent examples of this stretching back to the ethnographic films of the 1990s. For instance, in David and Judith MacDougall's *Photo Wallahs* (1991) the photographers or owners of photo albums shown in the film discuss the qualities, histories and meanings of the photographs with the filmmakers. In Paul Henley's *Faces in the Crowd* (1994), scenes where the film's protagonist discusses his photographs of the Royal Family both with the filmmaker and likewise when he presents them to members of the Royal Family at public events, show us how these photographs are part of experiences that cannot be expressed just in words and enable him to communicate about them across different contexts. Judith Okely described how participants' own photograph collections became important in her research about the 'changing conditions and experience of the aged in rural France' (Okely 1994: 45). When an elderly woman in a nursing home led her to her room and took out a box of old photographs Okely 'found a route to her past through images' that stood for 'profound recreations of her past' (1994: 50). For Okely, these images were not merely illustrations of the particpants' oral narrative, but were evocative descriptions and comments which enhanced the sensory dimension of the interview: 'A mere tape recording of her speaking in a formalised interview could not have conjured up the greater sense of her past which we mutually created with the aid of visual images' (1994: 50–1). Okely notes that a history related through a series of 'selective images of the past' and captioned by a verbal narrative is inevitably subjective, selective and fragmented. Nevertheless, she also shows how this enabled them to collaboratively create a version of the past that extended beyond the limitations set by the linearity of a verbal or textual narrative:

> Both of us pieced together the memories from whatever was picked up from the box, and created a synthesized whole. In reacting to the visual images, randomly stored, the woman was freed of linear chronology, any set piece for a life history and a purely verbalised description. The images did some of the work for both of us in ways which adjectives and other vocabulary could not supply. (Okely 1994: 51)

Okely emphasised the need for reflection on how researchers experience people's photographs. She notes how in her own experience she was 'watching, listening and resonating with the emotions and energy of her living through the photographs' (1994: 50). During my video ethnographies in homes, undertaken over the last thirty years, participants in Northern Ireland, England and Australia have often discussed people and things with reference to printed and material photographs they have on display or kept somewhere. The showing of photo albums, collections and smartphone and social media photos can often both help participants to describe, and researchers to understand, the changing biographies, relationships and materialities of people's lives. Social media platforms offer the possibility for participants in research to be interviewed with their images in exclusively online ethnographic studies. For instance, Elisa Serafinelli and Andrew Cox undertook an online 'netnographic' (Kozinets 2019) study to develop a 'critical comparison between the photo-sharing platforms Instagram and Blipfoto to investigate the changes in users' understanding of privacy online' (Serafinelli and Cox 2019: 70). Their interviews with participants involved discussing the photographs that they posted. Research encounters with personal and biographical images show the digital materiality of contemporary photographic practice and use, as some photographs might be prints, photographs of prints, digital photographs, or photographic social media 'stories' on platforms such as Instagram or Facebook (Pink 2011e; Forrest 2012; Gómez Cruz 2012; Fors, Backstrom and Pink 2013).

Whatever the digital and material qualities of participants' images, we need to keep in mind that when people use photographs to tell stories about their experiences, identities and practices, these images become embedded in personally and culturally specific narratives. When explored within a visual ethnography process, it is this relationship between photography and participants' experiences, activities and environments that we seek to unravel.

PARTICIPANT-PRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHY

Ethnographers often ask research participants to photograph for or with them in participatory research, and there are many examples of this method being used. Recent research highlights the importance of considering the politics and power relationships of participatory photographic research, and how this impacts on the analytical process and 'voices' that are ultimately heard (e.g. Fairey 2018). Researchers often give participants disposable cameras to use and then return to them for processing, although using affordable digital cameras or asking participants to take photos with their own smartphones are other options. Participants' photographs often allow the researcher access to and knowledge about contexts they cannot participate in themselves. Such methods have been used to create routes to understanding children's worlds (e.g. Mizen 2005), migrants' experiences of cities (Datta 2012), and farmers' visions of their landscapes (Stotten 2018), and Vietnamese migrants' experiences of depression (Palmer and Furler 2018). In some cases the studies are used to produce research findings, which are presented in conventional written articles. In others, the visual elements of the work can be extended towards a deeper participant involvement and the use of photography to represent findings to a wider public. For example, working with older people, Suzanne Goopy and David Lloyd (2005) used participant photography in a project about quality of life amongst ageing Italian Australians. Participants were asked to photograph 'those places, people, objects and/or situations that lend them identity and express or add to their quality of life' to produce series of snapshots that represent 'a spatial discourse of place and self'. They interviewed the participants about these photo-diaries and then asked them to produce a second photo-diary. The second stage was crucial because Goopy and Lloyd report 'the participants became more intimately involved in creating an amateur auto-ethnography'. The final stage of the research built on these diaries and interviews: the researchers and participants collaborated to produce a composite photographic image from photographs taken by the researchers. This aimed to reflect 'their [the participants'] overall sense of identity and quality of life'. These composite images contribute to the research process by giving 'the participants the opportunity to select and emphasise aspects of their domestic environment' and are part of the final published representations of their understandings of quality of life (see Figures 7.4 and 7.5). In these contexts participants' photographs allowed researchers to access and gain understandings of situations that would be difficult for them to enter themselves. However, it might be that the researcher can be present, and as Alan Radley and Dianne Taylor's (2003a, b) research with people in hospital wards (represented in Figure 4.10) shows, this can create a different type of research encounter which, reflexively considered, can be equally beneficial.

Figure 4.10 4-bedded Ward. © Alan Radley and Diane Taylor 2001, used with permission.
In their research into experiences of hospitalisation and recovery, Alan Radley and Diane Taylor (see Radley and Taylor 2003a, b) asked patients to take their own photographs of the hospital ward. They suggest that to learn about the hospital ward – a space in which patients spend extended periods of time. By asking patients to photograph the objects, places and spaces they found significant Radley and Taylor aimed to learn about the ward as 'a place of recovery, and the significance of this setting in patients' accounts of their time in hospital' (2003a: 77). Although they had not originally planned to be there, the researchers were required to be present when their participants took the photos, and in several instances assisted them with this. They later interviewed each patient about the images both during their time on the ward and later once they had returned to their homes. Radley and Taylor argue that, although these photographs could not depict patients' actual experiences of being in hospital, they did have significant meaning for the patients involved. This meaning was made (was narrated) when participants spoke about why and how they took the pictures, as well as about what was depicted in the pictures. To get closer both to patients' experiences of being on the ward and to understanding the meaning the act of

photographing had for them, Radley and Taylor explain why it is important for the researcher to be present when participants take photographs. As for participant-directed photography, as I have noted above, when it is possible to access and participate in the context of photographic production this can add significantly to our understandings of the ways it can become meaningful.

Methods that use participant-produced photography can also be productively adapted to create distance methods, in which the researcher and participant might only be in contact online through social media, email or other messaging and communications platforms. For example with Larissa Hjorth I undertook research into how participants created and posted photographs on social media platforms as part of their everyday movements through the world – what we called a mode of 'digital wayfaring' (Pink and Hjorth 2012; Hjorth and Pink 2014). In this study we invited participants to send us photographs that they had taken and posted, and to answer a series of questions that we posed around this process and experience by email. Such methods enable us to engage with elements of participants' everyday lives as they are in flow, because the images they produce are made as they go through the everyday, and can be reflected on later. Such online distance methods can be used to research many areas of everyday life and experience.

When participants take photographs for us the images they produce do not hold intrinsic meanings that we as researchers can extract from them. Rather they create routes through which we can explore in interview how people experience and act in the material, social and embodied elements of their environments. If we understand such photographs as emerging from photographic moments that were meaningful to the people who took them within a particular experiential narrative of events and of movement in a specific environment, one task is to engage with the image to explore these meanings. Yet photographic meanings will be renegotiated and remade in the interview context and this remaking is part of the process of creating ethnographic knowledge.

DISPLAYS, EXHIBITIONS AND ARCHIVES: VIEWING PHOTOGRAPHS WITH PARTICIPANTS

Viewing photographic displays or exhibitions with participants offers further ways to explore the relationship between visual and spoken ways of knowing. This may involve visiting public exhibitions, viewing photographs displayed publicly (e.g. in schools, clubs, bars, town halls or social media platforms), or talking around photographs displayed in domestic or work spaces. By attending to how people interweave such images with verbal narratives, researchers may learn about how these individuals construct their lives and histories.

When we enter people's homes, workstations, or other areas they have appropriated for themselves, we usually encounter photographic displays, which is part of the visual, material and sensory composition of these everyday environments *and* a medium through which people represent and communicate their identities to themselves and others. Such displays are important for creating continuity as people move between material spaces; Rose Gilroy and Peter Kellett demonstrated the significance of photographic display for older people in the North of England in their own homes, and as they moved into sheltered housing and nursing homes where private space becomes increasingly limited (2005). Attending to photographic display in personal spaces and inviting these to become part of research conversations therefore offers researchers a route through which to comprehend the biographical and social worlds of participants, as they are present in everyday life environments.

Public photographic displays are part of how individuals and groups use photographs to establish identities and imply or consolidate relationships. The Spanish bullfight is a good example. During my 1990s fieldwork, most bullfighting bars and clubs filled their walls with permanent photography exhibitions that mapped out a local version of the history of bullfighting. People would take me to see their own bullfighting bars or clubs and gave me guided tours of the bar's photographs. As I was led through these photographic wall displays, narratives of history, place and kinship were developed as people emphasised the family relationships between different bullfighters, their historical authenticity and their local links. The chronological history of bullfighting that participants outlined for me was intersected with family histories as links between fathers, sons, nephews and great uncles formed particular routes across the various different photographic maps of the bullfighting world that I was shown. For bullfighters it was especially important to be situated in this world by having their photographs included in the exhibition, since inclusion in a display and the social relations involved in achieving this are crucial for a bullfighter's career. The cultural construction of history and the contemporary configuration of the bullfighting world depend on the strategic inclusion and exclusion of photographs of certain people (Pink 1997b: 56). Bullfighting aficionados used similar strategies in their semi-public displays at home. These included photographs of themselves in amateur performances, or photographed with famous bullfighters, and thus mapped personal versions of the 'bullfighting world' that placed the owner of the exhibition at their centre. I was also invited to the openings of many exhibitions of bullfight photography during my research in Spain. At these events I discussed photographs with local people as we milled around the exhibition spaces. Their comments about the content and style of photographs gave me a better understanding of how different photographic representations fitted with each person's vision of the contemporary and historical world of bullfighting and of how they constructed their own place and identity in that world (see Pink 1997b).

In Spanish bullfighting culture photographic exhibitions pertain to the visual culture of a group. Public photography archives and displays are also often produced with a locality focus, and can contribute to processes through which the identities and histories of towns or other settlements are produced. For example, in my research about the Cittaslow movement in Aylsham Norfolk I witnessed the role of photography in the constitution of local history, through the production of a digital community archive that is exhibited at public events. As part of a carnival in Aylsham in the summer of 2005, an exhibition of historical photographs sourced from the town's community archive and local people's own collections was presented in the town hall. In one section of the exhibition local people were invited to identify people featured in old photographs by writing their names on photocopied sheets, thus participating in the process of the production of this archive of local history. In the main room of the town hall a series of tables upon which photographs were laid out covered past carnivals and more generally local history. Here, as I talked with people from the town they pointed out how their own families, memories and histories were interwoven with this exhibition (see also Pink 2012d). The use of photographic displays at community events or digital projections is a significant way in which local people create identities, histories and memories.

Contemporary social media platforms also provide contexts for sharing, archiving and commenting on photographs relevant to the identities of communities or groups. These create opportunities for online ethnographies, of photo-sharing and the meanings that this generates. For example, in his research in an online forum for present and future Tesla car owners in Sweden, Thomas Lindgren examined the anticipatory modes and landmark moments that were involved in the process of becoming a Tesla owner. These included participation in the messaging discussion of the forum, as well as posting photos of prescribed moments including the delivery of the car (Lindgren Bergquist, Pink, Berg and Fors 2018).

DISRUPTIVE PHOTOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC FUTURES

Ethnographic approaches get under the surface, to investigate experience, emotion, memory, imagination and more that is simply not visible through surveys and statistics, observational or interview methods. Ethnographic photography seeks to illuminate human narratives in the face of institutional agendas or paradigms. It offers an alternative mode of investigating and understanding other people's worlds to the quantified visions of methods of mass surveillance, big data analytics or predictive visualisations.

In a 2012 special issue of the journal *Visual Studies*, focusing on Olympic Games sites, two articles focus on the development of areas of East London for the London Olympics. Isaac Marrero-Guillamón discussed how the future development was visualised by the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) through the use of computer-generated images. The 'political imagination' these images reveal involves a vision where the area 'has been transformed into an exuberant natural landscape filled with trees, swans and birds, as well as a spotless public space for the collective enjoyment of the Olympics' (Marrero-Guillamón 2012: 134). Marrero-Guillamón contrasted this with the work of two documentary photographers, showing the complexity of sites the Olympic development impacted on, and a 'counter-representation of the impact of the Olympics in East London' (2012: 132). Documentary photography can effectively critique and contest such public, capitalist futures narratives. Ethnographic photography gets under the surface differently; Jacqueline Kennelly and Paul Watt developed a photo-elicitation study of an area impacted by the Olympic development – Stratford – where they asked local 'marginally housed' youth to photograph the area, and discussed with them the impact that the changes would have on their ability to be housed, consume cheaply priced food and gain employment in what would become a 'gentrified area'. They report that 'The young people's photo-journals illustrate how the Stratford area of Newham, near to the site of the 2012 Games, was visibly changing in ways that threatened to exclude them' (Kennelly and Watt 2012: 159). As these works suggest, dominant futures narratives supported by the agendas and power of government and capital generate uncomplicated and often utopian visions of futures, where the mess of real life is absent. In contrast, ethnographic photography reveals the feelings, practicalities, and modes of social and economic exclusion that underpin the way local people might envision their futures in the same spaces.

Photographic ethnography has a significant role to play in bringing to the fore often forgotten visual aspects of human life and experience, and when it does so it invites us to consider how the images that show them map onto dominant visualisations. This is particularly the case for visualisations of technological futures. In research undertaken with Thomas Lindgren and Vaike Fors, within a wider investigation of the futures of Autonomous Driving (AD) cars (Pink, Fors and Lindgren 2019), we became interested in how future AD 'concept cars' were visualised. This raises questions about 'how anticipatory images are mobilised in predictive technology narratives and in the narratives of everyday technology use'; we found that 'Images of future automobilities are complicit in wider stories through which predictive visions are constituted and disseminated by science, industry, policy and media' (Pink, Fors and Lindgren 2019: 196). There is a politics to how future cars are presented to society, which implicates them in a dominant narrative where technological innovation is assumed to provide a continual flow of solutions to societal and individual problems. However, our photographic ethnography revealed a misfit between the way future cars are predicted to look and the everyday realities of the Swedish families who participated in our ethnographic study. We had plotted out with the families how they used their cars and what they kept in them, learning that 'cars are more or less conspicuously filled with tangible and intangible contingent objects and sensations, all of which carry personal and collective stories and feelings'. In contrast, anticipatory images

produced by automotive manufacturers visualise future cars and how people will experience and use them as clean and tidy: 'They have no children in them, no toys, no biscuit crumbs on the seats or juice cartons on the floor. No one has left their sports bag in the boot, or their used tissues on the passenger seat' (Pink, Fors and Lindgren 2019: 196). Photographic ethnographies can thus undermine the predictive authority associated with the narratives presented by technology industries and government stakeholders in the futures they envisage.

