Photojournalism: Explorations into the Geographical Witness, Activist and Traveller

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2017/2018

GEG6000: Independent Geographical Study

Queen Mary
University of London

Acknowledgments

Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Catherine Nash, who has helped guide my ideas and inspirations during the undertaking of this study. Her support has provided immeasurable reassurance when it was needed and has encouraged me to stretch my intellectual and imaginative boundaries in the process.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation for the participants of this study: Amber Bracken, Ahmed Najm, Ed Kashi, George Azar, Ian Berry, Jess Crombie, Joanna B. Pinneo and Mattias Klum for awarding me the time to hear their stories. The completion of this dissertation has only been made possible through being able to listen to such rich, personal and beautifully insightful experiences.

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Introducing the Photojournalist

Photojournalism has been influential in shaping representations in several key topics throughout geographical scholarship, such as development, poverty and climate change. It is a profession that is publically engaged and often political. Yet, despite the obvious thematic links between academic work and photojournalism, there is a sense that the former is situated in universities and the latter situates itself out *there*, in the public (García-Álvarez et al., 2014: 540). This study uses the role of the photojournalist as a crossroads between these two realms by marrying discussions of intellectual geographical concepts with the experiences and viewpoints of the participants.

The first chapter explores the motivations of the interviewees, all but one of whom are photographers, in choosing their profession and how this links to their connections to particular places, time periods and identities. It considers imaginative geographies that are produced during childhood and in the context of being a part of particular communities. Furthermore, it speaks to the relevance of home, and the subsequent desire to travel away, stay close to home or to reinterpret experiences of home through photojournalism.

In the second chapter, the discussion moves on to the widespread debates on professional ethics that already prevail in popular culture (Lester, 2015). The ways in which the participants articulate their own stance on the notion of objectivity help illuminate their professional process and the messages that become inscribed within their journalism. Furthermore, the differing relations to social advocacy present a complex revelation of how social change emerges out of photography, and the ways in which photojournalists might extend beyond the technology of the camera to engage in other methods of collaboration and vocal activism.

This paper departs most radically from traditional geographical discussion in the final chapter. It draws on the writings of John Kirtland Wright (1947), who was among the first to expound upon the relationship between the 'world outside and the pictures in our head' by considering the significance of perception, introspection, and philosophy in informing one's internal geography and sense of being in the world. The spaces in which the photojournalists face moral conflict and the condition of being uprooted as a traveller both affect the ways in which they formulate their own values and sense of purpose. This discussion draws back to the underlying interest in imaginative geographies as helping to shape our senses in not only

the reality of places, but of our ‘most intimate sense of our selves’ (Valentine, 1999 in Driver, 2011: 145).

Photojournalists themselves are not a monolith, and the profession encompasses people of all places and cultures. I aim to deviate from the one dimensional narratives of the photojournalist as embodying a singular identity; as witness; advocate; traveller; reporter. Instead, I invite the opportunity to understand the different ways in which all these facets interact and bring ethical and geographical understandings into being.

Research questions:

1. In what ways do relations to home and identity shape the motivations and influences behind the work of photojournalists?

2. In what ways do photojournalists use their work for the purpose of social activism or change?
3. In what ways do photojournalists approach their representations of people and place in this process?
4. In what ways do the personal experiences of photojournalists affect their own values and sense of being?

Literature review: framing geographical scholarship and critical visual theory

Geography has been described as a visual discipline (Campbell, 2007; Rose, 2003; Driver 1995), with a deep history in cartography, landscape and iconography. The study of visual texts has revealed extensive analysis into 'the ways in which people and places are represented' (Bale, 1999: 25). This has taken place through particular attention to deconstructing and critically analysing visual texts like landscape paintings and portrait images to formulate understandings of wider social and cultural structures. These exercises within cultural geography have demanded acknowledgement of the politics of representation (Goin, 2001: 367) and the politics of justice (Chouliaraki, 2008: 384; see also Boltanski, 1999: 5) that exist within a single image and which inform and are informed by its production and consumption.

Within this realm, photojournalism has been discussed extensively for its representational power on issues such as development and poverty. The profession has played an integral role in the 'public faces of development' (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004). Photographic images of the South have been interrogated at moral, political and ethical levels particularly by looking at how NGOs have used 'patronizing and demeaning imagery' which 'fail to recognise the agency or dignity of the poor' (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004: 659).

The topic of photography's relationship with human suffering has most critically been investigated by post modern social theorists outside of geographical discipline (Sontag, 1973, 2003; Berger, 1972 ; Barthes, 1957, 1980), who in the latter half of the 20th century theorised around the 'Western' gaze. It might be best summarised by Walter Benjamin who spoke of human misery being transformed into an object of consumption (in Levi Strauss, 2003:3-6). Sontag states the very act of taking a photograph is in itself 'predatory' as it turns people into objects 'symbolically possessed': 'just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is sublimated murder – a soft murder' (Sontag, 1973:10). These writers asserted within discourse that 'the most political decision you make…is where you direct people's eyes' (Wenders, 1992). They also largely discuss the relationship between photographer and subject in the context of rigid dualisms; as the 'observer' and the 'observed.' Geographical scholarship has similarly maintained a preoccupation with the idea of 'observation.' The very perception of the world, and of *being* in the world has been organised around the dichotomies of 'mind' and 'body'; 'self' and 'other' (Jenks, 1995:3).

Photojournalists have traditionally been seen as observers; as the messengers of crude facts and objectivities. They produce representations of people, events and place which we regard as our own unquestionably real and 'immediate access to the external world' (Jenks, 1995:1).

The foundation of this study takes the fundamental position of the photojournalist, not as a mere observer, but as part of a process of production of worldly truths and imaginaries. I use the word truth here based on Goin's distinction between fact and truth: *Truths imply wisdom and discovery, human emotion and shared values…a photograph can also represent a truth that transcends fact'* (2001:368).

The crucial political message of post modernism has been that the very nature of photography is entangled with unconscious and implicit biases which are wound up in power relations that exist external to the photograph (Ranciere, 2009). They adopt a Foucaudian eye in looking beyond what is presented in the photograph's glossy emulsion to consider what 'invisible structures and events' are revealed in a photo's production and consumption (Barry, 1995:51). Broader agendas, meanings and relations of power bring the photograph's truthful and representational character under suspicion (Bogre, 2012:3) and have provoked a deeply critical approach by scholars to assess the inherent interests that are bound within social orders of images and the 'consensus world-view that they seek to promote' (Jenks, 1995:15).

However, these writings present a 'left wing melancholy' through which the camera and the photographer are placed under constant suspicion. Sontag states with conviction (2003:97): 'reality has abdicated. There are only representations: media.' Azoulay (2012) is one contemporary theorist who attempts to problematise these ideas by thinking about photography as an *event.* In doing so, she considers the 'spaces and subjectivities outside of those objectified in the image' (Osborne, 2000:194) to encompass relationships between different actors at the time the photograph is taken. This 'event' of photography can open up understandings about ethical practices and the power of photography to change and affect. Azoulay contends that even when there are imbalanced power relations between the photographer and the photographed person, photographs never simply 'echo' these relations. In exploring the event of photography, she sheds light on the role of performance and what it can reveal about the 'political existence of human beings.' Therefore, to understand photography's ontology, there is a need to investigate more than just the technology of the camera or the photograph itself.

