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Youth Photographed: Methodologies for Visual Analysis

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Abstract: In this article, we propose a methodological reflection based on the work with photographs of youth published in print media in Chile during the 20th century. We use our proposal for qualitative analysis, which includes intentional work with visual culture, the creation of our own archives, and the development of tools for individual and group analysis of photographs. We propose two specific strategies for the analysis of photographs: the first is "layered analysis", and the second is "group or panel analysis", which allows for linking images, culture, and youth. We trust that this methodological reflection will contribute to the study of youth and stimulate debate in the field of study itself.

Keywords: qualitative analysis; photography; youth; visual culture

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1. Introduction

This article presents a reflection and methodological proposal for studying the social category of youth through visual images, particularly photographs. We argue that visual culture offers us a wide variety of images to work with, but the importance we assign to photography is justified by the centrality it has had in social life from its appearance to the present, and as Joan Fontcuberta (1990, p. 13) points out, it is "a powerful means of communication that has determined a large part of the aesthetic experience and our visual culture for a century and a half". Although visual expressions have been central to the development of society, paradoxically, their study in the field of social sciences has developed more slowly (Morton and Edwards 2009).

It is important to argue in this introduction that images, and particularly photography, have been cultural products of enormous interest to youth, although the neglect of this source by researchers in the field of studies represents a paradox. The production of images about young people from art, advertising, propaganda, and the media industry has a long tradition, but in addition, young people have not only been a source of inspiration and model but also participate in the construction of their own photographs—artistic, countercultural, communicative, among others.

But in light of the bibliography in the field of Youth Studies, it is possible to say that there is sufficient background to point out that research on young people and youth cultures has been predominantly observational, testimonial, and experiential methodological work from its beginnings to the present (Ballesté and Feixa 2022; Duarte and Álvarez 2019; Mead 2002; Hall and Jefferson 2006; Feixa 1998, 2022; Furlong 2012; Marín and Muñoz 2002; Reguillo 1991).

The development of documentary strategies, even though we recognize enormous wealth in documentary research on youth (Gillis 1974; González 2023; González and Feixa 2013; Pérez and Urteaga 2004; Scavino 2015; Manzano 2015; Xiomara and Ávila 2022), we must recognize that this approach lost strength in the face of field research that became the hegemonic approach. Likewise, the use of the image as a source and object is even more limited, although we recognize exemplary research in this area (Feixa 2006; Hebdige

1988; Pastoureau 1996; Savage 2017), which precisely are the most direct antecedents of the current research agenda, concerned about youth visuality (Aguilera 2024; Cárdenas-Neira and Pérez-Arredondo 2021, 2023; Podalsky 2012; Saa 2022).

In short, we can see that the field of Youth Studies has reached academic maturity due to the extensive research production, the multiplicity of territories from which youths are studied, and the interdisciplinarity that constitutes it (Benedicto et al. 2022)[1]. New and old questions, observed from different points of view, are updated and integrated into this field of study of the social category of youth, and this is the framework in which this article is located. Our object of research over these years has been the creation of the idea of youth and the role that images have played in linking, elaborating, and fixing ideas about this group. This is a genealogical proposal to think about the category of youth that has taken the images of magazines and the youth press as a strategic cultural product to understand this process. This perspective is important because it shows the particular use of certain methodological strategies to investigate issues of a theoretical and historical nature.

The massification and development of photographic images, as well as the creation of the modern category of youth and the construction of the modern press, are three processes that have developed in parallel during the 20th century in the West. From this point of view, we reflect and propose methodological strategies to study photography and youth from a national case such as Chile, which is the result of global processes, such as the development of visual technologies and their massification, the modern and global idea of youth in the West (Manzano 2018), and the specialization of the press and the languages of mass communication.

In this way, youth, images, and the press are articulated at the level of cultural analysis, allowing us to establish relationships and produce historical knowledge. Our reflection and proposal through the visual analysis of photographs is a view to overcoming the temporal, technological, and disciplinary narrowness with which the visual knowledge of youth has been developed. Thus, we will be able to articulate long temporalities, diverse technologies of the photographic image, and transnational contexts of production and circulation. With this, we can study the history and past of youth, their ideas, and their representations through visuality. Herein lies precisely the power of images that allow us to move through time in search of memories, gestures, stories, and visual motifs.

This methodological article is the result of several research projects developed between 2011 and 2024, which used visual images as a way to understand the creation of the idea of youth in Chile during the 20th century. Specifically, we present two distinct strategies for working with photographic images from a documentary methodological perspective. The use of each of these two strategies will depend, at least, on the general and specific objectives of the research, as well as on the experience and knowledge of the researcher and the feasibility in terms of time, resources, and the type of research being conducted.

The narrative structure of this text is different from the usual texts that present results. It is an article within a dossier whose purpose is to constitute a box of methodological tools to, through different strategies in the field, continue the study and analysis of youth and youth cultures. For these reasons, the results of the research that support the methodology are not presented[2], nor is a detailed analysis of one or multiple photographic images: what interests us is to reflectively present those strategic definitions for working with photographs within magazines and thereby contribute to strengthening the field of Youth Studies.