These examples demonstrate the potential for photographic visual ethnography as a critical practice capable of revealing the narratives and flaws in visions of futures driven by narratives of technological innovation and financial capital. Ethnographic photography creates visual counterpoints to how futures are visualised, it brings experiential and practical dimensions of possible human futures to bear on the assumptions that underpin the predicted futures of policy, government and industry. Photographic ethnography moreover responds to the problematic assumptions that data-driven approaches are advancing, because whereas digital data shows the surface, but cannot account for the everyday realities from which it is produced, ethnographic photography offers a sensitive, situated and embedded vision of how everyday circumstances play out. The methods discussed in this chapter provide a strong starting point through which to investigate how everyday life experience, local voices, and situated practices compare with the quantified and data-driven modes of understanding the world that are becoming increasingly sought after to inform policy and business.

Summary

This chapter has outlined a reflexive reassessment of ethnographic photography which acknowledges its inextricability from ethnographers' and participants' modes of seeing and sensing in digital-material environments, interrogates its ethics and situatedness within photographic cultures and academic research and scholarship, and understands its potential to intervene in the politics and relations of power through which futures are envisioned.

The photographic research methods discussed are not intended to be comprehensive, nor templates for exact reproduction in future projects. Rather they present ideas and examples of the potential for photography in ethnographic research which should be developed and built on further in context.

Further reading

Gómez Cruz, E. and Lehmuskallio, A. (eds) (2016) *Digital Photography and Everyday Life: Empirical Studies on Material Visual Practices*. New York: Routledge.

Harper, D. (2002) 'Talking about pictures: a case for photo-elicitation', *Visual Studies*, 17(1): 13–26.

Irving, A. (2010) 'Dangerous substances and visible evidence: tears, blood, alcohol, pills', *Visual Studies*, 25(1): 24–35.

Pink, S., Fors, V. and Lindgren, T. (2019) 'Emerging technologies and anticipatory images: uncertain ways of knowing with automated and connected mobilities', *Philosophy of Photography*, 9(2): 195–216.

5 VIDEO ETHNOGRAPHY PRACTICE

Much of the lives of people, and the other species, technologies and things that accompany them, are experienced in movement – from mundane everyday activities to journeys across the world. Video moves with us – with researchers and participants – as we go, creating ways of engaging with and recording the experience of movement and its embodied and spoken dialogues. How can video be used to enable and share new ethnographic understandings? How can video become part of a new future-focused visual ethnography practice? What new technologies and techniques should we bring together with proven practices to achieve this?

Video is well established as a mode of visual ethnographic inquiry: ethnographic filmmaking has a long history of development and video methods are used across a range of ethnographic disciplines. Video is moreover part of everyday life, where for many people video sharing, face-to-face or digitally through smartphones or connected video cameras, apps and social media platforms, is taken for granted. However, video ethnography practice has many nuances beyond these obvious articulations, as well as new potential for learning and participating in a futures-focused visual ethnography. Indeed, while filmmaking might for some seem to be an obvious route to public scholarship, not all fieldwork video is made for sharing. Often the process of filming and what we are able to learn, feel and know through this may take precedence over ethnographic filmmaking towards a final film produced for dissemination. Video ethnography is practiced in contexts where power relations are complex and we must account for not only researcher-participant dynamics but also their situatedness with other institutional and individual stakeholders and cultural and social expectations of privacy and ethics. As work in applied visual anthropology (Pink 2007a) has demonstrated, while collaborative documentary making can advance public scholarship goals, a focus on the process, rather than only the filmic product, of participation in video ethnography practice can empower and otherwise benefit participants. Moreover, a film is not the only possible outcome of a video-based project, as outlined in Chapter 9. In this chapter I focus on how video participates in the processes through which we learn, know and share within ethnographic research practice, and on the contingencies that shape how video practice plays out.

To understand the debates that inform contemporary uses of video ethnography, and to account for their key points of departure, we should stay aware of its history, even though its earlier perspectives and questions have to a certain extent been surpassed by more recent theoretical, technological and practical shifts. The history of ethnographic video practice could be said to commence in the 1980s when visual anthropologists applauded new developments in video technology for the convenience, economy, durability and utility they offered. In comparison with film, used in anthropological research in the 1970s (see Morphy and Banks 1997: 5), video was relatively cheap and could record for considerably longer. During this period the potential of video was often harnessed to serve a scientific-realist approach. For example, Collier and Collier saw the idea that a video camera may be left running continuously for several hours as an advantage compared to the relative selectivity imposed by both the cost of film and the need to reload a movie camera more frequently (1986: 146). During the 1990s, video cameras became increasingly affordable, smaller, more portable and easier to operate, and by the late 1990s researchers from different social science disciplines were engaging with video anew and as distinct from ethnographic filmmaking. In the 1990s cameras were redesigned with fold-out mini-screens, creating a new distance between the camera operator's eye and the camera, allowing the video ethnographer a split vision and the ability to see and decide what was being recorded in relation to the scene in front of the camera (Wright 1998: 18–19). The shift to this now common feature defined not only the video makers' view, but what video subjects saw, since it allowed researchers to maintain better eye contact with video subjects and show participants what was recorded on the screen. Whereas previously we had to view playback though the small camera viewfinder with headphones, now we could share and discuss footage easily. Thus the history of video ethnography can be seen as a series of shifts towards increasingly accessible ways of collaborating and sharing video with participants in research. As for digital photography, digital and smartphone video now is often created with particular modes of social media as well as ethnographic sharing in mind.

Since then a growing literature about video research methods has developed, some of which creates useful dialogues with visual ethnography. This includes observational methods that create materials used for conversation analysis approaches (e.g. Hindmarsh and Tutt 2012), sociological and human geography methods that emphasise the sensoriality of video (Bates 2014a; Patchett 2014), the notion of video as method (Harris 2016), participatory video (e.g. White 2003; Mitchell 2011; Harris 2016) and video in public scholarship (Vannini 2019). Video ethnography techniques have also expanded, from an earlier focus on either the ethnographer filming or handing over the camera to participants, to when events are videoed by participants for ethnographers (see Muir and Mason 2012), making videos in collaborations between researchers and participants in applied research (see Pink 2007a), and videos for ethnographic diary keeping (e.g. Holliday 2001; Chalfen and Rich 2004; Chalfen and Rich 2007; Bates 2014b), as well as innovative methods involving making short digital videos (Gómez Cruz, Noske-Turner and Sinanan 2019), incisive clips (Pink forthcoming c) and participating with video in

everyday events (Waltorp 2020).

The possibilities associated with ethnographic video practice have shifted immensely during the time I have participated in this field. Yet, the practice of ethnographic learning, while moving through the world with people, remains consistent. In part this is because video (and film) is a mobile technology, which has always been used to work with participants as they likewise move forward in their lives and worlds. Embedded as such in our mobilities through the world, video ethnography supports the ethics of responsibility of a new visual ethnography and the reflexive and collaborative encounters between researchers and participants that I advocate. Video ethnography is a process of learning and knowing, a site of knowledge production, and creates a reflexive video document that is itself a trace of that site.

ETHNOGRAPHIC VIDEO AND MOVING THROUGH THE WORLD

Reviewing existing historical and contemporary ethnographic documentaries relevant or related to our own projects, in both subject matter and genre, can help us to prepare for video ethnography. A brief account of the history of ethnographic film and the debates around its relationship to research film should underpin the insights that can be drawn from ethnographic documentary. In the 1990s, literature about ethnographic video and filmmaking often distinguished between 'objective' research film or video footage and 'creative' footage produced for ethnographic filmmaking. This distinction was informed by 1970s and 1980s debates about the relationship between cinematography and scientific ethnographic film (see Banks 1992). Some (e.g. Heider 1976) argued that ethnographic film should be objective, unedited, not 'manipulated', and it should be guided by scientific, ethnographic principles, rather than cinematographic intentions. Such footage was intended to be stored as a film archive and screened to anthropological audiences, and was part of a project of recording an objective reality. Others produced more creative, expressive films intended for public consumption, like the filmmaker Robert Gardner who 'distanced himself from realism' (see Loizos 1993: 140), and used cinematographic and symbolic techniques that challenged Heider's criteria. Collier and Collier applied a similar distinction between 'research' film, which 'is made to contain relatively *undisturbed* process and behaviour from which to develop information and concepts' and 'ethnographic' film that 'is usually edited to create a narrative selected by the filmmaker-producer' (Collier and Collier 1986: 152). They dismissed the possibility of using 'ethnographic' film for research purposes, claiming that the selectivity involved in its production makes it invalid as an observational record. These categories persisted in publications of the 1990s (e.g. Barbash and Taylor 1997) where research footage was regarded as objective data, 'raw material' and a scientific document. In this view creativity is not part of research as the ethnographer's intentionality must be scientific to be 'ethnographic'.

Video ethnography as advanced here is based on three main criticisms of this earlier approach. First, it is usually impossible or inappropriate to video record people or culture 'undisturbed'; people in a video are always 'people in a video'. Second, ethnographic knowledge does not exist as observable facts but emerges from the ways of knowing that originate in fieldwork experiences and through negotiation between research participants and researcher. Ethnographic knowledge is never an objective reality that may be recorded and taken home in video. Third, the 'ethnographicness' of video footage does not depend entirely on its content or on the intentionality of the video maker, but its ethnographicness is contextual. In the broadest sense a video is 'ethnographic' when its viewers judge that it represents information of ethnographic interest. Therefore video footage can never be purely 'ethnographic': a video recording that ethnographers see as representing ethnographic knowledge about an event and how it is experienced might, in their participants' eyes, simply be a video of a birthday party. For instance when I returned video recordings made of a garden tour to the participant who featured in them I expected him to treat these as records of the progress made in his garden project, whereas for me they were ethnographic records of my own experience, learning and understanding.

I conceptualise the processes of making and (re-)viewing video as happening in and being part of movement. Drawing on Ingold, I have argued that:

> the process of walking with video is one of *going forward through* rather than mapping onto an environment, it offers a very particular way of creating a permanent trace of the routes we take through both the ground and the air. Moreover it provides a way of describing this trace and the experience of making it. (Pink 2011d: 146)

Thus, when we view video we have recorded we should understand it not as being 'played back', which is how we would usually term it, at least in the English language, but instead we play video forward (Pink 2011d; Pink and Leder Mackley 2012). This point is crucial to keep in mind when making video, viewing other people's video, re-viewing our own video, or asking other people to view videos with us. Video does not take us, or anyone else 'back', either in time or to a place or locality. Rather, video invites us to move forward with it, and as such to make new knowledge as we engage with it.

THE DIGITAL MATERIALITY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC VIDEO

Video ethnography research can involve engaging with and investigating footage produced with older technologies, however digital materiality is integral to contemporary visual ethnographic practice and footage. The ubiquity of digital video has impacted on visual ethnography in ways that differ from that of digital photography. While, at least in some contexts, 'kodak culture' had meant that photography was already an everyday technology and practice, video had remained more specialised in the analogue and early digital eras. Mobile technologies, particularly the smartphone, contemporary platforms including YouTube and Vimeo, file sharing systems including Dropbox and Google Drive, as well as social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram and Whatsapp, have made digital video recording, viewing and sharing increasingly ubiquitous.

The cultural and media studies scholars Jean Burgess and Joshua Green explain how YouTube has evolved from its earlier iteration, which was envisaged within the Web 2.0 era as a videosharing service, to become by 2017 a mainstream media platform with a 'complex relationship to broadcast and cable television and the music business, and with home-grown YouTube stars boasting billions of subscribers' (Burgess and Green 2018: 14–15). They point out that 'As a media platform whose early, dramatic growth was substantially driven by user-created and user-curated content, YouTube's sheer size and mainstream popularity remain unprecedented' (2018: 17). They explain YouTube's success in relation to it operating through two entangled and 'competing logics':

> one oriented towards professional production, with the requisite issues of copyright protection, professional aesthetics, and the challenges of commercialising reach and attention; and one more interested in sheer scale and near-ubiquity, providing a platform for everyday expression, vernacular creativity, and community formation. (Burgess and Green 2018: 20)

They argue that YouTube's 'participatory culture is core business' (2018: 20), characterising it as 'immediate and intimate for those who use it as a social medium' (2018: 99). Burgess and Green's study of YouTube offers a significant background against which to understand the circumstances that shape everyday video practices across the diverse global sites with which it will differently configure as part of different participatory cultures. It reminds us that we should account for the presence of YouTube and other platforms, and learn about and acknowledge how they participate in the worlds of people we research with. For example, Elisenda Ardèvol and Gemma San Cornelio have argued that we should go beyond the study of prominent and 'successful' YouTube uploads in order to understand the cultural implications of the practices through which such videos are shared. They suggest studying less successful video practices can 'direct our attention to the production experiences of users and their expectations of the audiences of their products' (Ardèvol and San Cornelio 2007: viii). They also raise questions about how such videos play a part in a process of creating urban space – which reflects the wider theoretical and methodological need I have discussed above – to understand the digital materiality of videos posted on social media platforms. Their ethnography, which focused on videos made in the Madrid metro, began like many other ethnographic encounters in a serendipitous way. This also, as they stress, was part of the way that it became a participatory form of observation (Ardèvol and San Cornelio 2007: viii). They write: '…the idea emerged when one of us uploaded a video about the Madrid metro to YouTube, and we realized that other people were doing this too' (Ardèvol and San Cornelio 2007: viii). Ardèvol and San Cornelio's research took the existing visual culture as its second starting point. They first analysed a wider sample of online videos that were identified through search terms (2007: x) before narrowing down the focus to examine the production and meaning of two videos in detail. Drawing from methods in media studies and in ethnography, they undertook a formal analysis of the narrative structure of the video, and did online interviews with the authors 'in relation to the context of filming (how the material was recorded and edited) and the context of exhibition (what for, who for and use of the web-site's resources)' (2007: xi). Their project demonstrates some of the possibilities that engaging with video platforms offers visual ethnographers and the different methods that we might use for this, such as: participant video maker; analysis of video narratives; and online interviewer. Yet further to this it gives us insights into, as the authors point out, how the presence of an anticipated audience of YouTube viewers becomes part of the practice of making videos. Indeed, when we account for the presence of YouTube in the lives of young people, it becomes clear that video plays a very significant role in the way future generations of adults are living and learning. In a study of how teenagers use YouTube, Eduardo Gutiérrez, Elías Rey and Leonardo Melo found that 'along with television, YouTube is the media most present in young people's daily lives' and routines, in the form of 'entertainment (watching funny videos, listening to music, following other users), information (plenty of the participants regard it as a reliable source of news), and knowledge'. Moreover, 'gameplays, vlogs, fanvideos, fandubbing, video essays, and tutorials are gaining importance as a source of knowledge' (2018: 89). Thus signalling the need to account for how video forms part of the routines of everyday life in the contexts in which we research.

Yet I also note that while digital has become the dominant video format for visual ethnographic research, as for photographic practice, some researchers also work with analogue technologies where appropriate. For example the sociologist and artist Christina Lammer, whose work is discussed below and in Chapter 9, has worked both with video and recently with 16 mm film in her research into the contemporary human-machine relationships that emerge in clinical and surgical contexts.