As a geographer, I begin with the traditional concept of space. Lefebvre's ideas (1991) present space to us in two distinct ways: as *representations of space* and as *representational*

spaces. Representations of space in this context, refers to the production and consumption of images; it is the production of knowledge in a decipherable and intelligible way by means of visuality. The employment of space in particular ways through visuality can reveal to us social conditions, and by extension a window into social life that can powerfully manifest in our imaginations to different ends (Osborn, 141-142), *Representational space,* on the other hand, conceptualises space as a process of creation; as embodied and performed. The inclination to theorise from experience is reflected more widely today in cultural geography and in particular, through non representational theory (Parr, 2011:482) which challenges the fixation of cultural geography on deconstructing codes of representation and asks that we begin with the question of what people *do* in the world, rather than trying to understand what they represent (Driver, 2011:146). Similarly, Janet Wolff states that whilst the humanities have been dedicated to the analysis of visual text (*representations of space*), they have for the most part paid 'no attention to institutions and processes' outside of the image– they are merely readings (in Divokitskaya, 2005:277).

Furthermore, understanding the performative character of space is integral to the advancement of social change: the need to 'Change life! Change society!' are only abstract intentions without the appropriation of space (Lefebvre, 1991:59). A photograph's existence is produced out of the routes of travel that led to its production and the multitude of contextual meanings that it is inscribed with; it is as much a reflection of the spaces, locations and experiences it passes through as it is a 'result of what occurs within its own aesthetic borders' (Osborne, 2000: 147). In this study I propose that the identities, experiences and values embodied by photojournalists provide key junctures from which to explore a number of key geographical concepts such as the formulation of individual ethics that actively inform ways in which the participants interact with the spaces and people they represent. My interest in an ethical dimension of the study reflects itself in on my own desire to form myself ethically as a researcher and writer (During, 1999 in Dikovitskaya, 2005:84).

The participants cannot collectively be defined in many respects other than their shared professional interests. They each hold their own individual opinions, perceptions and specialities, but they are all individuals, who in their own ways might function as 'active agents of geographical or social change.' There are overarching geographical themes which are present across the interviews and which lend insight into how this happens within individual contexts (Jackson and Smith, 1984).

One way of thinking about geography for this purpose comes from the roots of behavioural geography which encompasses notions of individual perception and experience in creating geographical meaning. In an attempt to move past photojournalists as simply geographical witnesses, I explore how emotion, the process of travel and the politics of witnessing extend into the *terra incognitae* within oneself (see Kirtland Wright, 1947). For a photojournalist, as traveller, photographer and individual, their own images and ideas about the world draw upon their own personal experience, memory and imagination (Lowenthal, 1961).

Writing about the social geography in the 1980s, Jackson and Smith (1984: 43) state that humanistic geographical studies tend to focus on groups of people, based on markers such as class, age and sex, but few geographers have ventured as far as to have the 'courage or conviction' to attempt to understand the individual experience. Scholars such as Relph (1981:118) criticise the domination of 'paternalistic' humanisms which favour social and community action for social improvement over individual enlightenment. Similarly, Yi-Fu Tuan (1930, 1995), a geographer whose academic and personal writing I find personally outstanding within the discipline, boldly redefines the traditional concepts of place and space through the use of philosophical ideas on introspection, personal experience and intersubjectivity. Scholars have begun to theorise emotion as an important part of knowledge production within geography. The questions 'who am I?', 'where do I belong' (Loader, 2006, cited in Antonsich, 2010:646) and 'where do I come from?' are all interlinked and their realisations coalesce in the geographies of emotion (Parr, 2015). To recognise the significance of emotions in the context of this study, whether it be in relation to home, childhood or family or a wider concern with social rights, is to go back to the event of photography and to explore the articulations of that event through the voices of photojournalists.

Behavioural geography has been criticised for its excess concern with the individual, accused of overlooking the structural constraints that exist in the backdrop of human decision making and action (Jackson and smith, 1984: 50). For Rieser (1973) these studies fall into a trap of 'psychologism,' whereby complex social structures become reduced – neither radically or usefully – to individual psychological processes. These are valid and serious critiques which I hold in full acknowledgement. However, the ultimate object of this study is not to bring the concepts of behavioural geography in line with traditional spatial science; it is conducted with the understanding that philosophies of meaning and introspection provide another facet through which the relationship between the wider structures of photojournalism, and the politics of representation and human agency can be understood. Above all, it is an

explorative study that investigates the photograph as both ‘objective record *and personal testimony’* (Sontag, 2003:23, emphasis added).

Koelsch (1975:73-74) remarks on institutionalised geography and its impact on its students. University lectures and assignments intend to make students familiar with ‘consensual geographical perceptions of the world’ but what is taught is only a small part of what is learnt. In the educational context, he goes on to say there is an ‘autonomous selection process on the part of the student,’ through which they will create and follow their own interests to build their own ‘interdisciplinary, cross fertilising synthesis’ which defies systematic academic pursuits. This study is an agglomeration of my own long term interests in photojournalism, social activism, geographical space and sense of being. The concepts I have discussed coalesce into the figure of the photojournalist in an intricate and understudied way. It ultimately seeks to form a nexus between an age old debate on visual ethics, the voices of photojournalists and wider conceptual geographical thought.

Methodology

John Law describes method as being 'performative,' in that it produces realities as opposed to there being any one correct method through which we can 'report on a given reality' (2004:143). This small scale qualitative study investigates the experiences of eight individuals, as a part of a wider understanding of how social structures underpin visual representation and journalism (Winchester and Rofe, 2010:5). Research methodology is fundamental to the production of knowledge and truths, and the methodology outlined here embraces the epistemological challenge of incorporating meanings of 'identity, subjectivity, knowledge, power and representation' (Longhurst, 2010:112).

The participants in this study, aside from their shared interest in photography, would be difficult to define as a single group. Firstly, all but one of them identifies as a photojournalist or a documentary photographer. For the purpose of this study, the two terms will be used interchangeably. This is because the exact technicalities of this identification are largely irrelevant to the larger research focus; each person in this study was strategically approached and selected to take part for the fact that they have all conducted work that essentially speaks about events, movements and issues that affect the world. The one non-photojournalist participant is Jess Crombie, the global director of content for the NGO, Save the Children and who oversees the organisation's creative and strategic fundraising and campaigns. Their individual fields of interest include environmental advocacy, war and conflict journalism, humanitarian relief and stories about humanity more widely. Together, the participants involved have worked with, or currently work with publications like *National Geographic*, *Time* and *Al Jazeera*, and belong to agencies such as Magnum and VII (see Table 1).