SEEING AND SHARING LOCAL VISIONS THROUGH VIDEO

People who participate in video ethnography usually already have their own uses for and understandings of video technologies and images, which are related to the cultural and media contexts of their everyday lives and to their social media practices, and might be cross cut by identities such as generation, gender and class or informed by specific personal or professional interests or agendas. To be reflexive, ethnographic video makers need to be aware of how cameras and video recordings (whoever is holding the camera) become elements of the relationships between themselves and participants, and how these are interwoven into discourses and practices in the research context. In part this involves learning to share the ways research participants see their worlds. The visual anthropologist Cristina Grasseni has suggested ethnographers might apprentice themselves to research participants to develop 'skilled vision': the ability to see and thus understand local phenomena in the same way as the people with whom the researcher is working, thus learning to share 'an aesthetic code' (Grasseni 2004: 28) with participants. She demonstrates this through the example of how she tried to 'develop an "eye" through an apprenticeship into looking at cattle'. When she first began to tour farms with a breed inspector she 'did not know what to point the camera at, because I could not *see* what was going on'. She realised that in order for what she saw to become meaningful she would need to learn 'to share the breeder's vision' (2004: 20). She used her video camera to keep a video diary, from which she showed footage to her hosts for them to comment on, allowing her to compare her own way of seeing with theirs (Grasseni 2004: 17). Video can be used as part of the process of learning to see as others do, in a directed way. Moreover, this produces audiovisual materials that research participants can then comment on to produce a further layer of knowledge.

Ethnographers can also learn how to see by becoming incorporated into participants' video practices, as exemplified by Karen Waltorp in her accounts of her fieldwork travel with young Muslim women during a trip from Denmark to Iran. Waltorp describes how while she was filming, Dunya, one participant, took out her smartphone and started to record an 'interview' with Karen; she recounts how 'I responded to her questions about whether I enjoyed my stay in Iran, meeting her family and so forth, smiling at the lens on her smartphone directed at me, aware of the potential audience. Roles shifted'. Waltorp wonders what will be done with the video: 'Was it a video she would send? To whom? I knew it could not be sent as a so-called "snap," as the app Snapchat, which was much used in their lives in Denmark, was prohibited and did not work in Iran. Dunya put the smartphone down and the others got up from the ground where they had been resting in the midday heat: "Interview's over, come let's go," she concluded.' In this instance the video was shared – Waltorp reports that she 'received pictures of it while back in Denmark and saw the images on Instagram and Facebook where it received comments and drew in other people' (2020: 31–2). Thus we can see how fieldwork and participants' video practices can become interwoven.

Research participants also reveal how they interpret our research practices through the narratives with which they engage with them. For example, from 1999–2000, I undertook two video ethnography projects that explored aspects of the relationship between self-identity and the home in Britain and Spain (Pink 2004a, 2004b, 2004c). The research involved an in-depth interview of about one hour with each participant, followed by a video tour of their homes, where they showed me around from room to room while I video recorded. As the video tour method developed in the different sites and contexts of my fieldwork in the homes and personal narratives of different individuals, I realised how the tour was becoming culturally embedded. Although none of the participants had ever experienced a similar research exercise, each of our video recordings could be seen as a performance informed by existing cultural and personal knowledge and experience about how one performs and communicates 'on camera'. Each participant appropriated the video tour process her or himself by attaching it to a (usually subconsciously) chosen existing cultural narrative. Some took the stance used to show a prospective buyer around the home, others used what I called a 'Hello magazine' type narrative to communicate the idea of showing the home in a way that presents a lifestyle, and for others the tour encouraged them to reflect on their own personal trajectories referring to a counselling narrative. Using these narratives also enabled participants to select and control what they would reveal to me, and what not, within the private space of their homes. Existing analogue and digital media narratives also participate in how research participants show us their uses of public space. For example during my Slow City research I asked Bas, who was well known as an expert in local history, to take me on a video recorded walking tour of the town to help me understand its Slow City identity. He suggested that first I should view two films, one a historical walk through the town featuring a famous British poet, and the second a local remake. When we walked around the town together with my camera, the route and the narratives we followed emerged in direct conversation with these existing documentaries; moreover the video research continued when I later found a YouTube video about the town which was shown by town leaders at a Cittaslow conference (Pink 2012c), which was comprehensible to me through these historical documentaries and my video walk with Bas. Honing our ways of seeing through shared video documents helps us to learn to see from the perspectives that participants view their worlds and lives.

PERMISSIONS AND PILOTS

Video recording as part of ethnographic research is always contingent on the specific circumstances in which it occurs. In long-term fieldwork the 'right moment' to introduce video might not be immediately obvious or will have to be discussed and agreed with participants, or it might not always be possible to video. In my own fieldwork

some participants have not wished to appear in video, and others have only consented to being recorded for fieldwork and not to have their images shared in public. In other cases visual ethnographers might film, knowing that there are social and cultural reasons why they will never show the materials being created. For example, the anthropologist Karen Waltorp describes her experience of video recording a young Muslim woman receiving a text message on her smartphone at a gathering of women in the living room of one of their homes, knowing that she could not show the video:

> I zoom in on her chest and lower face, knowing that I cannot show images of Mariam without the hijab, which she is not wearing now. Time stands still, while everything continues as before for everyone else in the room. I feel my own breathing change, and my own heart beats faster. Mariam bites her lip and quickly replies to the message. She exhales and puts the smartphone down on the table, reorienting herself to the present, physical world. (Waltorp 2020: 1)

Waltorp's experience occurred within long-term fieldwork and her close relationships with participants through which she had learned what was permissible. In other circumstances researchers will have much less certainty regarding if participants will agree to be videoed. As Taggart and Vannini (2014) describe in their account of their experience of video ethnography and documentary research with off grid dwellers, they travelled around Canada to interview and where possible film with people living off grid, but they often never knew until they arrived at a participants' home if they would be willing to be video recorded or not.

In structured video ethnography projects, working with approximately ten to twenty participants, pilot studies can help determine how video might best be used. Sometimes this reveals that video is neither the preferred nor appropriate method for the participant or for researching the experiences in question. Pilot studies in my experience provide not only a context in which to test out and develop methods but also rich first insights that can endure throughout our projects. They can be developed in a range of ways, in different team configurations and different research sites. For example, when developing video ethnography methods for the first stage of the UK-based 'Low Effort Energy Demand Reduction' (LEEDR) project about everyday energy use in homes which commenced in 2010, I undertook a video tour pilot study alone with a participant in her home. This was analysed and adapted as a template for the twenty participants that made up the sample for the first stage. I was able to show my co-researchers the video as an example of the methods designed for the project, and to make visible our methods more broadly. The tour also provided very rich insights, which also emerged in other encounters and helped to establish some of the key themes that ran through our project. In another context, in Sweden, during the first stage of our 'Human Expectations and Experiences of Autonomous Driving' (HEAD) project with Vaike Fors, we undertook pilot 'in-car ethnographies' (Pink, Fors and Glöss 2017) to test methods that our team would be able to use. We worked with three participants to trial our method of video ethnography tours in their homes and re-enactments of their commutes. Significantly this process also established the ethnographic hunch (Pink 2021), which meant that in addition to structuring their encounters according to our original checklist, we would also probe further about the relationship between their uses of their cars and their smartphones. The pilot was essential in modifying our brief for the research, since it established a hunch about the significance of the car-smartphone relationship, which endured throughout the study, as a mode of understanding how cars are already automated and connected through human improvisation. When collaborating mainly at distance with a group of colleagues in Brazil in a project with Alex Gomes and Renata Zilse, I developed a training and pilot workshop with the junior researchers who would undertake the fieldwork. The workshop was also made open to other students. Our fieldwork was to focus on everyday uses of smartphones and apps during the commute to work in large Brazilian cities, accounting for different modes of transport such as driving, cycling and using public transport. The workshop I developed discussed the principles of visual ethnography, and offered examples of video from everyday life studies in other projects, including in research on commuting. The workshop exercise was a practice for our study: they documented their journeys to the university, while Alex and I also participated as I documented his journey to the university. The workshop offered us two opportunities: first to define the methodology, based on the trials of using video, photography and audio recording; and second to gain an understanding of what kinds of insights the approach would offer. Based on the pilot, I developed a series of themes that it was safe to assume would emerge from fieldwork with a wider sample of participants, which we used to guide the research process. The pilot also enabled us to refine the research methods, to determine when using video would be most appropriate, what cameras would best work in different situations and when photography, audio recording or other documentation methods would be more appropriate.

Pilot studies are our first encounters with participants and the sites of our research that can establish modes of collaboration and reflexivity. They provide video recordings that can be shared throughout a project team, with co-researchers in visual ethnography to discuss shared approaches, to other disciplinary team members to generate understandings of video ethnography practice, and to research partners to make explicit the modes of knowledge they might expect, and in all cases to develop discussion and feedback. They can be shared with participants, and when ethical they can also be shared on project websites in order to show new research participants what participation in the project might entail, and to generate further public interest in projects as they develop. Pilot studies can also be moments where ethnographic hunches often emerge, and can subsequently be followed

throughout the project. A video ethnography pilot study is thus not simply a practice of a method undertaken as separate from the rest of the study, instead it can form an integral starting point for the research which is carried through to play a role in the development of the project start-up, to be supplemented by the growing body of research materials which will subsequently be created.

VIDEO TOURS AND RE-ENACTMENTS

In many ethnographic research projects, the long-term fieldwork, characteristic of traditional anthropological ethnography, is not viable or possible due to factors that might include the research questions being explored, the number of participants and research sites, and the timescale for the project. Most typically, research funded by academic or national funding agencies or by industry partners is constrained because it needs to be completed within the parameters of the period funded, and therefore has to be planned in concise ways. For over twenty years I have developed video ethnography methods for intensive short encounters with research participants in such projects across applied and academic projects. Such projects typically involve between ten and twenty participants (although in some projects have included more), and clearly this means that within the span of a project that might be undertaken over between six months and three years, only limited time can be spent actually with each participant, since project timescales involve, as well as ethnographic fieldwork, planning and logistics, analysis, writing and creating visual outputs, and often other complementary research techniques. These video ethnographies involving intensive encounters have been undertaken in a range of situations, including to investigate a number of aspects of everyday life in the home, the experience of using self-tracking technologies, commuting across different modes of transport use, everyday workplace activities, and uses of smartphones and social media. If we consider, for instance, how to undertake ethnography with twenty participants each in their own homes during a three-year project, then clearly living with each of them for several months in order to participate in their everyday lives would not be viable, either from the perspective of the time it would take, or because it would likely be intrusive for participants. The video tour and re-enactment methods were developed specifically in order to confront these challenges and to create alternative opportunities through which to gain deep understandings of people's everyday lives and invisible ways of knowing, as they are lived out and as they have changed over time.

The video tour and re-enactment methods were initially developed over twenty years ago as a collaborative method through which to achieve an in-depth understanding of people's social and material worlds (see Pink 2004b), and are discussed in their use in homes in depth in my co-authored book *Making Homes* (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017). Sometimes video is preceded by an in-depth audio recorded interview which is used to explore everyday routines, values and other project specific questions in conversation with the participant, using a checklist to guide the discussion in a way that avoids a questionnaire or question and answer process. It also offers the participant an opportunity to become familiar with the research before video recording starts, although in cases where participants are comfortable with being videoed I recommend using the camera from the outset, since often people bring material objects or show digital things to us on their smartphones or tablets during interviews, showing us how the material and digital are interwoven with how life is spoken about and performed, particularly if the researcher asks or prompts for examples of things they have discussed. Video tours and re-enactments follow this as a continuation of the discussion that has commenced in the interview. The questions I ask during these activities refer back to what the participant has told me earlier, again making this a conversation. From the outset I have regarded this as a collaborative exercise involving each research participant working with my colleagues or with me to show their experience of everyday life in the home and the routine practices this involved. Whereas in long-term fieldwork we would wait for events to unfold over a period of time, in these activities, I usually record no more than one hour of videotape for each tour and re-enactment. This constrained time period is intentional since to produce more video footage would create too much material to work with in analysis. Moreover, the objective is not to record everything that could happen, but rather to explore and discuss how participants live and improvise in the digital and material environment of home, the sensory and emotional dimensions of this, and the memories, creativity and activity this entails.

The video tour as I have developed it was first employed across a series of projects that explored everyday life, cleaning, do-it-yourself and laundry in homes between 1999–2000, and extended in the ethnographic strand of the LEEDR project being undertaken at Loughborough University from 2010–2014. Most recently it has been advanced further through the 'Digital energy futures' project at Monash University. As Kerstin Leder Mackley and I have put it:

> The aim of the video tour is to move through the home … following and discussing with the participant and, in doing so, to learn about the ways in which the sensory aesthetic of home is created. It involves particular attention to the textures, sounds, and the visual dimensions of home, how participants create atmosphere in their homes – as such, how they make their homes feel 'right' and what they do about it when someone or something messes this up. (Pink and Leder Mackley 2012: 1.2)

Kerstin and I used the video camera to enable participants to recall, perform and re-enact elements of their

everyday experiences of home. We used the material and sensory home itself as a prompt, while also acknowledging that this was the very environment that we were seeking to understand. For example, reflecting on one of the video clips, recorded next to the front door of the house, we point out how 'The video context invited Rhodes [the participant who was leading the tour] to engage visually and through touch with the environment of the home, thus allowing us to appreciate the aesthetics of the front door and the thermal curtains, imagine the feel of the cold through her fingers, and comprehend the spatial proximity between entrance and thermostat' (Pink and Leder Mackley 2012: 5.10). The video tour method enables participants to represent their experiences to us as researchers, while simultaneously offering us ways to try to comprehend them.

The video re-enactment method has likewise been developed over more than twenty years, and used in my collaborative research across the UK, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Brazil and Indonesia. Initially created to understand the experiences and meanings of everyday tasks and routines in homes (Pink 2004b), its use in research in homes is also discussed extensively in the co-authored book *Making Homes* (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017), it has also been extended for use in future mobilities research, as in-car video ethnographies (Pink, Fors and Glöss 2017). The principle of the video re-enactment is based on a critical approach to observational research, and is not intended to record an objective account of how a task is performed that can later be analysed in detail, but to collaboratively create a narrative that demonstrates how that task might be performed, that involves reflection on what is done, and how this might vary. In doing so the re-enactment is a reflective performance which aims to surface normally unspoken ways of knowing that would not be visible or acknowledged using other research methods (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017).

The same principle has been used to develop in-car video ethnography methods to research people's experience of commuting. For example, as part of our research into the future of self-driving cars in Sweden, Vaike Fors, Mareike Glöss and I wanted to understand how people already use the automated and connected technologies at their disposal during their everyday commuting. Rather than accompany a person during numerous trips, we asked participants to show us their daily commute, by performing it for us within a research exercise. This began before the drive started, as we asked people to show us how they prepared for their commute at home, and then take us on a drive along their usual route (Pink, Fors and Glöss 2017). In a similar way to the home re-enactments, we used the task itself and the material and technological environment we moved through as a prompt and probe through which to discuss how the commute was normally experienced, the contingencies that might affect it, and the sensations and emotions associated with this.

Video tour and re-enactment methods can also be used to explore people's online and social media worlds. For example, in place of touring or re-enacting an activity in a physical environment, participants might show researchers how they use their devices – the everyday routines they follow on social media or on other apps. In a study of how families use smartphones, Jolynna Sinanan, Larrissa Hjorth, Heather Horst and I 'combined ethnographic interviewing, as a conversational entry point into understanding how mobile media are part of family life, with video-recorded demonstrations or re-enactments of participants' uses of their devices and apps, tours of their homes to explore where and how they used them' (Pink, Sinanan, Hjorth and Horst 2016: 242). As shown in the following extract from an article in which we describe our approach of accessing participants' digital worlds through videoing their hands once participants picked up their devices, their fingers led us through tours of their everyday digital worlds:

> Esther picked up the tablet and turned it on, explaining that her son-in-law had given it to them before he went on an overseas trip, to make using Skype easier than from the desktop. He had taught Esther how to use it, and those past experiences were also invoked through her hands, as she touched the screen to scroll past the clock, which he had set for her, and to open up the Chrome browser, which he had also set up. Touring the device with her fingers, we followed her hands with our eyes as Esther also opened Skype, which she used to communicate with her daughter when her daughter worked overseas. Esther's son-in-law had downloaded WhatsApp onto her phone when he put Skype on the tablet and since then, Esther had also used WhatsApp with her daughter. Picking up the phone, she showed Sarah a WhatsApp group chat she shared with her old high school friends in Malaysia, touching the app she revealed the messages, links, and images she would receive throughout the day, sometimes, up to 15, which she considered slightly excessive. Esther scrolled through the messages noting how she would delete messages that used too much memory, such as videos and memes, complaining that staying in touch with her friends tended to eat up so much of her monthly data. (Pink, Sinanan, Hjorth and Horst 2016: 245)

In the performance of things that they usually do, video re-enactment methods – whether in a home, workplace or city, or in digital devices, apps or platforms – enable participants to both show us their activities and simultaneously engage with this performance as a way to reflect on their feelings and their actions. It gives researchers the chance to invite this reflection, to understand what people know, and to probe to learn more about how embodied sensory knowing comes about and is employed in everyday life.

BEING THERE AS THINGS UNFOLD

In the last section I have discussed how deliberately reconstructed activities performed in collaboration with participants can bring researchers into the detail of other people's lives and experiences. Traditionally, anthropologists and sociologists have sought to gain such insights through long-term fieldwork, and such methods still offer a key mode of encounter through reflexive visual ethnography practice.

The sociologist and artist Christina Lammer has developed routes to investigating and sharing experiences of clinical, surgical and filmic practice and experience through her close-up films made in the operating theatre (see also Chapter 9). Her work, which often involves recording surgical procedures as they play out, offers further interesting perspectives on how participants might be situated in a research process. Lammer works with a range of media including video and 16 mm film. Her video work is interesting when we take it as a part of a body of work spanning a series of projects, and consider how she has used video differently and in ways that are adaptive to the collaborations she builds with different participants. I have followed Lammer's work through three projects, focusing on interventional radiology (e.g. Lammer 2007), breast cancer and cosmetic surgery (e.g. Lammer 2009, discussed in Pink 2011b), and facial reconstruction (e.g. Lammer 2012). Lammer often seeks to create new points of contact and understanding between patients and the clinical staff who treat them, using a number of creative techniques. This has included developing video-based ethnographic techniques in relation to other visual, arts-based and ethnographic research methods in the contexts of medical consultations, treatments and interventions. In these contexts her uses of video, rather than systematically repeating the same method, tend to be developed in ways that are appropriate to the particular circumstances. For example in her work in the operating theatres of interventional radiology, Lammer used the camera to research the 'non-verbal and sensual interactions during diagnostic procedures' (Lammer 2007: 97), following patients' stories with her camera. Focusing through this (amongst other things) on the relationships between patients and clinicians. On facial reconstruction Lammer has developed a series of related body art projects, including, for example, the 'healing mirror' whereby she records patients who participate in her project while they go through a series of facial physiotherapy exercises, and recordings of her own endoscopic video (discussed in Lammer 2012). The different types of materials Lammer works with bring together different positions and ways of seeing and knowing clinical contexts and the lives that they become interwoven with, accompanied by a deep reflexivity through which she explores her own situatedness in the work. Yet it is these juxtapositionings that bring into relief the partiality of any one view through the lens. In her recent work focusing again on the technological and human relations that emerge in the operating theatre, Lammer reveals the importance of getting up close in ways that are supported in this case by her use of 16 mm film. Her work is deeply reflexive, drawing together the performative practice of the filmmaker with that of the surgeon, to acknowledge her own presence in the work in new ways.

Lammer writes:

> Methodologically I try to get as close as possible to the manual practices of surgeons. I study the processes with my camera in the operating theater. The recorded video footage is sighted on the computer. I memorize the processes and appropriate them up to a certain extent. As soon as I have the feeling that I have taken in the course of action and its intrinsic rhythm, I start filming operations with an analog 16 mm Bolex camera. My earlier research on interventional radiology and minimal invasiveness turned my attention to the increasing application of image-based technologies and digital media in surgery. Particularly the observation of image-led radiological interventions soon made it clear to me that the human body is not only pierced through with the help of a scalpel but in the imagination. I started to follow Benjamin's comparison of camera operator and surgeon more intensively, including this concept into my methodological explorations – as a filmmaker whose own performance gets graspable in the recordings. For this the work with analog film plays an important role. (2018: paragraph 17)

Figure 5.1 Three still images from Christina Lammer's *Stitches in the Heart*. © Christina Lammer 2018, used with permission.

Christina Lammer's discussion of her recent work is interesting because it shows us how she has sought to get up close to the sensory, tactile and human-machine relationships of surgery as it happens. This is represented in her short 16 mm film *Stitches in the Heart* (2019) represented in Figure 5.1. As Lammer describes it:

Stitches in the Heart is an attempt to explore the sensory and gestural aspects, the handiwork, of an operation on the mitral valve. The making of stitches by hand needs to be relearned in minimally invasive surgery. The experienced cardiac surgeon Wilfried Wisser is an expert in this particular surgical field. He constantly advances the procedures, combines a variety of technologies and tools with each other, among them the use of magnifying glasses, a 3D high-definition endoscopic camera system, an overhead camera, vascular clamps, specific catheters, sluices, trocars and needle holders. (www.corporealities.org)

FROM HANDING OVER THE CAMERA TO SENSORY VIDEO DIARIES

Asking participants to film their own lives has a long history since Sol Worth and John Adair's (1966) 'Navajo film themselves' project which had as its main objective 'to ask the Navajo to show "us" (acknowledged researchers) how they saw themselves and their surroundings, or even better how they wanted to show themselves and their selves to outsiders' (Chalfen and Rich 2004: 19). A growing literature about this practice demonstrates its potential for bringing to the fore not only how participants see themselves but also the sensory and emotional dimensions of their everyday lives that would not otherwise be visible (Holliday 2001; Chalfen and Rich 2004, 2007; Muir and Mason 2012; Bates 2014). Anthropologist Richard Chalfen and clinician Michael Rich were early pioneers in creating interdisciplinary applied medical anthropology studies with this method. Their Video Intervention/Prevention Assessment (VIA) method instructed young patients 'to follow a specified protocol to "teach your clinician about your illness" by using consumer model videocams in their homes, neighbourhoods, schools, work, church and events of their own selection' as well as 'diaristic "personal monologues"' (Chalfen and Rich 2004: 17, and 2007). VIA asked patients with diagnoses of conditions such as asthma and obesity to document their 'experiences, perceptions, issues and needs' in videotaped diaries which represented the experience of illness from the patients' perspective and, assisted by the research team's analysis, assisted clinicians to access patients' knowledge and understandings of their illnesses (2004: 18, and 2007) and created better understanding and communication between clinicians and patients who may understand the illness differently. It created a form of what Chalfen and Rich call (2007) 'cultural brokerage' and which was effective for instance in improving the status of asthma patients.

More recent uses of video diaries have emphasised their capacity to bring the sensory and embodied dimensions of experience to the fore. For instance, the VIA method inspired Charlotte Bates' use of video diaries with participants living with long-term medical conditions. Bates emphasises the sensory aspects of the diaries, which she suggests took her 'into personal and otherwise inaccessible moments of the participants' lives' (2014b: 24). Stewart Muir and Jennifer Mason's sociological research into family Christmas celebrations also brings the sensory to the fore through participant-produced video. They 'invited several participants to record their Christmas using small handheld camcorders' in the hope that 'participants could afford us a glimpse into a realm of their private life that would otherwise be difficult for us to access' (Muir and Mason 2012: 2.3). Muir and Mason reflect on how such materials enable researchers to 'get a feel for and insight into the multidimensional, multisensory, and embodied ways that personal lives are lived' and comment that video data 'can help us literally to see inside people's houses, into situated, sensory and physical aspects of their consumption and relational practices, and into interactions and occasions when a researcher cannot, for all kinds of reasons, join in and be present themselves' (2012: 4.8). Comparing the videos with the interview – a dominant but limited research method in sociology – their discussion shows how the use of participant-produced video can take researchers into a sense of what is happening in the middle of everyday life or celebrations. They stress the capacity of video to show 'the situational dynamics of consensus or ambivalence and dissent', how 'what happens can be a jumble of practices, meanings, innuendos, misunderstandings and mishearings, mild subversion and ambivalence' (2012: 4.6). Video indeed, as I have argued elsewhere (Pink and Leder Mackley 2012), whether participant- or researcher-recorded, can take us to the centre of life as lived: it is a way of researching from the perspective of being part of an environment rather than from that of asking someone to tell you about it in spoken words.

Video ethnography does not however always involve creating and framing relatively controlled research encounters, but rather, we should expect to learn from unexpected occurrences. A particularly striking example of serendipitous learning through participant video recording is demonstrated in Francisco Ferrándiz's work with Venezuelan spirit cults (1996, 1998). When Ferrándiz began shooting video six months into his fieldwork, the people with whom he was closely collaborating also took the camera to shoot footage themselves, each of them creating 'completely different visual itineraries of the same place' (Ferrándiz 1998: 27). Ferrándiz argued that there were continuities between the video making and the ritual activities; the visual practices of video recording and the ritual practices coincided as people moved in and out of trance and in front of and behind the camera's viewfinder as the ceremony progressed. The video camera became part of the material culture of the ritual and its recording capacity an aspect of the ritual activity. Therefore Ferrándiz was able to learn about ritual practices both by observing the ritual uses of the camera itself and by analysing and discussing the video recordings that these uses produced.

Participants in research, whether we ask them to video their lives for us, or whether they unexpectedly take on this role themselves, are often able to use video to these ends very effectively. Video offers them a way to show us those aspects of their lives and experiences for which they might not have words, simply because there is never any need to speak of them, or because video seems the most appropriate way to express them.

BODY-MOUNTED CAMERAS AND EMBODIED KNOWING

There has been a growing interest in video ethnography methods as a mode of investigating embodied and sensory experience. I develop in-depth discussion of this in *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Pink 2015a), where further theoretical perspectives and practical examples can be followed up. There is an area of overlap with discussions and practice in visual ethnography, which I comment on here, particularly in connection with new video-based camera technologies. Social science researchers have become interested in video ethnography methods for their capacity to connect us to the embodied experiences of research participants (Bates 2013). With the increasing ubiquity of small portable cameras which can be mounted on bodies, and on technologies people use elsewhere such as the GoPro, Narrative Clip and even smartphones, the ways in which researchers and participants in research can see and record their everyday experiences, relationships with others, environments, and movements through these environments have expanded. Researchers from a number of academic and creative disciplines have become interested in these technologies, ranging from their use in social psychology to documentary practice, human geography, anthropology and sociology. In everyday life a number of uses for such video technologies have been imagined by designers (Fors, Berg and Pink 2016), and innovated by people who use them. Such technologies are ideal for mobile video methods, and have notably been engaged in activity-based visual ethnography practice that investigates everyday or extraordinary embodied experience, as it occurs in movement through changing environmental circumstances. For example, Katrina M. Brown and Esther Banks (2014) used body-mounted cameras worn by human participants, and sometimes researchers in their projects, to investigate human-animal relationships during dog walking experiences, and Bradley Garrett and Harriet Hawkins discuss the use of body-mounted cameras for filming particular perspectives in combination with DSLRs during the sometimes dramatic events of urban exploration research (Garrett and Hawkins 2014). There are also various discussions of using GoPros in cycling research. In my own research into cycle commuting with Deborah Lupton, Shanti Sumartojo and Christine Heyes LaBond (Pink, Sumartojo, Lupton and Heyes LaBond 2017), we asked participants to wear GoPros as they commuted to work or back and interviewed them with these recordings. Katrina Jungnickel innovatively used the time-lapse camera, set to take pictures at two, five or ten second intervals, fixed on the handlebars of a bike, in mobile cycling research, which ‘condenses the length of the ride’, makes no claims to objectivity (Jungnickel 2014: 131), which she suggests ‘captures and reconstructs time’ and is a way of ‘making there’ which includes and invokes the messiness of experience (Jungnickel 2014: 139). In research into car commuting in Brazil, participants wore GoPros to record their journeys. This allowed us to understand how they stayed safe, connected to others, and entertained, as they travelled for long periods of time across large Latin American cities, listening to music, arranging the logistics of collection, travel companions and more. Combined with interviews we were able to learn about the logics behind their commuting practices, how they used their smartphones and how they felt about safety (Pink, Gomes, Zilse, Lucena, Pinto, Porto, Caminha, de Siqueira and Duarte de Oliveira 2018). Other technological possibilities such as live streaming from body-mounted cameras or smartphones while a participant is in movement are possible and offer fertile areas for future digital video ethnography experiments.

GoPros and other body-mounted camera technologies offer a mode of recording the trace through the world made by research participants, as they move with cameras, in a way similar to how we would interpret the researcher-held camera as likewise recording the route that researchers follow with participants (Sumartojo and Pink 2017).

VIDEO ETHNOGRAPHIC TEAMWORK

The traditional model of the lone ethnographer, who integrates her or himself into local or multi-sited communities during long-term fieldwork, endures, particularly in anthropological ethnography. However, there are a number of reasons why this model is no longer acceptable as the standard for ethnographic fieldwork, since it fails to account for the: impossibility of fitting long-term fieldwork into the working lives of most academics whose university roles necessarily involve their presence on campus in teaching, administrative or management positions; the family responsibilities of researchers, whose own lives are also driven by the rhythms and needs of their dependents; the reporting needs of other stakeholders; or the need to bring together different sets of expertise in order to respond to complex research problems. Ethnographic teamwork offers a series of advantages including being able to bring together researchers with different experience and expertise as co-researchers to mentor junior researchers in research practice and in co-authorship of outputs, to enable work that has flexible hours and that can be undertaken at distance, and to ensure that research can be effectively scheduled. Video ethnography is ideal for ethnographic teamwork, since video materials can be shared across research teams, for shared analysis that combines different perspectives and distances from the materials and co-publications.

My experience of video ethnography teamwork spans fieldwork undertaken in the UK, Sweden, Brazil, Indonesia

and Australia, including my own working at distance across several projects simultaneously. Teamwork projects work best when different researchers have a specific role that enables them to feel ownership of the particular element of the research they are undertaking. For example, those researchers with the most fulltime roles in the project are likely to be mainly responsible for the fieldwork, and in my own work I have tended to (co)design the ethnographic methods through pilot studies, participate in as many of the fieldwork activities as is viable, and to maintain contact with the process through viewing the videos and written notes made by researchers through a file sharing platform selected in accordance with the data security required by our ethics protocol. When one researcher is working online to provide ongoing feedback and comments on video materials, this offers a new perspective on the materials and the emerging findings that the fieldworker her or himself cannot always 'see' because she or he is more focused on learning to see from the perspective of the participant. Bringing together these two perspectives offers new insights during the fieldwork process.