The first step of research began during the months of July and August of 2017, when emails were sent to a total of 40 potential participants I had shortlisted from my own prior knowledge on popular photojournalism and from the archives of interviews and photographs available from journalism agencies and blogs online. I was keen to gain a group of participants who cut across various issues and whose photographic work – or spoken records – had a clear link to social, environmental or humanitarian issues. Finding contact information was not difficult in most cases as many photographers had their contact information on their own websites or through their agency websites. There were occasions when I was keen to speak to

photojournalists whose insight I believed would be particularly valuable, and therefore attempted to seek contact through their social media profiles which proved to be successful in two cases. Each email and message very clearly outlined the research focus, potential questions, the lengths of interviews, means of interview and available dates. Every message was also tailored to suggest why that particular person would be of great value to the research, which I was able to do after conducting the appropriate research and screening by looking through each potential participant's body of work.

I received a total of 16 responses during this time and began to organise times for interviews. Although it would have been a preference to be able to conduct the interviews face to face, all of the interviews were ultimately conducted over audio or video call via Skype due to the fact that all the participants were either internationally located or otherwise unable to meet in person. Each interview was recorded with consent and I took handwritten notes during the process. There were technical difficulties on two occasions when I found I had to rely on my notes where the audio had not recorded successfully. A number of photojournalists who had initially agreed to the research proved difficult to get back into contact with, often replying sporadically, asking to reschedule the interview at the last minute or simply not turning up to the interview at all. Photojournalists also have to travel for months at a time, and I soon realised that I had overestimated how easy it would be to arrange appropriate times to speak. As a result of all these factors, my pool of participants was distilled down to the eight in this study and I had to re-devise my timeline for the completion of interviews. Given the chance to conduct the study again, I would seek to gain a greater diversity of participants from across a broader range of ethnicities, nationalities and class backgrounds.

The primary method of research has been semi structured interviews, a technique that can afford participants the opportunity to 'explain in their own terms' their experiences and thoughts without having to adhere to an overbearing rigid structure of questioning put forward by the researcher (Schoenberger, 1991:183). These interviews took place between September and November, and with the exception of two interviews which were strictly limited to half an hour, they varied between 45 minutes to 2.5 hours. The preparation for each interview involved rigorous research into each participants previous projects, past interviews and lectures, their books and their current pursuits to allow for personal and meaningful 'conversations with a purpose' (Eales, 1998). Semi structured interviews allow for people to speak openly and to bring in experiences *they* feel is relevant (Longhurst, 2010) whilst

maintaining an underlying structure of comparability (May, 2008:123). Furthermore, being able to conduct in depth interviews amounted to 11 hours worth of recorded speech through which I was able to build up thick accounts of people's values and experiences. The responses I received were passionate, nuanced, contradictory and even ambiguous. The goal of this research however, was never to find one coherent narrative – even ambiguity can 'provide valuable insights' (Schroenerger, 1991:185). As a result, I was left with a wonderfully rich body of data that I do not believe even the word limitation of a 10,000 word study can give full justice to. I then began the strategic methods of coding to find thematic differentiation, similarities and links. During this time, I was also able to identify points raised that I had not initially anticipated, which is another positive allowance of my chosen methodology (Valentine, 2005:111).

Throughout my research, I have had to continuously give thought to not only the positions of my participants, but my own positionality. Although my own identity does not present any obvious intrusions in the collection of the data, it is true that there are particular power dynamics in place when interviewing members of respectable organisations, or who operate in established roles, and that this can affect the nature of the questions asked, the path of the conversation and the ways in which the participant or researcher may choose to express themselves. I also had to reflect on my own reflexivity and bias as a researcher on issues of politics, objectivity and ethics, all of which were fundamental themes in the interviews, by thinking critically about how to ask questions without suggesting a response, and considering how best to approach topics that may be sensitive or controversial.

Above all, it is important to try and establish an 'egalitarian relationship' with the research participant (Mcdowell, 1992:406) which is in part achieved by being explicit in communication and the setting of ethical rights. Obtaining informed, spoken, recorded consent was only the baseline of my attempts to ensure that the material I received upholds the integrity and quality of this study. The process of gaining the trust, time and access to participants meant being completely transparent in my intentions and use of the material and being clear in communication. This resulted in several emails with interviewees in the aftermath of the interview to ensure clarity over the use of names, anecdotes and anonymity. Everyone involved in this study will also receive a final copy of the work and has been given the transcript of the interview when requested. Not only did these clarities make each interview highly tailored and personal; it also laid the foundation for a conversation through

which each of us had a detailed awareness of the other and in which I was able to help 'co-own' and 'co-shape' the dialogue in a collaborative way (Cloke et al., 2004).

Participant profiles

Name	Current residence	Profile	Affiliated news outlets and organisations
Amber Bracken	Edmonton, Canada	Starting off as a staffer in daily newspapers in her home province of Alberta, Amber now works as a freelancer and pursues long term projects. Her special focus is on Canada's First Nations people and the documentation of issues and movements that affect indigenous communities	Rogue Collective, Reuters, Canadian Geographic, Postmedia, The Canadian Press, The Globe and Mail
Ahmed Najm	Sulimaniyah, Iraq	Ahmed became a photojournalist in 2009 for Iraq's only photo agency Metrography, set up by his brother Kameron and American photojournalist Sebastian Meyer. Current managing director of Metrography . The agency reports on issues ranging from Internally Displaced People (IDPs), refugees, environmental issues and conflict in Iraq	Metrography, Free News Press
Ed Kashi	New York, USA	Photojournalist, filmmaker, speaker and mentor, Ed has worked across social and political issues such as the impact of the oil industry on the Niger Delta and the protestant community in Northern Ireland. He is a member of VII Photo agency and co founded the non-profit company TALKING EYES MEDIA with writer, filmmaker and wife, Julie Winokur	VII, Time, TALKING EYES MEDIA, The New York Times Magazine, GEO, Newsweek, National Geographic Society
George Azar	Beirut, Lebanon	Photojournalist, documentary filmmaker, historian and curator. George has extensively covered the Middle East and Arab/Islamic culture since 1981, including the Lebanese Civil War and the First Intifada in Palestine. He has lectured at universities such as Harvard, Stanford, Berkeley and the American University of Beirut. He has made over 50 films for Al-Jazeera and has written and photographed for books on Palestine	The New York Times, Al Jazeera, Vice News, International Herald Tribune, The Economist, Saudi Aramco World, AP

Ian Berry	Salisbury, UK	Photojournalist for over 60 years; member of Magnum since 1962. Ian made his name in South Africa, where he was the only photographer to document the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Since then he has documented issues such as conflicts in Israel, Vietnam, Congo; famine in Ethiopia; the Russian invasion of Czechslovakia, and has written two books on South Africa's apartheid	Magnum, National Geographic, Fortune, Stern, GEO, Esquire, Life
Jess Crombie	London, UK	Director of Creative Content at the international NGO, Save the Children, leading their fundraising and campaign division; previously content producer for WaterAid and creative manager for Magnum. She has an academic background in representation theory and speaks at universities and conferences worldwide on the issue	Save the Children, WaterAid, Magnum
Joanna B. Pinneo	Colorado, US	Joanna has worked in over 65 countries, documenting issues like the life of Palestinians, climate change, European immigration and Aids in Uganda. Her special focus is on women and girls, and is a member of Ripple Effects Images which documents the daily lives of women in developing countries. She is currently writing a book about the meaning of photography in our lives	Ripple Effect Images, National Geographic, Life, New York Times Magazine, TIME, Geo, Stern, U.S. News & World Report
Mattias Klum	Uppsala, Sweden	Freelance photographer and film producer on wildlife, natural history, environment and anthropological subjects. Mattias has written 12 books and has his work featured in one man exhibitions across the world. He presents talks and lectures to the public in raising awareness on global environmental and humanitarian issues	Tierra Grande, Productions, National Geographic, Wildlife Conservation, Geo, New York Times, Stern