The new modes of expertise that can be created through video ethnography teamwork enable researchers to create new knowledge that would have been impossible through the work of a lone ethnographer. For example the ethnography that led to the production of our film *Laundry Lives* set out to understand a series of questions relating to Indonesian women, laundry practices and environmental sustainability. I had over a decade of experience in researching laundry across two earlier projects, so I brought this together with the expertise of the anthropologist John Postill who already spoke Indonesian and had experience in the region, and the Indonesian documentary filmmaker Nadia Astari. While John and I carried out the Melbourne-based fieldwork for the project, with me recording video tours and re-enactments (see Pink, Postill, Leder Mackley and Astari 2017) with participants, John and Nadia undertook the interviews and video ethnography in Indonesia, sending me translations and videos to review back in Australia. This meant that I could participate in the fieldwork process and ask questions as soon as I had viewed the footage. Similarly, in collaboration with the anthropologist and documentary maker Juan F. Salazar and the design researcher Melisa Duque, I developed a team-based ethnographic project focused on the use, damage and repair of banknotes in Chile. In this project we spoke Spanish and English across the team and brought together my expertise in everyday ethnographies of technology use and design anthropology, Juan's expertise in Chile and in filmmaking, and Melisa's expertise in everyday design and repair. Juan undertook the fieldwork in Chile, while Melisa and I worked on online and literature reviews, and shared the analysis across the team (Pink, Salazar and Duque 2019). Other examples of team video ethnographies include Edgar Gómez Cruz, Jolynna Sinanan and Jessica Noske-Turner's development of the vignetnographies method, in which they created short videos with participants in their research in Melbourne, Australia. They describe these ethnographic vignettes as: contained and located stories that the participants are comfortable telling; stories that the participants are themselves invested in; sufficiently visually appealing for both the participant and wider audiences for the work; and with attention to technical issues and expertise (Gómez Cruz, Noske-Turner and Sinanan 2019).

In another project with colleagues Helen Lingard and James Harley we undertook a team video ethnography project in partnership with a company, CodeSafe, who was using participatory video techniques to create short safety videos with construction industry workers, which were then shared digitally with other workers using QR codes and mobile devices. We were interested in understanding how and why this approach had been so successful and therefore developed a project that used video to investigate the video making practices of the organisation. In this project James spent time on construction sites with the CodeSafe team, video recording the process and interviewing key stakeholders and workers (Figure 5.2). Together the three of us analysed the videos, through which James' first-hand experience brought the fieldwork to Helen and I, who had different expertise in safety in the construction industry (Pink, Lingard and Harley 2017).

Working in teams, video ethnographies offers us new experiences and insights; it means that the same researcher does not need to focus their expertise in one area for a whole career, but that we can take insights from one field and in collaboration with the expertise of others, test and apply correspondences between theoretical, methodological and empirical insights and experiences in other ethnographic and scholarly fields. It offers modes of sharing materials and insights that enable us to collaboratively enlarge our visions and our knowledge, and to gain deeper appreciations of the wider, common or diverse circumstances of our worlds.

Figure 5.2 Video stills showing the CodeSafe process. © James Harley 2017, used with

permission.

DISTANCE RESEARCH METHODS IN VIDEO ETHNOGRAPHY

The methods I have discussed above offer several opportunities for developing online or distance ethnographies with participants. In this section I draw these together to suggest how they might be taken forward further in future research, noting that while such methods have been developed, in particular in some business ethnography initiatives in the past, I see this as an emerging field of practice which needs thorough theoretical and methodological interrogation. In the previous sections I have discussed research practices involving video diaries, body mounted cameras and team ethnography. All of these methods can potentially layer the relationship between research and participant differently and can also involve relationships between different researchers. They create different modes of proximity and distance between researchers and the experiences of participants in research compared to more conventional methods in video ethnography whereby the researcher would film the participants. The insights drawn from the experiences of these methods outlined above offer us ways to consider the use of distance methods in video ethnography, how these might be developed practically, and how they might be understood in terms of researcher reflexivity. Clearly, such opportunities are also framed by the availability of suitable technology through which videos might be produced and sent to researchers, as well as platforms through which they might be shared and discussed between researchers and participants and between different researchers. However, clearly methods such as the video diary and the body-mounted camera recording can produce video footage that partipants in research can upload and send to researchers. Additionally, with suitable ethical processes in place, participants might collectively produce video materials to document each other's lives and activities. Researchers can subsequently view such materials separately or together with participants to dicuss the experiences through which they were produced and address the questions that their research focuses on. Where suitable camera technologies can be sent to participants, in other cases participants would be able to use existing smartphone or other camera technologies to create the video materials.

VIDEO IN FUTURE ETHNOGRAPHIES RESEARCH

A future-focused visual ethnography that seeks to understand not only what is occurring in the present but also how individual and societal futures are imagined and the anticipatory modes through which people experience everyday life can be supported by the video ethnographies discussed in this chapter. While many existing uses of video ethnography methods focus on understanding what people do and feel in the present, they are also ideal for investigating the often invisible and unspoken ways in which people imagine, consider and feel about their future actions, environments and experiences. Indeed, it is by engaging with experience and activity in the present that we can often invoke and express feelings that are also related to the future. Visual ethnography methods are particularly good at surfacing everyday future imaginaries as counter narratives to the future visions that are offered by industry, government and other powerful institutions. Video tours, re-enactment methods, and interviews with participant recorded videos are all encounters through which we can explore and probe with participants how they imagine futures. In my experience participants often talk about their future plans or hopes for home, public, work or commuting spaces. When they are in these spaces, they might map out routes through them with their feet, or explain using their bodies where and what they envisage. For example, in research undertaken with Yoko Akama and Annie Fergusson exploring how people experienced an architecturally designed acoustic Fab Pod, used as a meeting space in an open plan office environment, participants could also imagine when exploring the Fab Pod with us the future uses and experiences of it (Pink, Akama and Fergusson 2017). During my video ethnographies of homes, participants have often spoken of their plans for future homes (Pink, Leder Mackley, Morosanu, Mitchell and Bhamra 2017) and in my community garden research (Pink 2007) the participant mapped out his future plans for the site for me by walking them over the grass. Likewise during in-car video ethnographies of car commuters in Sweden, a participant was able to describe to us his future vision for in-car systems that would work for him, after experiencing and using the existing systems (Pink, Fors and Glöss 2017). The sensory and embodied nature of these modes of showing is significant, since the ways we imagine future environments are often not verbalised, but felt and sensed. Video helps participants to express the unspoken, invisible and – in the case of futures research – the as yet unknown and uncertain; it offers circumstances in which we can discuss futures and the contingencies that might shape them with participants. It also opens up a space in which they can express, in ways that are embodied as well as verbal, already imagined or considered possible futures that form part of the ways they experience their everyday environments.

As everyday life is lived out, people might imagine and hope for personal and societal future narratives (sometimes visually or sensorially rather than in words); they continuously anticipate what might be about to happen next, and might sense trust, anxiety, fear, or uncertainty, and often act on the basis of these feelings or sensations. Video ethnography offers a method through which to investigate how these anticipatory or future-focused modes are part of everyday life, and what they can tell us about how people imagine. When compared with the visions and narratives that are produced by dominant societal institutions, these video ethnographic futures can offer powerful counter narratives.

Summary

In this chapter I have suggested a reflexive approach to video in ethnographic research that focuses on the question of how knowledge is produced through the relationship between the researcher and the subject of ethnographic video, the technologies used, and local and academic visual cultures. I suggest that we understand video as produced in movement and as the outcome of unique and changing configurations of persons and things, also in movement.

New uses of video in ethnographic research have developed in tandem with new technologies, innovations and theoretical perspectives. A growing interest in and range of collaborative approaches to ethnographic video have developed in academic research, in intervention projects and in publicly disseminated ethnographic documentary. New uses of video ethnography as a future-focused research method are emerging. This field of practice continues to evolve with new technologies and practices that span the online and offline, and it is to this context I turn in the next chapter.

Further reading

Pink, S. (2011) ‘Drawing with our feet (and trampling the maps): walking with video as a graphic anthropology’, in T. Ingold (ed.), *Redrawing Anthropology*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Pink, S., Leder Mackley, K., Morosanu, R., Mitchell, M. and Bhamra, T. (2017) *Making Homes: Ethnography and Design*. London: Bloomsbury.

Pink, S., Akama, Y. and Fergusson, A. (2017) ‘Researching future as an alterity of the present’ in J. Salazar, S. Pink, A. Irving and J. Sjoberg (eds), *Future Anthropologies*. Oxford: Bloomsbury.

Pink, S. (2007) ‘Walking with video’, *Visual Studies*, 22(3): 240–52.

6 MAKING VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHIC MEANINGS

Visual ethnographic analysis is not a single stage in research. Rather it is embedded in our continuous dialogue between theory, practice and engagement with people in real world situations. Analysis is the exciting process of discovering not only what is happening, but also how to understand the things we find, and how they lead us to comprehend wider questions, issues and challenges. Visual ethnographic analysis is therefore at the core of our practice. What concepts and processes support us in making visual ethnographic stories and meanings? How do we make ethnographic hunches into insights? What techniques connect seemingly diverse research materials and experiences to articulate their collective implications? How can analysis gain the critical edge required to reflect on its meaning for our possible futures?

The ambiguity of visual images, the subjectivity, innovative practices and imaginations of their producers and viewers and the contingencies through which meanings are made are central concerns of the previous chapters of this book. In this chapter I take a similar approach to how we interpret, analyse and categorise ethnographic photography and video. The academic meanings that ethnographers give to photography and video are contingent, like those that participants invest in them. Such meanings are constituted in relation to fieldwork sites and encounters, disciplinary priorities, other stakeholders, methodological and theoretical approaches and interventional agendas. We also cannot avoid bringing to these meanings our own personal experiences, memories and imaginations. This contingency of meaning is inevitable. It excludes the myth of extracting an objective analysis from the visual ethnography process, and opens the opportunity to develop an in-depth reflexive understanding of how photography and video participate in the production of ethnographic knowledge and academic understandings. Moreover, it invites us to focus on the relationality of visual materials and what we might learn with and through them when they are brought together with other modes of knowing and understanding. Therefore in this chapter I do not offer a guide on how to analyse and extract meanings from ethnographic images; such an exercise would be incompatible with the principles of doing visual ethnography. Neither is this a guide to using specific technologies in ethnographic analysis. A range of qualitative data analysis software exists, and there are a number of practical and methodological guides to its use, but such modes of analysis are mainly of interest for visual ethnography practice in terms of what they can offer for sharing materials in team ethnography.

Instead, the priority in visual ethnography is to develop an engaged and reflexive attention to analysis. This approach recognises the constructedness of social science categories, the contexts and relationships through which digital and physical visual research materials are produced and the contingencies and relationalities through which academic meanings are made. It attends equally to the hunches through which insights grow and stories are told through our fieldwork experiences and materials as it does to systematically viewing and comparing sets of materials that enable us to understand patterns and contingencies of life as lived across groups and communities of people.

ORGANISING IMAGES

There are points in most research projects when ethnographers need either to use an existing method of organising, categorising and interpreting the visual materials they have accumulated, or to invent their own. While visual sociologists and anthropologists have obviously developed ways of ordering and analysing ethnographic photographs and video, until the beginning of the twenty-first century little was written on the storage and analysis of qualitative visual research materials. A wider literature concerned with visual analysis now exists. Nevertheless little of it is directly relevant to the contingencies of visual ethnography practice. A reason for this increasing interest is that as digital media became predominant in visual methods research an increasing number of software packages for qualitative data archiving and analysis began to accommodate digital video and photography. There has subsequently been significant discussion of CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) and its use in visual research. However, often these discussions are oriented towards linguistic, semiotic and formal methods of analysis, which are not used in visual ethnography as I conceptualise it. Literature on analysis in sensory ethnography practice has begun to emerge (Leder Mackley and Pink 2013; O'Dell and Willim 2013) and is discussed in depth in my *Doing Sensory Ethnography* book (Pink 2015a). This work acknowledges the ongoingness of analysis, the sensoriality of research materials, including transcriptions and video, and how we might organise materials and access and abstract meanings analytically. In visual ethnography organising and archiving practices also need to be developed in connection with the specific research materials involved, and the particular questions that researchers wish to explore through them. Because analysis is an ongoing process, the ways materials are categorised will also depend on the emergent themes and unexpected hunches and insights that have already begun to be established during the research process. Therefore the organisation of materials is likewise a reflexive, dynamic, changing and ongoing process, supported by theoretical

and ethical principles. We should also note that visual archives, like fieldwork relations, and other classificatory systems can be implicated in power relations. In the 1980s and 1990s critiques of the modern archive generated a layer of reflexive awareness concerning how meanings are produced through visual archiving practices (Sekula 1989; Edwards 1992; Price and Wells 1997; Lury 1998), and highlighted a need to account for the connections we construct between and among photographs, video and other materials. The implication for visual ethnography is that we need to understand how such connections contribute to the production of academic ways of knowing.

Even when we load digital images onto hard drives or platforms, some software offers archiving and editing options and in any case we may want to label and name files for simple retrieval, therefore even in the simplest forms most visual ethnographers use digital archiving systems for ethnographic photographs and videos. Online archiving and sharing are possible on private or public platforms, with possibilities for sharing materials online with participants and co-researchers. Qualitative data analysis software such as NVivo and AtlasTi is also particularly useful in team ethnography where materials of different kinds including video and photography can be logged, coded, tagged, shared and easily extracted. When coding visual ethnography materials it is important to ensure that the coding categories developed and selected respond to the needs of the project and the modes of knowing that are associated with these materials. Readers wishing to use such software are recommended to undertake the appropriate training for the package they select. Where and how materials are archived might also be subject to ethical approval and governance, which in some cases could mean that materials cannot be shared on certain platforms which are not institutionally approved by research organisations or when they fall under the jurisdiction of certain territories but not others, or need to be kept on hard drives. Public archiving of materials in projects, for instance on web platforms or in hard copy in museum or other spaces, where all participants and stakeholders have agreed to this can offer new ways in which to create dialogue around visual materials and to share analytical comments during the process.

Logging and transcribing the visual and audio content of video certainly involve representing visual and spoken or other sonic representations in printed form. When this is undertaken printed transcripts and verbal descriptions do not replace video footage, rather, time-coded logging and transcription can be used to map, and make accessible, visual, spoken and sonic knowledge that is otherwise only accessible linearly. This should identify and categorise sections of a recording according to their content and/or the diverse meanings that can be invested in them, and in relation to the contexts and relationships of their production. Different projects require that video is logged to different degrees of formality. Especially when there is a limited amount of footage, it may be possible simply to work with these materials visually without documenting their contents. However, detailed annotation of video footage can facilitate easier access, particularly in ethnographic teamwork. For close scrutiny of video, and if it is to later be used to edit a documentary, this could include producing time-coded logs of information on camera angles and distances, spoken narrative and visual content.

ANALYSIS AS A PRACTICE AND PROCESS

Boundaries between research and analysis are complicated. In visual ethnography analysis is not a stage in research, but it is a practice that is engaged in throughout the research process. Taking this as our starting point entails a rejection of earlier approaches that dominated in the twentieth century which sought 'to translate the visual into words' (Wright 1998: 20) since they saw still or moving images as ethnographic information or data and ethnographic knowledge as produced through its translation. There, analysis was a distinct research stage where the visual was decoded into the verbal involving the 'abstraction of the visual evidence so we can intellectually define what we have recorded and what the visual evidence reveals' and whereby images could only be used in publications as illustration (Collier and Collier, 1986: 169–70). Departing from such views ethnographers later proposed that analysis: 'begins from the moment a fieldworker selects a problem to study and ends with the last word in the report or the ethnography' (Fetterman 1998: 92). During the reflexive turn of the 1990s the constructedness of distinctions between ethnographic fieldwork site, home and academic institution were highlighted, and the interdependencies and continuities between these different temporalities and localities were recognised and explored (see Amit 2000b). Therefore, while project timescales are usually punctuated with moments when we stop producing research materials, conventional fieldwork narratives whereby researchers go to a fieldwork site, record images and then take them home to analyse are out-dated and unrealistic when fieldwork sites might be digital platforms and where the localities of research, analysis and storage can overlap materially, technologically, socially and temporally. We may develop insights into the relationship between research experiences, theoretical concepts or comparative examples at any moment, and we should be reflexive about how this develops by scrutinising how we make meanings with images at different stages in the research process and how these images are situated in relation to other materials, technologies and people.

Analysis in visual ethnography is further complicated by the contingent meanings of images, which like all 'things' (e.g. Appadurai 1986) have biographies, in that as they move between and through new contexts or situations, although their content may remain unaltered, 'the conditions in which they are viewed are different' (Morphy and Banks 1997: 16). The biographies of visual ethnography materials – digital and material photos and video footage – travel through the ethnographic research process. Images first produced, discussed and interpreted in fieldwork gain new significance in academic culture where they are 'separated from the world of action in which they were

meaningful and placed in a world in which they will be interrogated and interpreted from a multiplicity of different perspectives' (Morphy and Banks 1997: 16). For visual ethnographers, analysis is not a simple matter of categorising and interpreting the fixed visual content of photographs and video, or just studying the actions of people recorded or photographed. Instead, we need to situate images, and this calls for an understanding of the relationality between ethnographic images and other ethnographic materials and the ways of knowing associated with them.

While there is rigour and system to visual ethnography analysis, it does not involve applying a formal method or applying a set procedure to research materials in order to extract findings, as one might if using approaches such as ethnomethodology, semiotic or conversation analysis or similar established techniques. Indeed the quality of visual ethnography analysis lies not in regulating the process by which it is undertaken, but in the interpretive and intuitive sensibility and skills of the ethnographer. This requires an openness to the unexpected, the ability to look beyond the obvious, to have an eye for those insights that enable us to get to the core of what we need to know and which will enable us to see things differently, and to follow them through the fieldwork and materials. This is not to sound mystical; visual ethnography analysis is not a secret skill. Rather it is learned with practice, and over time practiced with increasing confidence. Analysis in visual ethnography entails making links between different research experiences and materials such as photography, video, field diaries, ethnographic writing, participant produced or other relevant written or visual texts and objects. These different media and materials represent different types of knowledge and ways of knowing that may be understood in relation to one another, and which it is the ethnographers' responsibility to bring together to create meaningful narratives and connections. For example, when analysing the materials from my research into slow living I found myself examining notes in my diaries, video recordings, audio recordings and transcripts, my own photographs and those sent to me by participants, promotional literature and websites, video clips and social media posts (see Pink 2012c, 2012d). Each of these sets of materials is one of several interdependent strands that offer us different ways of knowing about a question, but which together enable us to assemble a story about the everyday experiences, activities, feelings and meaning that configure in an ethnographic example. When the stories of participants, processes and activities start to come together, then it is possible to detect patterns, to examine how they recur, and to identify the contingencies that shape processes and their outcomes. For example, during my Slow City research I realised that throughout the different materials I had collected participants consistently told me that belonging to the movement had brought them together (Pink 2008b) at different levels of community relationships, and that my photographs and videos from events and from walking tours endorsed this, showing the places and practices through which this had come about. This insight, which emerged in fieldwork and was followed through in my analysis and publications, became a key finding in my research as I explored how questions of community and the modes of wellbeing associated with them were experienced and shaped through people's engagement with the movement.

Figure 6.1 Interwoven fieldwork materials in multiple media in a 'Slow City'. © Sarah Pink 2005.
When researching carnival in Aylsham, a town with Cittaslow status, the first event that helped me to understand what was happening was the Carnival Subcommittee meeting held in the Town Hall. In my notes I wrote how I realised that 'Carnival committee draws together a range of people, their networks and resources to produce a multifaceted event'. I also highlighted what was to become a theme in my research as I wrote how people were coming together and collaborating under the umbrella of this Cittaslow event. These observations, as well as listening to discussions about how and where different components of carnival should be placed, alerted me to the social

and sensory elements of carnival. The themes continued through my audio-recorded interviews with Mo the Town Clerk (bottom left) and Sue the Aylsham Partnership Officer (bottom right), as they elaborated on the history, official regulations and dramas of producing carnival.
At carnival I photographed and videoed. My images were guided by events as they occurred and by the interviews and notes I had already made. I was keen to photograph aspects of carnival I knew were significant for slow living, such as an ice-cream vendor chosen because he produced his ice cream locally. I was also especially interested in the activities of a group of teenagers who were fundraising for a trip to Italy to cook at a slow food festival. As part of my carnival research I videoed the cake stalls and kitchen and spoke with those involved. I wanted to get a sense of both the busy kitchen and the excitement of raising the funding themselves. The research I did at carnival itself linked with my next interviews with two of the teenagers who had prepared and sold cakes at the event, Katy and Amy. Here they discussed with me their experiences of and feelings about carnival and my interview transcripts thus produced a further layer of ethnographic knowledge as they situated individual experiences, narratives and memories within the wider context of the event.

Working with combinations of diverse ethnographic materials does not constitute a new method. Yet visual ethnographers rarely write of the processes through which they create analytical meaning. Therefore it is necessary to make these processes more visible, more explicitly reflexive and to share in publications and other forums how video recordings, photographs and other types of knowledge or ways of knowing become interwoven in our projects and how we weave our analytical routes through them.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC HUNCH

Throughout the many ethnographic projects I have been involved in during the last thirty years, I have consistently found myself in those difficult to define moments of realisation, where I know that I have learned or understood something significant that is a key to answering the questions that my project has posed.

For example, in 2020 when doing fieldwork with Melisa Duque as part of a research project about how older Australians experienced and used new technologies, such as voice assistants, automated vacuum cleaners and smart kettles, one of our participants showed us how she used her voice assistant to play her favourite music. At the time we were standing in her bedroom, and I was videoing as she showed us where the technology was kept; she then went ahead and asked the voice assistant to play the music and stood blissfully listening to it, explaining that she would normally do this while making her bed. We realised that this was a key way in which the technology had come to have meaning in her everyday life, as it enabled her to access and enjoy music easily. The ethnographic hunch was that this could be a key way that older people might engage with the voice assistant technologies, and in subsequent household visits with other participants, Melisa began to introduce those participants who had not discovered this use to this experience, which was enacted on video. Through this innovation she was able to direct the research into an interventional mode, that meant that we could gain new understandings of how a new technology that participants sometimes initially thought of as not very useful could engender feelings of wellbeing and be appreciated. In pursuing this hunch through fieldwork we were already starting to bring our theoretical knowledge and analytical process into the fieldwork, thus making this a powerful example of how analysis starts in the field.

Knowing that these moments will occur, yet never knowing when, forms part of the ethnographic research process. They are the moments when theory, analysis and ethnographic practice cohere, and can happen during or around fieldwork encounters, when we are exploring ethnographic materials or even when writing. They are however primarily analytical moments, which is why I discuss them here rather than in other chapters, and are encapsulated in the ‘ethnographic hunch’. As I define it, the ethnographic hunch is:

> that moment in research when I encounter something – a situation, something someone has said or shown me, a moment in fieldwork video recording made by a co-researcher – that deepens what I think I know, sparks an ethnographic-theoretical dialogue, turns around my thinking and creates a strand of investigation through my research and/or analysis. (Pink 2021)

The hunch can emerge at any moment in visual ethnography research and analysis. For example in Chapter 4 I discuss how in my photographic research at bullfighting receptions in Spain I became aware of social relationships between the people of the local bullfighting world due to the way they grouped themselves in my photographs. This was one of the early hunches in my project, which I followed through in the fieldwork by paying attention to these relationships in other situations. Elsewhere I outline a series of examples of the hunch as it has emerged in fieldwork as the outcome of a video tour or in analysis through viewing team-produced videos (Pink 2021). There, as I suggest, video plays a key role in ethnographic fieldwork and analysis, precisely because it makes visible both those elements of everyday environments that we cannot directly see, and those digital materialities of everyday worlds that are often hidden, sometimes intentionally. The hunch in visual ethnography therefore

involves the surfacing of not immediately obvious ways of doing, knowing and experiencing the world, through photography and video, considering their everyday, theoretical and other implications, and holding on to these as we proceed through fieldwork or materials. As discussed in Chapter 5, sometimes these hunches emerge right at the beginning of research, in pilot projects.

The hunch is part of the serendipity of ethnography; it represents those things that we would never have thought to ask participants about, because there was no way of us knowing them beforehand.

KNOWING WITH PHOTOGRAPHS AND VIDEO

Photography and video are part of visual ethnography fieldwork experiences; they are integral to the ways we move through the social, material, digital and natural environments of research. That is, they are made from the very positions we occupied and navigated while immersed in other people's worlds. As such, and in dialogue with the ethnographic filmmaker David MacDougall's (2005) notion of the corporeal image, when viewing fieldwork images, we should experience not only the visual content of a photograph or video, we should also sense the situatedness of those moments in fieldwork when images were made. Thus, the idea that photography and video 'take us back' into fieldwork experiences and relationships should be re-thought towards the question of how they take us forward through sensing the past in relation to what we have learned in the present. Nevertheless, visual fieldwork materials still enable us to recall or reimagine what we once felt. Likewise, participant-produced materials invite us to imagine that person's situatedness in relation to our own.

Our relationships to research materials are complex, partly because visual ethnography takes us into intense encounters with people that surface unexpected feelings and connections and sometimes build enduring connections or friendships. I realised the power of research materials to generate feelings of connectedness when I moved from the UK to Australia in 2012. In my office I had a locked filing cabinet where I stored research materials, mainly videos, photographs and interview transcripts which spanned several past projects, that I never had reason to look at or read. All of these projects had been a joy to carry out, I had met fascinating people whom I had valued and with whom I had enjoyed collaborating in research. However, over time I had begun to feel the presence of the materials differently, as a form of absence, something disturbingly out of reach. When I came to prepare to move country I realised that all these materials could not accompany me. Once the filing cabinet was open, and I began to sort through the materials, to read interview transcripts, to seek out older technologies so I could view VHS tapes, CDs and DVDs, I began to feel re-connected to the people I had worked with, to the moments in fieldwork where I had learned new things. It was as if I was transported back to these worlds, relationships and feelings. Our relationships with fieldwork materials are significant, and in my experience video and photography can, years later, invoke memories of past experiences, of those moments of learning and knowing, of friendship and connectedness and understanding that are integral to the ethnographic processes of research and analysis. Indeed it is this specificity of experience, the focus on the particular, which anthropologists have often cited, that grounds us in our fieldwork sites, and invites us to the ways of knowing that we will engage in the making of ethnographic narratives and stories that are part of the analytical process. Such experiences endure across the practices of different anthropologists, over time and in relation to different digital visual technologies; as Karen Waltorp has described for her fieldwork video recordings, they 'informed me and transported me back to events and atmospheres' (Waltorp 2020: 53).

While we use the notion of being transported back, of course this is not what happens, but a way we might express what is perhaps an impossible to describe feeling of being in a situation that has now passed. Yet we should be careful not to trust the feeling that videos might likewise transport us into the experiences of others. During a research project undertaken in Australia with Deborah Lupton, Shanti Sumartojo and Christine Heyes LaBond (Pink, Sumartojo, Lupton and Heyes LaBond 2017), discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, we asked participants to ride their usual cycle commute to work, recording it with a GoPro. Subsequently the videos were viewed and edited and a set of questions prepared that would form part of an interview in which the video would be viewed and discussed with participants. As such the analytical process began through this first stage of gaining an understanding of the unedited video footage, and was then refined further through the interview process, and a subsequent stage when the videos and interviews were analysed together. In this project we worked with different layers of researcher engagement with the participants and layers of materials. My role, which I reflect on here, was to work with the materials once Shanti had already reviewed the unedited footage, prepared a shorter edited version and video recorded her interview with the participant. In this project our analytical process involved viewing the final footage together. Figure 2.4 shows how these layers and discussions are important since what researchers themselves see in the footage needs to be moderated by understandings of the situatedness of the participant in the world, rather than of the researcher as viewer.

Moving between different layers of knowing as we interpret fieldwork photographic and video materials in terms of academic discourses therefore involves not translating images into academic meanings, but keeping these layers intact, and acknowledging they are indeed constitutive of meanings. For example, in 1994 I returned to England after two years' fieldwork in Spain with photographs I had taken, printed and discussed with research participants, as well as some video recordings, my field diaries and other bits and pieces of local material culture that I had

packed in my suitcases. Meanwhile in Spain, copies of some of these photographs and videotapes remained in the collections of my friends and people who had participated in the research, gaining other meanings and taking on a life that departed from the context where I had been present. Maybe they were used to talk about me and how I had photographed or video recorded them, to discuss the event during which the image had been taken, or as realist representations of their subjects. However, while the images I had taken home were given new academic and other meanings in new contexts, these meanings did not replace the others previously invested in them during the fieldwork, but became layered, where different meanings invested over time build on and perhaps contest each other, but all of which remain, for the researcher, a part of the cumulative biography of the image as an ethnographic artefact. Such images may represent or refer to diverse persons, activities and emotions that may not obviously or directly form part of their visible content. Photographs and video alone do not represent, for example, emotions, social relations, relations of power and exploitation, but it is their biographically changing situatedness that makes them invoke these feelings and relationships. Moreover, the anthropological meanings I gave my photographs were informed by meanings that the people who participated in my research gave to these images. Two key photographs from my fieldwork illustrate this.

'The Bullfighter's Braid' (Figure 6.2), became a focus of attention during the research. The photograph was published in a local newspaper and won a regional photography prize. Several local people and bullfighting clubs asked for copies. This gave me the opportunity to discuss the photograph and its content with a range of different people who I found fitted it into different narratives. Some discussed it in terms of art and its artistic value. One person commented on its 'natural', unconstructed and 'authentic' appearance. Others used it to publicise a forthcoming event. Through my exploration of the different local meanings the photograph was given, I began to invest my own anthropological meanings in it. When I interpreted the photograph in relation to the conventions of the photographic culture of bullfighting I saw it as an ambiguous image that both imitated and challenged the gendered iconography of 'traditional' bullfight photography. While it copied a standard composition in bullfight photography, the conventional symbolism was broken as the bullfighter's hair braid was long, blonde and feminine, rather than the short thin coiled braid of the male performer (see Pink 1997b). When I analysed this ambiguous symbolism together with people's comments on the photography, I linked this to gender theory. Building on different local meanings given to the photograph I added meanings derived, first, from my understanding of local oral and visual discourses on 'tradition' and, second, from anthropological theories of gender. For me, 'The Bullfighter's Braid' is laden with local and academic meanings; the photograph itself represents the point at which these different meanings intersect, thus linking the contexts of research and analysis.