Table. 1

Foundations of a photojournalist's life: home, identity and imagination

'I think that when you become a photojournalist…for many people who decide to do this, we could have been social workers, or nurses, or doctors, or lawyers or therapists. There's that same motivation and interest in our hearts and in our minds' – Ed Kashi

Figure 1: Ed Kashi/National Geographic. ***Navigating through toxic smoke from burning tires, Paulinous Uko carries a goat to be butchered in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. (2007)***

It was Kafka who wrote, "I do not see the world at all; I invent it." The statement encapsulates the foundation for the following chapter, which is that photojournalists are more than mere geographic witnesses; they employ a highly personal and individualised 'technology of world making' (Urry and Larson, 2011: 167). For every image we see, something else has been left out of the frame, some*one* has chosen to take that particular image. The fundamental question I ask here is: *why?* What is it that leads somebody to a particular place? Why *do* photojournalists seek out the stories they do, as dangerous and

remote as they may be? What are the experiences that have shaped the practices of photojournalists; as travellers, as reporters, as advocates?

Photojournalists occupy a unique role in the world, not only through the tendency to work across physical geographical boundaries but by actively putting themselves in situations that offer the opportunity to actively change the space they are in. I turn to particular conceptions of space and place to try and carve out the geographic sensibilities of the photojournalists interviewed. The idea of *geographic sensibilities* as opposed to geographic knowledge reaches beyond a codified, taught form of geography, towards a broader way of 'knowing how to be in a place and how to find one's way in geographic space' (Bunkše, 2004:13) as well as the perceptions of place that drive those movements.

The inspirations and motivations for the photojournalists in this research are both spatially and temporally significant. A number of those interviewed are of a generation that can remember witnessing the major news stories of the 60s and 70s, such as the Vietnam War, the women's rights movements and environmental movements. Several were also able to pinpoint instances in their childhoods which sparked their interests in what was taking place in the world. Joanna B. Pinneo recalls being 10 or 11 years old and watching images of starvation during the Nigerian civil war: 'I couldn't understand how a TV crew could be there, but they couldn't fix the people starving.' For Ed Kashi, it was a Coca-Cola advert on television:

> '[there was] an older big brother type of character who puts his arm around a younger kid…I remember so explicitly thinking, "I want to be that boy"…the idea that you could be the character that cared for someone else, that helped someone else'

Imaginative space is as equally fascinating as material space. All explorations draw upon both real and imaginary geographies – we arrive at a place with a sense of what expect to find or hope to find. 'Blank spaces are intolerable to the geographical imagination' (Allen, 1976:57) and how we fill those blanks is related to the representations of place we are exposed to at a young age. How we develop as infants has an impact on our adult 'social and spatial relationships' (Parr, 2015: 480) and provide the basis for how we relate to the world. The process of venturing to another place and the desire to be a part of what is taking place elsewhere is conditioned by the imagination, which 'overlays the physical space' (Lefebvre, 1991:39).

The desire to travel and 'see the world' was cited as a common motivation for the photojournalists, particularly those who have worked extensively with international outlets. George Azar headed to Lebanon after attending college, having had no journalistic experience prior to this 'Jack Kerouc on the road' experience. He remained in Lebanon throughout the 1980s, documenting the civil war and the Israeli invasion, and has worked most notably in Palestine since. Joanna also recalls being 19 years old and "just wanting to travel…[having] the ability to visit people I would never be able to meet." Joanna has since travelled to 66 countries over the last 35 years, covering issues ranging from environment, indigenous cultures and women's rights.

The idea of the lone wolf set out to explore the world evokes some old ideas of a 'bourgeois masculine subjectivity' (Skeggs, quoted in Sheller and Urry, 2006:211) that views reality as 'an exotic prize to be tracked down' (Sontag, 2003:51). Today, we might better imagine it through routes of travel from global North to global South, following the trajectory to the 'other' world. This middle class social adventurism has artistically and scholastically come together in reflections of Baudelair's flâneur, the 16th century urban explorer and connoisseur – a man whose solitary movements in the city 'transfigure him into a voyeur' (de Certeau, 1984: 92). The flâneur has traditionally been depicted as a modern hero, with the freedom to move around the city 'observing and being observed…but never interacting with others' (Wolff, 1990:40). Similarly, Sontag (1973:43) states 'the photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker…the voyeuristic stroller.' Voyeurism suggests an objective distance between photographer and subject to capture only what is there to be seen. The very nature of being in a place however, is immersive and selective. Whilst photojournalists could arguably share the same prospects of 'lone travel, of voluntary uprooting, of anonymous arrival' (Wolff, 1990:40), they are not necessarily without attachments to the people and places they encounter.

As a third generation Lebanese immigrant, George Azar's earliest memories of growing up within a Lebanese neighbourhood in South Philadelphia was of looking at paintings in his local church, asking himself, 'is it flat there [Lebanon]? Are there hills? What do the trees look like? What do the people look like?' Childhood development and memory has a profound impact on our spatial and social relations later on in life (Parr, 1995:480). As children, we develop a sense of place which influences not only our perception of the world, but shapes the subsequent desires we have to explore it (Bunkśe, 2004:10). This sense of place, as Azar puts it, is our 'mental landscape':

> ‘I had a certain mental landscape of what Lebanon was when I went there as a child. When I came back during the war, there was a completely different landscape and that left me somewhat changed in my own metal landscape. I decided to leave it for a long time and not come back for any extended period.’

For Ed Kashi, a second generation Iraqi immigrant who grew up New York City and currently resides in Montclair, New Jersey, the US has always been home. Having travelled all over the world during his career, I ask what it felt like to come back for a long term project on the aging in America. He tells me that the experience of returning and working in the US changed his perception of the country: ‘I got to see how incredible this country really is. It delivered me from…a sort of cynicism.’

Coming from a new generation of photographers, Amber Bracken cites her own historical connection to place as having sparked her interest in photographing indigenous peoples in Canada.

> ‘I’ve been in Alberta my whole life. My family’s been here for quite a few generations as well, my grandparents still have the family homestead in the family […] I still know that it’s the Blackfoot People of Siksika First Nation who were displaced by my great great Grandpa.’

Figure 2: Amber Bracken. ‘Standing Rock.’ 2016.

For Amber, her connection to place is deeply intertwined with a fundamentally different community, and their own connection to the same place she grew up in. Her work is rooted in a 'fascination with land,' and community relations to her home, and this in turn keeps *her* rooted to the same place as an individual and as a professional.

Similarly, Mattias Klum speaks of his home city of Uppsala, Sweden as influencing the interest in nature and environment that has led him to become a renown environmental photographer. 'I've always felt at home here in Uppsala,' he says, 'it has this foundation of science in a beautiful part of the world and it is historically interesting.' Mattias cites the rich history of his city, also home to Carl Linneus, 'the King of Bottany.'

The issues of home and belonging took a captivating turn in an interview with Ahmed Najm, the managing director of Metrography. Metrography is Iraq's only homegrown photo agency. Ahmed has held a range of jobs since he was 15, from a guitar teacher to a driving instructor, before joining the agency in 2009. The organisation was set up by his brother Kamaran Najm, and Sebastian Meyer, an American photojournalist. When questioned about what led to the creation of Metrography, Ahmed tells me the story:

> '2005 to 2007 [were] some of the bloodiest years in Iraq…Kamaran [who was working for an international agency] was taking a photo of an explosion [in Kirkuk]. He made a phone call to the editor – I was with him - and said, "hi, I am going to send you a photo." The editor asked, "how many killed?" And Kamaran said the number […] and the editor replied, "oh sorry, for today we are fine"…because there was another explosion in Kirkuk where there were so many [more] victims. Kamaran found out it's not about covering truth, it's about the number of victims.'

Metrography was borne out of the very situation that compels them to report in the first place. The intention of their work is defined by an incredibly intense sense of identity and belonging to the very audience they wish to report to, and the need to produce an alternative 'truth' of a situation that they felt was being overlooked by outside organisations. 'Belonging' here does not refer simply to a national or cultural identity – Metrography has journalists from all backgrounds, religions and ethnicities – but it regards home as a 'symbolic' space; one in which there is some form of a shared experience; a 'personal, intimate and existential dimension' (Antonsich, 2010:647). The agency is currently running a project on IDP (Internally Displaced Peoples) camps. Ahmed himself was twice an IDP in his life, during the civil war in 1991 and 1996: '[we help them] not because they are poor, no! But because they

are part of us…I really feel what they are feeling now.' This form of national identity effectively combines a powerful ideology of rights and humanitarianism (see Gruffudd, 2011), and so Ahmed's work is buried in his identity as an Iraqi citizen.

Where is home? 'Well, home is in Teffont, Salisbury,' laughs Ian Berry, a photojournalist whose career has taken him around the world for over 60 years. It seems absurd that I would imply it could be anywhere else. Connection to territories, and by extension, to specific cultures and memories have kept photojournalists within specific localities, brought others back to the places they grew up in and led some to new places entirely.

Producing stories: objectivity, advocacy and aestheticism

‘Objectivity is a mindset. I think it’s nonsense in a sense…any great artist alive, he or she will have some kind of value base for which they perform. If you shoot a melting ice cap or a starving child, it becomes political too; you have in that sense made a choice because it will *affect* people’ – Mattias Klum

Figure 3: Mattias Klum. Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. Date unknown.

The credibility of a photographer can be put into question if their political views or personal opinions are suspected of clouding news judgement (Lester, 2015:7). The idea of absolute objectivity within photojournalism however has been contested as being an institutional myth. Each of the participants in this study, regardless of their own personal political opinions or individual identities, were clear in their commitment to working with an honest eye and to

recording the *truth.* No matter the lengths a photojournalist will go to try and provide a full and inclusive story however, the fact the remains that the camera can never tell *the* truth; it can only tell us *a* truth (Bogre, 2012:17).

During the interviews, the different ways in which the photographers articulated their own relationship to the 'mindset' of objectivity was divided. For Ian Berry, it is important to arrive with an objective mind and to capture the story from all sides, with awareness that even the photographer is excluded from events that take place within the frame of his photo:

> 'I try and go with some objectivity. The more you travel and get involved, the more you realise there's never really a good or bad side, there are bastards on both sides. There are *obvious* exceptions, of course…'

Amber Bracken goes further in describing how the traditional notion of objectivity within journalism has falsely pitted ethical practice and personal perspective in contestation with one another: 'me acknowledging that I have a perspective in my work is not an excuse for me not to seek both sides of the story; it's not an excuse to skew or change.'

There are a multitude of ways in which the interviewees approach the notion of objectivity and how this subsequently shapes their own values and individual practice. Levi Strauss remarks that images produced from an 'objective' mindset 'will never present room for change.' (2003:45). Of course, not all photojournalism is necessarily intended to invite change, and not everyone in this study identifies as an advocate. Therefore, this chapter is less concerned with picking apart their activist or non-activist identities, and instead explores how forms of advocacy or social change can emerge from or bleed into the work of these photographers through their individual practices.

Sontag asks the question: 'what does it mean to protest suffering, as distinct to acknowledging it?' (Sontag, 2003:36). Joanna B Pinneo is a story teller who grapples with the identities of advocacy and journalism, and whose independent work, and work with NGOs and news outlets has encompassed both. She poses the same question to me: 'What is advocacy? To say 'don't pollute the air' - am I an advocate for saying that? As a *person*, I don't want to pollute the air. So where is the line there? Where do you fit in if you're both [journalist and advocate]?'

Photographing something that has significant political and social impact can take place without a photojournalist explicitly identifying with any kind of advocate role. Ian

Berry is famously known for having photographed the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. He was the only person to document the event and the only white witness; his photos were subsequently used in court to prove the victims' innocence.

> 'Sharpeville was centrally a news story and I've always been very much interested in the visual. Visually, the pictures were nothing…I happened to be the only one there when the shooting happened. The only good thing that came out of it was that those who were wrongly charged were never convicted as a result.'

Ian explains that he is not somebody who photographs any event for the intent of producing a single news picture or to pursue a particular cause. Although he went on to pursue similar work on situations in Vietnam, Israel and Yugoslavia, he reiterates that he tries to arrive with an open mind to 'have a wider look at the situation.'