Figure 6.2 *The Bullfighter's Braid*. © Sarah Pink 1993.
This photograph of Cristina Sanchez became central to my research about women and bullfighting in Spain. During the research it was exhibited on local television, formed part of the collections of local bars, as well as of local people who had asked for copies. It was also published in a local newspaper (Pink 1993). Once I returned to the United Kingdom it was exhibited in an ethnographic photography exhibition, published in book chapters and journal articles, and was used for the front cover of my book (Pink 1997a). Not only was the image published in different places, but it was also defined in different ways and given new meanings as it travelled between these different contexts.

The photograph in Figure 6.3 also played a key role in my fieldwork. It was taken in 1992 in the afternoon during *feria* in Córdoba during my fieldwork in Spain. Encarni, my friend who also participated in my research, had

dressed up in her *traje corto* especially to meet me for the afternoon, show me around the *feria*, and have a drink. She also wanted to show me her outfit because she thought seeing it would be interesting for me and useful for my research, and to go to the *feria* to spend time with a friend. Simultaneously, our professional agendas were intertwined: one theme of the outing was my anthropological research; another was her chance to practise the spoken English that she needed to do well in her exams. When we planned to meet she mentioned that I should take my camera to photograph her *traje corto*. This portrait was one of three photographs that we took. It was taken in the *casetta* (temporary open-air bar) of the *Finito de Córdoba* bullfighting club.

Figure 6.3 Portrait of Encarni at the Feria. © Sarah Pink 1992.
During my research in Spain, this photograph of Encarni became the subject of my other research participants' discussions about the image of a 'traditional woman'. It also became part of her family and personal photograph collection, a reference point in my academic work, and was included in my book Women and Bullfighting. The original caption to the photograph was as follows:
Encarni is an English teacher in a FE college in Spain. She has no interest in bullfighting and does not lead what she considers to be a 'traditional' lifestyle. However, she is interested in some traditional music and dance and dresses in her traje corto for the feria. One day during feria she dressed in her traje so that I may see her 'traditional' costume and photograph her. Most other informants who saw this image remarked that she looked like a 'typical', 'traditional' Cordobesa.
(Pink 1997a: 74, Figure 10)

When I analysed the photograph and considered how it could represent ethnographic knowledge, I reflected on the context of its production. The afternoon was a special occasion, or at least not a normal occasion, for various reasons. First, we were in *feria* – a context some anthropologists would say is distinct from everyday time. In this sense it was a classic context for an anthropological photograph. Second, we were in a bullfighting club's *casetta*. Encarni does not usually spend her afternoons drinking in bullfight club *casettas* or in the clubs themselves. She took me to the *casetta* because she thought it was the kind of place I should be researching. Third, the occasion was a conventional local photographic moment: it was worth taking a photo because Encarni was wearing her *traje corto*. When someone dresses up in a *traje corto* or gipsy dress it is quite normal that a friend or relative should photograph them.

I had two copies of this photo printed and gave one to Encarni. A couple of days later she asked me if she could also have a copy for her mother; the photograph had already begun to travel. The photograph was also in my research slide collection (ready for a seminar presentation at the university the following year). A print was in my

personal collection of photos of friends and of parties I had enjoyed in Spain. During my fieldwork this photograph album also became part of my research. Some Spanish friends who flicked through this album of friends, parties and trips said Encarni looked very traditional, very *Cordobesa*. Wearing her *traje corto*, she represented the beautiful traditional Córdoban woman. My mother, who met Encarni when she visited England with me and stayed with my parents, recognised her. Later in England the photograph had further adventures. In my PhD thesis I used the photograph to visualise one of the paradoxes of the notion of tradition in Córdoban identity. Encarni had dressed as a traditional woman for *feria* and other research participants said she represented local traditional femininity. However, Encarni did not describe herself as traditional. She has two university degrees and is an English teacher. She said she had learnt a lot about local traditions by helping with my research. My analysis of the photograph was informed by my understandings of a number of other visual and verbal, individual and cultural narratives, discourses and practices. The focus of the analysis was not so much the content of the photograph, but how the content was given meanings relevant to my project.

BUILDING STORIES AND NARRATIVES THROUGH FIELDWORK MATERIALS

In both long-term lone ethnographer research and through a series of the intensive encounters of the more structured photo-elicitation or video ethnography projects I have also discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, visual ethnographers build stories and narratives through these materials, seek out patterns and follow hunches.

In the course of long-term fieldwork we encounter many images; some we save, tag, collect or copy, others we create ourselves, but some images have a different more ephemeral place in our ethnographic experiences. For example Snapchat images sent to researchers, showings of personal photo albums that cannot be copied, or exhibitions that are not documented. Such images form part of our analysis, which goes beyond their content or their physical or digital materiality. Instead they are part of the stories that accumulate in the narratives of fieldwork, the experience of seeing them and of the social and material relationships in which they were implicated is what is relevant, and it is up to us as ethnographers to interpret such experience analytically by reflecting on what we have learned from our engagements with people and the ephemeral images we encounter with them. For example, in Spain, I researched the career of Antoñita, a woman ex-bullfighter (see Pink 1997a). She showed me her collection of snapshots that documented key moments in her short career and lent me a video of her performances that I viewed with a group of her friends. It did not feel appropriate to ask for copies of the prints and tapes. However, these images and her uses of them to criticise her performances and reminisce about old acquaintances and events were central to my analysis of her career and how she represented herself in relation to other individuals, institutions and activities in the local bullfighting world. I took notes on the event of viewing the video and how Antoñita's friends had discussed her performance, skills and career. My analysis was not only of the visual content of video or photographs, but of how they were used to comment on a woman bullfighter. I did not need to keep the images myself since their work in my project was performed during the fieldwork. As visual ethnographers we often need to confront the challenge that there are materialities and images that we cannot keep, but that the collection of such things to be analysed is not always as revealing as the experiences that we have with them when they are situated in fieldwork sites, and that it is what we learned from these experiences that we need to attend to analytically.

From one perspective video and photography can be seen as a component of our fieldnotes, as Waltorp suggests when she comments on how her

> audiovisual notes have allowed me to return to what people said, and how they said it, their tone of voice, the context, and mood: shifts and negotiations between us. And I have perceived dynamics, significant details when reviewing footage: things I was not able to perceive when filming and being in the situation the first time around. (Waltorp 2020: 54)

As ethnographers when we work through research materials, this involves exploring and making connections, in ways akin to fieldwork itself. This can vary between long-term fieldwork and more structured projects. For example, in the introduction to this book I discuss my experience of interviewing David and Anne during my research about a community garden project. I interviewed and photographed them both and David took me on a video tour of the garden site. I went to steering group meetings and interviewed the people responsible for managing the project at other levels. Within this research the video sequence played a vital role because it enabled me to connect the sensory and material dimensions of the garden to the administrative, bureaucratic and even emotional narratives that were drawn out more strongly in the interviews, committee meetings and chats that informed my prior knowledge of it. Simultaneously, without the context provided by these other materials, the video footage of David showing me the garden would be unable to evoke the context of the meetings, the sentiments of 'community' and being brought together that were discussed in the interview, and the sets of visual and written printed documentation that were integral to the process by which it was being transformed from a disused site to a community garden. Here, making connections between different sets of visual and written

research materials enabled this understanding of the local context. In contrast, when working with materials from more structured projects, I might view between ten and twenty videos, each made with a different participant, following similar but different narratives through aspects of their material and digital everyday lives. Sometimes I have recorded these videos myself, in other cases they might have been made by different researchers in team ethnography, or by participants. In some projects all the materials are in the same medium, in others they might be a mixture of video, photographs, transcribed audio and notes. When immersed in the analysis of such materials, different narratives emerge that take the researcher into the detailed stories of each participant, but at the same time create correspondences between the different participants, detecting familiar patterns or routines, and bringing to the fore the contingencies that shape life as it is lived.

Visual ethnographic research projects can be designed in a range of different ways, from – for instance – exploratory and immersive long-term fieldwork undertaken over months, to structured research encounters involving spending two to three hours with each of twenty participants. However, whatever the case, research projects are designed around sets of research questions, which usually respond to the overarching aims of the research – that is what the project seeks to enable us to know and to do. As I noted above, in addition to the questions we ask when we design research, new questions emerge around the ethnographic hunches that I have discussed above. Both of these categories of question become active in the research process, and in the ways that analysis begins during fieldwork, as we start to consider what we are learning in terms of patterns through the research, and in relation to theoretical ideas and arguments. Once fieldwork is over and analysis becomes a phase in the research process, then these different sets of questions can be applied more formally and rigorously to the complete body of research materials. That is, we can start to develop sets of questions through which to explore the materials, and as such create narratives that run through them that respond to these questions, and that are ultimately considered to be the findings of the research.

ANALYSIS IN TEAM VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

In team visual ethnography projects, often the research design and fieldwork (discussed in earlier chapters) and analysis (as well as dissemination, discussed in Chapters 7–9) is shared across the team. I have participated in many team visual ethnography projects, using video ethnography, where videos are shared across teams of different sizes, discussed during and after fieldwork, and analysed by the team according to a common set of questions. In this section I discuss some of the principles of such exercises, rather than providing a set model, since the specific way in which visual ethnographic team analysis plays out is always contingent on the team size and members, their respective skills and roles in the project and the questions being analysed. There is no one template for such activity, but rather a series of insights that have been learned through diverse experiences.

Different team members might play different roles at each of these stages. However, because ethnographic research is an embodied and sensory experience which involves empathetic engagement with participants, either through first-hand experience or through the video ethnography materials of other researchers, team analysis can play an important role in generating new insights that bring together different relationships with theory, fieldwork and research materials themselves. Team analysis might take different forms, which also need to acknowledge the extent to which different members of the team can participate in terms of the time they have available and their relationship to the project. For example if a member of a team who produced ethnographic materials cannot participate in the analysis later, their role in the production of the materials, the ongoing embeddedness of analysis in the ethnographic research process, and the analytical comments and notes that they might have contributed to the documentation around the fieldwork materials should all be acknowledged as contributing to the analysis. It is also important to keep in mind that the results of analysis are always contingent on the design of the research methods and questions, and on the process the fieldwork followed. Therefore, likewise the role of the researchers who developed the research design in creating the possibilities afforded for the analysis should also be accounted for.

In team ethnography the initial research questions and the ethnographic hunches that emerge during visual ethnography might to some extent be developed by the same researchers. However, due to the way research is often structured and funded in academic contexts, the researcher who designed the project may undertake little or just part of the fieldwork, and junior or less experienced researchers appointed to the project after it was approved and funded in full-time research roles may undertake most of the fieldwork. In these circumstances the majority of the ethnographic hunches, which become emerging research questions during fieldwork, might be developed by the researchers doing the fieldwork, while the questions that framed the project initially might be developed by different researchers. Often the analysis starts to emerge during fieldwork periods, for example in video sharing and discussions between researchers. These different types of research question and the research materials associated with them would be brought together in the analysis phase. Such collaborations can play an important role in structuring the analysis process, and might also lead to further modifications when researchers view video or photographic materials created by other researchers in the team. If all researchers involved in the analysis have participated in the fieldwork, even if to different degrees, this should enable them to empathetically engage with the subject positions of others when viewing their materials. Indeed it is often useful for researchers engaging in co-analysis to regard their co-researchers as experts in particular aspects of the ethnography, or on the

experiences of particular participants, due to their closeness to those participants or their materials, or their particular analytical interests or skills.

Time constraints will often make it difficult for all researchers in a team to view all of the materials, however, group viewing and analysis sessions can help to make the analysis process coherent and enable ethnographic teams to develop debated and shared analytical perspectives, and to bring together similar, comparable or comparative examples from research with different participants.

ANALYSIS AS CRITICAL AND INTERVENTIONAL PRACTICE

Analysis in visual ethnography should not simply involve studying our own research materials and reflecting on how we have learned through our photographic and video-based engagements and encounters in fieldwork, and how these combine to produce new ways of knowing, knowledge and theory with other materials and theoretical ideas. Many studies do stop at this, using analysis to bring to the fore interesting and significant academic insights. However, as I have emphasised throughout this book, visual ethnographic research has the capacity not only to participate in academic debate but also to bring ethnographic images and the research findings that we draw from them into critical analytical dialogue with different visions. In Chapter 4 I outlined how this might be achieved in critical photographic ethnography and in Chapter 5 I suggested how video ethnography can present and support alternative visions and experiences to those that are consolidated in and assumed by dominant societal narratives.

To take this stance also impacts on our analytical practice. It invites us to ask not only what our materials might mean in relation to the lives and experiences and imagined futures of those who participated or collaborated in research, but also to ask how they respond to and might be brought into critical dialogue with other future visions and with the work of other disciplines. That is, our analysis should exceed the ethnographic, to pay attention to how different visualisations of futures might be invested in the agendas of particular stakeholders in futures. In some cases this might involve drawing on existing analyses from other disciplines that reveal aspects of the politics and economics that frame the environments we do visual ethnography in. For instance, in recent projects in which I was seeking to understand how the innovation narratives around Mobility as a Service (MaaS) were shaped, I turned to analyses of systems and regimes of power and innovation undertaken by scholars in transport and energy policy (Pink, Fors, Smith, Lund, Raats, Osz and Lindgren forthcoming). Such analyses can be based on reviews of documents and interviews with key actors and stakeholders. Their work provides a perspective on the wider systems that frame the contexts in which visual ethnographers work. It is thus an example of an approach with which our research insights and findings can beneficially dialogue and collaborate, and in relation to which can reveal the human modes through which the regimes of power are experienced and contested in everyday life environments. Creating alliances with other disciplines that have similar agendas towards shaping better futures, and contesting dominant narratives about what futures might be, involves engaging with their analyses and bringing them together with what we can know through visual ethnography.

Summary

In this chapter I have emphasised that analysing ethnographic video and photographs is a dynamic and interpretive process. Photographs and video may, in the academic vernacular, be treated as realist representations of the reality of fieldwork contexts as ethnographers understand them (as in the realist tradition in documentary photography) but they are always representations of the subjective and often evolving standpoints of their makers and viewers, including research participants. This has implications for how digital and material visual archives and categories are conceived and it demands that researchers pay attention to the interlinkages between visual and other (verbal, written, sensory) knowledge. It involves making connections between different materials, things, processes, and experiences of different kinds, and bringing these together to create meanings that attend to the under-the-surface insights that emerge from visual ethnographic collaborations with participants, partners, stakeholders and other disciplines. This is a direct contrast to the focus on the translation of systematically recorded and contextualised visual evidence into written words, which featured in the history of visual research methods. Instead, it requires a reflexive approach to analysis that understands the content of visual images as emergent from the specific context of their production and on the diversity of ways that video and photographs are interpreted. Reflexivity in analysis also offers us a way to account for how we work in team analysis, and the roles of different perspectives and subjectivities in creating and mobilising shared or collective understandings.

Further reading

Pink, S. (2021) ‘The ethnographic hunch: analysis in the field and at the desk’, in B. Winthereik and A. Ballestero (eds), *Experimenting with Ethnography: A Companion to Analysis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Leder Mackley, K. and Pink, S. (2013) ‘From emplaced knowing to interdisciplinary knowledge: sensory ethnography in energy research’, *Senses and Society*, 8(3): 335–53.