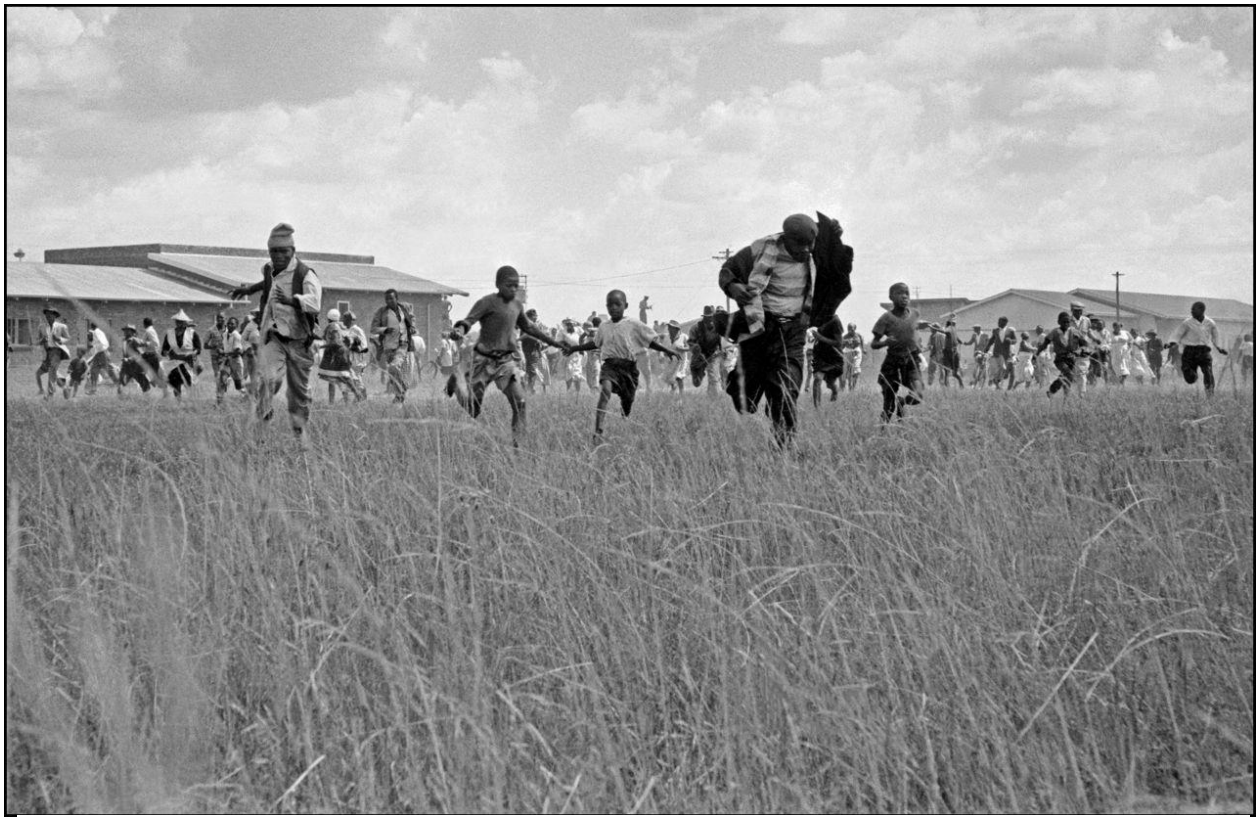

Figure 4: Ian Berry. Sharpeville massacre, 1960.

Looking at the work of someone like Amber Bracken, who also does not identify as an advocate, it would be easy to see the links between her projects on Canada's First Nations People and a strong social message. She tells me she is 'fundamentally interested in issues of

race and equality' and is vocally aware of her position of privilege and difference to those she photographs:

> 'I'm extremely aware that I am a white lady photographing people of colour, and they're not my community […] No matter how much I do my research and try to understand and connect, I'll always be outside of that direct experience.'

This relationship in part shapes her sense of responsibility to 'shift the narrative' of racism and prejudice that she grew up witnessing. For the documentary photographer Jonathon Targovnik, activist work by its very nature departs from mere documentarian work when it becomes personal (in Bogre, 2012:99); when one's relation to the subjects, the place or the event is tied to their own interest and experience. Despite her space outside of the indigenous communities she photographs, Amber's relation to her subjects and content is arguably also personal in this sense, producing the same kind of images that might arguably be produced by anyone who *did* identify as an advocate. In that sense her work embodies the same spirit of advocacy Targovnik lays out.

These relations to place and subject are important in understanding the process of each photographer's work. Ian favours the position of being an 'outsider,'; his status as an 'objective' participant in that sense awards him the ability to 'independently photograph without favour' when arriving somewhere. He remarks on the importance of trying not to listen too closely to the points of views of his subjects, translators and interpreters who work alongside him. Conversely, Azoulay argues that the 'rigid binaries between "inside" and "outside" represent a misunderstanding of both photography and of the photograph alike.' For her, the photograph is not a balancing act between photographer and spectator in a struggle to find the 'truth.' It is an event; one in which a multitude of possibilities for action can be formulated through the act of interacting, relating to and being with others' (Azoulay, 2012).

An example of these interpersonal connections is depicted in George Azar's highly acclaimed documentary, *The Gaza Fixer*, where he follows his friend and colleague, Raed. Raed is a 'fixer' – a local person who has extensive geographical and social knowledge of the place the photojournalist is going to, and can help guide them. George describes him as 'the real journalist.' Raed has acted as a fixer for George for a number of years and this long relationship has helped shape George's access to an intimate documentation of Raed's life, with access to some of his most personal moments living under Israeli occupation.

Similarly, Joanna's identity as a woman photographer and her relationship to other women and girls has informed her work on gender specific issues. Currently, Joanna founded the project Grrlstories, a project dedicated to giving young girls a voice, and is currently working on a project that focuses on household air pollution; an issue that disproportionately affects women. Speaking on her experience photographing women:

> 'I think I just related to the women…I got to spend time with women. As in the picture in Mali [Figure. 5], the men would go off and do something and I would just hang out in the tent with the women. Even though I didn't speak this woman's language, I thought she felt very comfortable with me and I felt very comfortable with her.'

Figure 5: Joanna B. Pinneo/*National Geographic*. 'Blowing winds cling to 8 year old Isha as she sleeps with her mother and sister under a tent that shelters them from the fierce afternoon sun in their home.' Mali, West Africa. Date unknown.

Although both George and Joanna operate with the camera as a 'true recorder' they are also attuned to the priorities of those they photograph: 'what is important to them? What are their priorities? What do they care about?' For Joanna, she understands that there are culturally specific needs and desires, but the purpose of her work is to represent a 'universality of human spirit….that goes deeper into what we all are.'

Among the participants were those who were open to declaring that they held moral positions and aligned themselves with advocate causes. As Ed Kashi states:

> 'I believe we need to make a change. Sometimes it drives me nuts when journalists say 'well there's a problem here and so on, but then on the *other* hand!' As a reader you finish and go, 'ok, so what am I supposed to think now? Is this person good or bad, is this event that happened good or bad? It creates inaction. It leaves readers in a state of not knowing what to do'

Mattias Klum has also has given many lectures around the world and continues to engage with audiences in the hopes of creating 'agents of change.' He is critical of the fact that many photographers 'shy away from their responsibilities as if art doesn't have to have a purpose.' The idea of 'storytelling' was language that was frequently used in the interviews as the unique power of journalism to inspire empowerment or to plug themselves into a larger network of activism. Advocacy for these individuals was articulated as taking place through processes of collaboration or information sharing that goes beyond the mere event of the photograph. For Ed, the crucial point is that he is able to work in conjunction with NGOs, foundations, governments, corporations and individuals; 'whoever is taking this issue and has roads into policy makers and the public,' allowing him to employ his storytelling abilities towards a worthy cause.

> 'How can I use my camera, whatever intelligence I have, whatever energy I have to tell [stories] in a way that allows me to work with collaborators, the *real* activists…because I'm not an activist, I'm a storyteller.'

For someone like Ahmed Najm, the very nature of his work is founded on the need 'to help Iraqis' and his own community. The purpose of Metrography's journalism is less about 'selling a story of humanity or ISIS to America' and more about inspiring unity and positivity amongst Iraqi people and uncovering internationally untold topics, such as stories on the marshlands in Basra and water conflict. The organisation receives no salary from government or political parties; its only funds were coming from their partnership with Free Press Unlimited.

> 'We are not just doing photography because we like to be photographers. If I found out that painting can help Iraqi people, I [would] leave photography and go paint…we do photography now because it is the most effective poet right now'

For Metrography, the use of photography goes beyond being representational ('we don't want to be just messengers, that is not really useful'), or aesthetic dimensions – it has to be actionable; it has to offer more than its stylistic qualities present (Bogre, 2012:6). Metrography's members partake in local volunteering in IDP camps and notably a photo festival where people were encouraged to send in photos from all over Iraq. The festival resulted in an exhibition and videos shown on the street which people were able to see. 'This is the time to show Iraqi people their stories,' he says, 'we have to share this with our citizens.' Ahmed does not describe himself as a link between the realms of activism and journalism but takes on the role of a photojournalist for the purpose of fulfilling his duty as an Iraqi citizen, and by extension for the greater social good of Iraqi people.

The argument surrounding the politics of photography and aestheticism is another prevailing legacy of post modernism. The intentions of the photographer, even the most morally conscious, according to Sontag will always give into the aesthetic realm and need to beautify, and in doing so the photo's moral message will inevitably 'drain away' as the photograph becomes object to a spectator (Sontag, 1973, 82).

Interestingly, when discussing the politics of representation with participants, the conversation rarely touched on the aesthetic quality of the images. Ahmed makes the point that international photographers 'will cover Iraq with really good technique, but an untold message' but only refers to the topics being covered. The photographers by large, shared an appreciation for the aesthetic dimension of photojournalism and its power to inspire change; after all, 'why *can't* beauty be a call to action? to represent is to aestheticize; to transform' (Levi Strauss, 2003:9). Jess Crombie, CEO of the international NGO Save the Children, goes further to denounce the traditional critique as 'lazy.' For her, 'it's not about changing the representations; it's about changing the *process*.'

The statement appears to be implicitly agreed with in the conversations with the journalists, who also believe the aesthetic of an image is needed to 'create a tension that evokes a more complex response' (Levi Strauss, 2003:12). The freedom and agency of photojournalism's subjects has largely been sidelined or critically depicted as being subordinated through popular journalism and 'undignified' representations. Amber states that in her view, 'there's no such thing as a bad photo' as no photo is inherently bad in its representation, but can become a bad representation when 'taken out of context, oversimplified or overdramatised.' All the participants were clear in their stance on never dishonestly manipulating an image in the editing process to any ends. 'The ethical

consideration happens in editing […] If it's just in my camera, it hasn't done anything yet. It doesn't do anything until I show it to somebody.' Empathy through photography was seen as being less about the sensitivity of the image and more about ethically creating dialogue about the condition depicted in the image (Osborne, 2000: 138).

Reflexive stories: internal conflicts and placelessness

‘It was very tough. When I came back home, I told myself, you know…that I was going to step away from this world because it was starting to affect me in ways that weren’t normal’ – George Azar

Figure 6: George Azar. “’The Smurfs’. Beirut. 1984. In *Beirut Photographer.*

Lefebvre (1991) reveals that there is an abyss that separates the epistemological concept of ‘mental space’ with real physical space encompassing the bodily senses. The use of geographic sensibilities is a spatial challenge, but it also encompasses a reflection of Self which serves to connect the realms of emotion and self awareness to the social and material world (Sibley, 1995, cited in Parr, 1995: 478).

This reflection is an inherently reflexive process and this chapter explores how this reflection of Self emerges out of the photojournalists’ experiences and overlay the physical spaces they occupy (Lefebvre, 1991:39). How have their mental landscapes of the world and

personal values undergone transformation, and in what ways can we understand these transformations through their personal experiences within space? The act of moving through the world, witnessing, documenting and interacting with stories can in turn, directly or not, affect oneself.

For George Azar, the course of his time in Lebanon led to him leaving before he finally returned to shoot the documentary, *Beirut Photographer*, in which he tracked down the people in the photographs he took during the war. It was an experience he described as being 'absolutely life changing' and cathartic: 'I didn't know how important it was until later. It was the most therapeutic thing I've ever done. It really just released a big burden.' I ask him what burden he is referring to:

> 'Well,' he says, taking a moment to think about his answer, 'it's a very invasive and terrible thing to take a picture of a lady who is laying on the ground…seemingly missing part of her back and leg. To confront her with that image, I imagined she would find it awful. But she didn't; quite the opposite. It was important to her.'

George has experienced some incredibly intense periods during his time photographing Lebanon, including being captured by Israeli forces for two days in Jieh. These experiences transformed his relationship with Lebanon and led to him deciding to leave and not come back for a long time. George now lives in Beirut full time, teaching at the American University.

> 'It was only after coming back [for the film] and meeting these people and putting those memories in the context of a life, a longer life, did it make sense to me.'

There is a continuation of the narrative of home and identity that comes full circle in the interviews as some of the photographers point to greater personal understandings of their own family and heritage. Ed Kashi is from an Iraqi Jewish family, who left for the US in 1943 following attacks on the Jewish community in Baghdad. He reflects upon his rediscovery of his own history through his work:

> 'I grew up kind of rejecting all that…I didn't even understand what Baghdad, Iraq was. I have come to realise in retrospect, and came to understand through my work on other immigrant families, the *pain* it caused my father.'

There are journeys ‘into the world as well as into oneself’ (Bunkśe, 2000:14). Speaking on the position of the anthropologist, Levi-Strauss remarks on the psychological ordeal going on a both a physical and mental journey, through which one can experience ‘that inner revolution that will really make him into a new man’ (Levi Strauss, in Sontag, 1966:75).

One space in which sense of being becomes ‘intensified and acutely particularised’ (Osborne, 2000) is in situations where photographers are faced with a moral decision to either take photos or intervene in the situation before them. The moments in time and the spaces which provoke the question: ‘at what point do I stop being a photographer and at what point do I interfere to try and stop what’s going on?’ Ian Berry asks the question and takes a few seconds before thinking about how to answer it. Describing himself as a ‘cool blooded Brit,’ he normally makes a point of trying to remain emotionally uninvolved in his work. He sets the scene by telling me about the story of his friend, fellow Magnum photographer Marc Riboud, during the East Bengal War. Several men suspected of collaborating with Pakistani militiamen were being beaten with bayonets by members of the Bangladeshi Liberation Army in public:

> ‘There was a crowd of photographers and Marc said to the crowd, “look, this soldier is getting excited. He’s going to do something stupid if we go on taking pictures. We should walk away.” So, he walked away with a dozen or so photographers…and some stayed. [These men] were bayoneted to death, and two of the photographers who stayed [Horst Faas and Michael Laurent] won a Pulitzer Prize for the pictures.’