Pink, S. (2015) *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Winthereik, B. and Ballestero, A. (eds) (2021) *Experimenting with Ethnography: A Companion to Analysis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

PART 3 SHARING, INTERVENTION AND FUTURES

Part 3 of this book explores the dissemination and sharing of visual ethnographic research and practice across academic scholarship, applied, creative and public practice and interventional and futures-focused agendas. While these modes of dissemination and sharing involve different practices, they are not mutually exclusive or separated categories; they may all form part of the same project and draw on the same visual ethnographic practice and materials, and overlap with and inform and shape each other.

Sharing ethnographic research brings critical scrutiny and possible appropriation by others; we relinquish control of our ethnographic writings, documentary or other creative visual practice for others to interpret on their own terms and use for their own ends. Anthropological writers and filmmakers have warned, 'representations, once made, are open to re-representation, misrepresentation and appropriation' so that 'once we have committed to words on paper, or to visual representation through film, we may at one and the same time lose control yet be haunted by our representations of others' (James, Hockey and Dawson 1997: 13), and '(e)thical problems will arise despite your best intentions' even 'after your film is finished and in distribution' (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 49). Digital publications that seek to give 'voice' can require us to 'acknowledge participants' "right to be visible" especially where research seeks to challenge wider social processes of disempowerment' (Fahmy and Pemberton 2012: 2.5), as well as their right not to be shown in other examples.

A non-representational and processual view of images rethinks the image 'away from the idea that images represent, on another plane, the forms of things in the world to the idea that they are place-holders for these things, which travellers watch out for, and from which they take their direction', to then ask: 'Could it be that images do not stand for things, but rather help you find them?' (Ingold 2010a: 17). Thus I argue, our task is to focus on how the people we share visual ethnographic outputs with can best learn as they move forward, guided by our images.

7 VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN SCHOLARSHIP

Visual ethnography was born out of and is part of academic scholarship. It generates both embodied sensory ways of seeing and sharing, and dialogues with theoretical scholarship. Together these create a powerful and convincing mode of knowing, which can be engaged to intervene in and advance academic knowledge and debates. How might we best engage the unique materials that visual ethnographic practice produces in order to share this knowledge; what textual and visual strategies advance the effective use of photography and video in academic texts? Which old and new technologies are best engaged to support the sharing of visual ethnographic knowing and images?

Academic scholarship in visual ethnography is born from the often intense and personal encounters researchers have held in the intimate worlds of others, where they have shared with us experiences that are complex, possibly difficult or beautiful. Our scholarship, written or visual, thus emerges from a position of trust and responsibility, where we have been granted the privilege of participating in or viewing the detail of other people's lives, of videoing or photographing them in their worlds, and of bringing these encounters up close to theoretical and analytical ways of knowing. We then further interpret what we have learned, and as scholars we seek to endorse the insights and critical perspectives we derive from it as a contribution to existing academic thinking. Visual ethnographic scholarship is also a reflexive practice, where we should acknowledge that our own lives are inextricable from our publication narratives. In doing so we become vulnerable to research participants, research partners, other stakeholders and academic critics and collaborators. For visual ethnographers, this position is emphasised as our personal and professional lives, the intimate and public domains of our experience, and the continuing dialogue between theory and ethnography are intertwined, and we cannot but include ourselves, our voices, and places our bodies have occupied in our outputs.

This chapter discusses visual ethnography scholarship as it is prepared and shared in academic publications, including printed and online books and scholarly journals, and other digital resources as relevant. Photography is the dominant mode through which the visual has become part of this genre, and has attracted more critical attention, however both still and moving video images are increasingly integrated into contemporary publishing agendas, as demonstrated in the growing list of journals that promote such scholarship by making possible the inclusion of visual ethnography research with photographs or video clips in their publications. Examples from across the social sciences, humanities and arts include the still printed journal *Visual Studies*, also available online in downloadable pdfs, and the online journals *Journal of Video Ethnography*, *Visual Ethnography*, *Anthrovision*, *Visual Methodologies*, the *Video Journal of Education and Pedagogy*, *Sociological Research Online*, *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research (FQS)* and *Sensate Journal*.

METHODOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Visual ethnography publishing can be divided into two broad types, which overlap in that they both develop and publish ethnographic examples and findings, although for different purposes. The main focus of this chapter is on sharing the findings of visual ethnographic research. However, before proceeding I draw readers' attention to the genre of literature that has grown up around the practice of visual ethnography. The first edition of this book was a first step in this direction, an urge towards understanding visual ethnography as a field of practice. I include *Doing Visual Ethnography* within this category of methodological scholarship, and have commented on other books concerned with visual methods in Chapter 1. There is also a series of online journals and/or special issues which focus on visual research methodology in various guises and give researchers involved in this field the opportunity to present and discuss visual ethnography research, including the publication of ethnographic films and other video materials. These journals provide a significant forum for researchers in this field in which debates and advances in visual ethnography theory and practice can be showcased and played out. My own view, particularly as a participant myself in the generation of methodological development, debate and critique, is that it is relevant and important for video ethnographers to contribute to such publications, but that this should be developed alongside publication and dissemination in other subject specific academic forums and through modes of public dissemination. That is, while we should of course develop our theory and practice in dialogue with other visual ethnographers, the ethics of responsibility of visual ethnography practice means its objective should be to create the new and unique modes of knowledge and insights that this methodology can provide in order to advance fields of scholarship and intervention that work towards better futures.

One of the key roles that methodological scholarship in visual ethnography plays is to propose and advance new theoretically endorsed and explored approaches and methods in the field. This allows visual ethnographers scope to consider how to understand and share other people's worlds and experiences as specific to their research questions and circumstances, to advance discussions of ethics, and to share examples of their practice. Methodological articles are however not opportunities to simply describe or present the visual ethnography

methodology used for a particular project, although such texts do have a place in articles, chapters, monographs or PhD theses, where a short account of the methods contextualises what is discussed in the rest of the text. Instead, methodological articles give us a chance to participate in a community of practice seeking to better develop our methodologies, and moreover to promote them to researchers from other disciplines and fields.

REFLEXIVITY AND NARRATIVE IN ACADEMIC TEXT

In Chapter 1 I discussed the implications of James Clifford's (1986) comparison of ethnographic writing to fiction, which was integral to a shift towards understanding ethnographic texts as subjective, but loyal, accounts of ethnographic encounters and research participants. Comment on the constructedness of ethnographic text has become an almost mandatory passage in ethnographic methods textbooks published since the last decade of the twentieth century. This has involved an insistence that careful attention is paid to the literary nature of ethnographic writing, and how ethnographers convince their readers of the authenticity and authority of their accounts. Research participants' voices should also be present in ethnographic text, and ethnographers should write reflexively to acknowledge and take responsibility for the subjectivity and experiences on which their writing is based. Another key moment in thinking about ethnographic text is represented in George Marcus' argument that ethnographic text should be constructed according to a principle of montage to create ethnographic representations that incorporate the multilinearity of ethnographic research and everyday lives (see Marcus 1995: 41). In contrast to the linear narratives of a conventional ethnographic text, a montage text would recognise that sets of diverse worldviews exist simultaneously and would represent these without necessarily translating them into the academic terms of a social science. In Marcus' words, '(s)imultaneity in ethnographic description' would replace 'discovery of unknown subjects or cultural worlds' (1995: 44). Marcus thus called for a type of written text that would not confer hierarchical superiority on academic discourses and knowledge above the discourses and knowledge of local individuals and cultures. He argued that while it is important to maintain an academic 'objectifying discourse about processes and structure' (1995: 48), this should not be privileged above representations of other discourses. Instead, Marcus insisted that a simultaneous and non-hierarchical representation of different local, personal, academic and other epistemologies, each coherent in themselves, should be developed within the same text.

During the same period, there were similar critical evaluations of the use of photography in ethnographic writing. Conventionally, printed academic texts often used captions or references in a main body of written text to frame or situate photographs (Chaplin 1994: 197–274). In the 1990s critiques of the captioning and the ways that people were conventionally portrayed photographically in anthropological and sociological scholarship were advanced. For instance the anthropologist Stanley Brandes discussed how in ethnographies of Spain during the period 1954 to 1988, photographs were used to illustrate abstract versions of the social and cultural life of towns and villages that were often given false names, and of people whose identities were 'hidden'. For instance, suggesting that the photographs in the anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers' *The People of the Sierra* (1954) distance the village from 'reader's direct experience' (Brandes 1997: 7) and 'impart an image of the Other' living in a 'rural, poor, religious, superstitious, technologically-backward Spain' (Brandes 1997: 8). He argued that Pitt-Rivers' use of photography created a problematically primitivising representation of rural Spain. In Elizabeth Chaplin's critique the use of captions in early ethnographic publications tended to make photographic meanings contingent on their framing with written text which subordinated photography to the written word, losing 'its autonomy as a photograph and thus any claim to make a contribution in its own right' (Chaplin 1994: 207). As Chaplin conceded, captioning is not always inappropriate: used correctly photographs and words can work together to produce the desired ethnographic meanings. However, in other contexts photographs need more autonomy, and Chaplin proposed that to achieve this, photographs might be separated from written text (1994: 207).

Moving away from these conventional approaches, Elizabeth Edwards suggested that ethnographers respond to the possibilities and challenges of photography by looking 'across the boundaries' of the disciplines that 'traditionally' use ethnography to engage with photographic theory (Edwards 1997a: 53). This, Edwards proposed, would be similar to 'literary awareness' in ethnographic writing where 'creative texts expressive of culture, such as novels, diaries, short stories and autobiography', have been incorporated alongside more conventional 'objective' texts. She argued that, similarly, two categories of photography may be used in ethnographic text: on the one hand, 'creative' or 'expressive' photography (which parallels the use of novels, diaries, short stories and autobiography), and on the other, 'realist' images that treat photography as 'the documenting tool' (which parallels 'objective' written text). Used within the same text, these categories of photography 'might be complementary rather than mutually exclusive' (1997a: 57). These uses of photography in ethnographic representation would challenge the approach 'in which photographic contribution to scientific knowledge depended on the accumulation of visual facts' (1997a: 57) and 'the photograph is intended to function as a *record* rather than an *interpretation*' (Wright 1999: 41, original italics). At the time, Edwards' ideas suggested a new potential for photography in ethnographic representation. Her approach also implied a non-hierarchical use of different types of image and knowledge within the same text, in this case the two categories of 'realist' and 'expressive' photography. As opposed to realist photography, expressive photography exploits the potential of the medium 'to question, arouse curiosity, tell in different voices or see through different eyes' (Edwards 1997a: 54). It breaks the conventions of realist ethnographic photography by, for example, ambiguously representing fragments and details, and

acknowledging the constructedness of images. Like expressionism in documentary photography, it 'aims to present a subjective reality' and 'the symbolic value of the image may be more important than straightforward denotation' (Wright 1999: 44). Edwards argued that such photography has a place in ethnographic representation because 'there are components of culture which require a more evocative, multidimensional, even ambiguous expression than the realist documentary paradigm permits' (Edwards 1997a: 54). She indicated how expressive and realist photographs may work together as metaphors for different types of knowledge. Expressive photographs, she suggested, are hard to comprehend since '[t]hey do not slip easily into preconceived notions of reading culture' (1997a: 69) and because 'expressive' imagery belies 'the *inevitability* of not comprehending everything' – it challenges the claim to authority and 'truth' that is embedded in the 'realist' approach (Edwards 1997a: 75, original italics). Therefore, by begging that readers/viewers do not take photographs 'at face value', expressive photography would encourage a self-conscious and reflexive approach to viewing and producing meaning from photographs. If expressive photographs are published alongside realist photographs in ethnographic text, they may question readers'/viewers' assumptions about the truthfulness and completeness of the realist photographs, and in doing so challenge conventional ways of reading/viewing realist images. These 1990s discussions thus set the ground for further innovation and freedom in the ways ethnographers might use photography and video stills in their written work.

A still highly valuable example of how different modes of knowing might be combined in one book is Paul Stoller's *Sensuous Scholarship* (1997), which demonstrates how representations of diverse realities might coherently intersect in the same text. Stoller proposes a 'sensuous scholarship' that accounts for how ethnographic knowledge is created not just through the observation of visible phenomena, but through other sensory experiences, such as physical pain and taste. For Stoller, the 'flexible agency of the sensuous scholar is key. This combines the 'sensible and intelligible, denotative and evocative' and the 'ability to make intellectual leaps to bridge gaps forged by the illusion of disparateness' (1997: xviii), in his terms 'to tack between the analytical and the sensible' (1997: xv). A flexible representation 'underscores the linkages of experience and reality, imagination and reason, difference and commonality' (1997: 92). To achieve this, he combines a range of different textual styles, including a mystical Sufi story, poetry, autobiographical accounts, academic writing, photographs and a discussion of both performance and ethnographic film. Much more recently, in her book *Why Muslim Women and Smartphones*, which includes visual and written text, Karen Waltorp develops an innovative narrative of alternate chapter forms, which again are not hierarchically ordered but, as she explains:

> the form of this book is twinned chapters or refracted mirror images of each other. In capital-letter chapters A, B, C, and D, I follow the young women, smartphone in hand, in their everyday life in this specific environment at this specific historic time. In Chapters a, b, c, and d, in turn, I attempt a figure-ground reversal (Wagner 1981[1976]) and the figure that emerges is the knowledge making practice itself, which now becomes object. The ethnographic, descriptive chapters are denoted with capital letters and the refractive mirror images in small-letter chapters. The small-letter chapters do not explain or analyze the content in the ethnographic chapters, for the analysis is in the montage of the ethnographic text, and in the friction in-between repeated concerns and questions in capital-letter chapters and small-letter chapters. They are on the same level, so to speak. (Waltorp 2020: 8)

In the monograph *Architects: Portraits of a Practice*, Thomas Yarrow includes a series of photographs as a 'parallel strand of the description', which are untitled deliberately, 'since they are related to but not simply illustrative of adjacent written accounts' and thus he invites readers to make their own connections between the images and writing, suggesting that the text itself could be treated as 'a series of extended captions' (Yarrow 2019: 4). Dispersed through the text on facing pages, the photographs, which connect to the work and environments of architects, invoke different feelings and connections to the people and spatialities depicted, to those invited through the written descriptions. Text that allows academic, local and individual narratives to co-exist, implying no hierarchical relationship between either the discourses that are represented or their medium of representation, certainly offers a temptingly democratic model. The works discussed in this section demonstrate a range of ways in which the tension between the ethnographers' and other peoples' experiences can be resolved. However, we should not disregard the complexities of such work and such techniques should not be used naively or without caution. When such practices were becoming increasingly common in the 1990s, James, Hockey and Dawson warned that the question of how to represent multivocality should not be approached in isolation from a consideration of its political and ethical implications. While the ideals and intentions of multivocality are important, the question of 'whether such democratic representations are in the end possible, or even desirable, remains' (James, Hockey and Dawson 1997: 12). Moreover, Josephides questioned the possibility of a democratic multivocality, since 'letting the people speak for themselves, or allowing them agency as actors with their own theoretical perspectives still may not escape the suspicion that the ethnographer is using them for her own ends' (Josephides 1997: 29). She asks if ethnographers' strategies, apparently intended to bring the reader closer to the informants' subjectivity, really only constitute ethnographers' uses of informants' words to make their own points. Textual practices that are designed to give the subjects of the research a voice (such as printing, recording, or keying in *their* stories, perspectives, words, narratives or photographs) may constitute only a new textual construction in which the narrative of the ethnographer is just as dominant and those of the subjects subordinate.