The incident Ian is referring to was widely controversial as many photographers believed the massacre would not have taken place had all those present to document it walked away. Sontag mentions the case and argues that the event only serves to illustrate that to take a picture is to be complicit; to have an interest in maintaining whatever it is that makes the photo interesting (1973, 8-9) Although there can be no doubt about their authenticity, she writes that these photographs are in some respect ‘staged’ (2003:59). To her, the photographer’s claim to impartiality and the seemingly innocent role as a ‘witness’ is ironic, because the event of execution would not have taken place ‘had they not been available to witness it.’

Ian then recalls the first time he seriously contemplated whether he should have interfered in a situation:

> ‘Well I got out of the car and started to photograph this guy who was being beaten by sticks, with stones hitting him. He actually came abreast of me…then he fell and the crowd fell on him. I was young then, I went on taking photographs. Tom Hopkinson [fellow journalist] got out of the car and stood over this guy…and the crowd was so amazed at this white guy standing over this injured man on the ground. He was shouting at them and [the man] was able to stagger up from the ground and escape […]’

He also points out that the situation is far from black and white: ‘it was a great thing to do and it saved a man’s life, but equally the crowd could have turned on us just as easily.’ Fear for one’s own safety and the responsibility of weighing up the potential consequences of a situation is perhaps easier said than done. Furthermore, it requires the photographer to step outside of their professional boundaries as an impartial actor; the idea of being a good and professional photographer was articulated as coming into conflict with interfering in a situation. Joanna considers the delicate balance of this kind of decision making throughout her career:

> ‘If at all possible, I don’t intervene. If I think it’s something really dangerous, I would. It’s harder for me to keep my mouth shut now that I’m older…when I was younger I was just trying to be a good photographer’

It is not just bounded spaces that can create profound experiences in the photojournalist’s life. Most of the participants are no strangers to having led a life of uprooting and constant travel. Braudrillard writes, ‘photography is an escapism; it is not really the image that I produce…rather it is this kind of activity, this exoteric excursion’ (in Zurbrugg, 1997:33-34). Thinking back to the first chapter, the interviewees expressed a sense of wanting to see places outside of themselves and what they knew; a type of dreaming they longed to capture and share, and it is this dreaming that can also become a part of an ‘incurable displacement…an invisibility’ (Osborne, 2000:181).

Ed Kashi talks about this feeling of becoming invisible, and feeling lost and displaced:

> ‘I realised I was actually more lonely when I was around my own kitchen table or around my family, or I was *as* lonely there as I was in a hotel room. And I thought, this is *so* screwed up.’

These conditions have in some cases affected the personal lives and emotions of the participants in significant ways. Joanna, though she is less afflicted with emotions of solitude

now, thinks back to earlier situations: 'I got a divorce, not completely because I was gone, but that was part of it. I wanted to keep travelling.'

These words reminded me of what Osborne (2000) calls 'the melancholy of the traveller,' a feeling of longing to be elsewhere coupled with a constant discontent with being in any one place. I was curious to understand what particularities for the photojournalists might cause this sense of alienation, and overwhelmingly the participants linked their solitude back to the nature of photojournalism as an industry. Amber weighs in: 'the industry has changed so dramatically in the last 10 -20 years…there's just so much uncertainty and I think that's what makes people feel lonely.'

The fundamental building blocks of having a decent life 'beyond just creating great work' have only gotten more difficult as the two major sources of income for photojournalists have decreased drastically. Editorial assignments are rarer to come by and grossly underfunded, and Ed estimates archival resale has gone down 80% since the earlier days of his career: 'this work is rife with compromises and it's so damn hard. We get such little support, it's such a fight, a constant uphill battle. I'm very successful yet I still feel wearied by the fight.'

Figure 7: Zmnako Ismael/Metrography. 'Runak Bapir Gherib, a 14 year old from Shingal makes her way down the Sinjar mountains after seven days.She is with her mother and sister waiting for a car to arrive. She took the gun from Shingal to protect her family.' Date unknown.

Mattias remarks that he has not felt particularly lonely in the business, as he often travelled with others and has now met fellow artist Iris, his fiancée. Several of the participants mentioned the importance of spouses or other social relationships in having affected them similarly over time. Amber mentions the need for photojournalists to find their own professional networks and 'your own people' in a changing industry where these individuals can becomes incredibly vernacularised both in their personal and professional lives.

The pressures of the business reach a heightened poignancy when speaking to Ahmed, who knows all too well the feeling of being in constant danger and experiencing external pressure: 'right now I am parked somewhere in Kirkuk and when [a] car is coming by really slowly, I have to look around to see who's there. This is not a safe situation.' Although there is much pressure on him from his family and his fiancée to be more careful or to quit his position with Metrography, Ahmed maintains his goal with conviction: 'I decided I am not going to leave Iraq. I am going to be here until I die. There are 71 people who believe in Metrography and me - and our idea.'

Conclusion

In order to try and succinctly find a way to sew together the many threads of thought in this study, I return to the original research questions which I set in place to guide the process.

Firstly, the themes of home, imagination and belonging generated incredibly strong links between the photojournalists' areas of professional interest and their own cultural and childhood experiences. Furthermore, being attached and rooted in a sense of home can be self formative (Antonsich 2009; Antonsich 2010) and a journey of self awareness (Bunkse, 2004) and has in this context, shaped the ways in which the photographers use their work to seek out other places - like George Azar who left for his diasporic home of Lebanon - or to refocus the representation of their home in order to shed light on issues they find personal and important - as in the case of Amber Bracken and her documentation of Canada's indigenous populations, or Ahmed Najm's dedication to covering and sharing social issues in Iraq.

Secondly, I took to investigating the 'outward' relations of the photojournalists, towards their subjects and on issues of objectivity and advocacy. The discussion revealed that the participants had varying stances on the idea of impartiality and activism, but that the emergence of social action took place in a range of different contexts and through a multitude of pathways. Most important however, was the idea of collaboration and wider ethical storytelling that accompany the mere visual body of the text. For the interviewees, the still image alone is rarely revolutionary or useful in and of itself. As Ian Berry plainly states, 'you're kidding yourself if you think you're going to make a huge change.' If the purpose is to change something, then action must take place beyond the borders of the picture and it must involve the conscious, ethical performance of the photographer both within the space where the event of the photograph takes place, and beyond, in the ways it is edited, published and explained. The interesting aspect of this is that geographers and other social theorists seem have become fixated on scrutinising representation within images and discussing how they lend to a degradation of ethics. If the question is how to form ethical representations of different people and places, then perhaps it is time to look beyond the still and encompass the processes that occur around the image. The subjects of this study demonstrate that change can be realised through accompanying and collaborative efforts to tell the wider ethical story.

Finally, through the writing of this study, I have become more aware that photojournalists have not so much been moving through the world as they have been moving into it, and

photography has been key to this form of wandering (Osborne, 2000:190). The last chapter brings into relief that personal ethics and emotion are constantly in a state of transformation through the changing experiences of the participants, and are entangled in their relations to place and morality. This final point is by no means uniquely geographical. Instead it speaks to broader attempt to place geography within a larger state of human being, and to place a sense of being into geographical thinking, so that forces of social impact might be more effectively realised.

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