This article is structured as follows: In this introduction, we provide a brief overview of the field of Youth Studies and the study of images, as well as an explanation of the object of study and the possibilities the study of images has offered to understand the category of youth. Subsequently, in Section 2, we reflect on the material itself and on the intentionality of the use of photographic images within the field of Youth Studies, proposing a characterization of visual documents to recognize their technical and communicative specificities and presenting simple ways of organizing the material through the notion of archive. As a toolbox whose utility lies in the formulation of concrete strategies for

researchers, in Section 3, we present two methods of analyzing photographic images: the analysis of a single image, which we have called layered analysis, and the analysis of multiple photographic images through panels. These are two methods of analyzing visual documents that function independently according to the objectives and feasibility of the research projects. We end our article with a conclusion about the possibilities that open up when photography is included in the analysis of youth.

The images used to illustrate the research methods through journalistic photography come from magazine archives, photographs from youth media, and fictional cinematography, which has resulted in the systematization of 120 illustrated magazines of/for youth between 1905 and 1999 and 49 fictional sound films between 1939 and 1999 referred to as youth films. All these visual archives built during this period have recently been left as a resource open to the public through www.atlasvisualdelojuvenil.cl (accessed on 30 June 2024). From these years working with different materialities of images, in this article, we reflect specifically on photography.

2. From Intention to Organization: Approach to the Analysis of Photography

In this section, we reflect on the encounter with images in youth social research and the characteristics of photography as a source of information, and we also present tools for the first organization of this material. These processes of visual intentionality, characterization and description of sources, and archiving will be the first and most important step to achieve or expand the visual literacy of researchers.

2.1. Intention and Visual Findings

We conceive photography as a source of research and documents as part of a documentary strategy of qualitative methodology. In the social and human sciences, reflection on the photographic image has produced important theoretical and methodological texts (Burucúa 2003; Benjamin 2024; Edwards 1992; Fontcuberta 1990, 2020; Freund 1979; Joly 2009, 2021; Mraz and Mauad 2015; Pink 2012, 2021; Sontag 2008). However, its use as a document compared to other types of sources has been secondary. This secondary nature of the image as a document is produced, as Peter Burke (2008, p. 12) points out, by an "invisibility of the visual" in the face of writing as a sign of greater confidence in the different fields of social sciences—such as anthropology, sociology, and history. This secondary nature has been similar in the field of Youth Studies. In this way, to promote work with visuality, the first methodological action is intentionality in working with this type of materialities.

The question of intentionality is fundamental because it is a declaration and gesture —epistemological, theoretical, and methodological—that recognizes in the image a status differentiated and autonomous for research. The researcher who analyzes some youth phenomenon or conceptually investigates the development of the category itself can make use of the still image—particularly photography, as we propose here—as the main source of their research without implying neglecting other dimensions such as writing or the sound. However, aware of its status, it incorporates visuality beyond its use as illustration and conceives it as a primary corpus for analysis, criticism, interpretation, and creation of new knowledge in the field.

This intentionality implies three aspects that must be addressed. The first is the necessary theoretical learning about visual culture, which constitutes a reference base for researchers to understand the interdisciplinarity that exists in the study of visual images[3]. It is essential to delve into the history of visual forms, their techniques, and main debates to avoid the epistemic bias of assuming visuality as a contemporary construction unrelated to its own history. The second important aspect of this investigative gesture is having adequate knowledge of the type of material with which you wish to work. From this point of view, the material aspects of images tend to be multiple and diverse, and working with journalistic photographs is not the same as working with documentaries or fiction films. Although all images have the possibility of establishing a dialogue through their forms, aesthetics, and messages, attending to the technical diversity and their languages will allow

a more specific analysis. Finally, intentionality requires that researchers have security and confidence that knowledge can be produced from images, and therefore, their research approaches and objectives require being in tune with their material objects, the images; in this way, they are not relegated to the background or to illustrations of what is written.

Now, we will refer to the visual findings, which constitute the images with which we will work and that allow us to build a research problem to expand knowledge about youth. We recognize two ways in which findings are usually presented: firstly, intentionally, that is, in the active search for collections of images or archives that allow us to build an investigation or problem, and which is the logical and consecutive action of the intentionality of working with images as a research source.

However, there is another way in which visual findings arise: from their appearance in an unexpected and explosive way, that is, by chance, and due to their importance, they cannot fail to be observed and analyzed independently. We understand these visual findings as serendipity, which, in the words of Kidd et al. (2016, p. 164), are "typically associated with important happy accidents in science" but are often made invisible since the "process of actively collecting and preserving an archive is often one which attempts to exclude serendipity by curating a particular image of the archive subject" (p. 170). Facing a scenario where these fortuitous accidents are made invisible as a valid strategy to produce information, we consider it necessary to resist and claim that "to be carried along by the search rather than pushing forward in search of a goal can create a space for new kinds of thinking and the opportunity to make unexpected connections" (Kidd et al. 2016, p. 170).

In our case, the initial encounter with the images occurred in this way: In 2011, we analyzed youth press from the 20th century with the purpose of reconstructing the ideas of youth present in the textual discourses constructed by and for youth. However, the work of the newspaper archive showed us a rich visuality in youth magazines since the first years of the 20th century and a rapid incorporation of image technologies into the communication practices of Chilean youth through their publications[4]. The magnitude of images of different types that made up the designs of the written media was such that it was impossible not to recognize that to understand the ideas of youth present in the press, it was essential to think about the visual signs in an independent and focused way. From this, the second investigative process in which we worked starting in 2015 intended an exclusive dedication to the study of the image, recognizing a differentiated theoretical and methodological status, which allowed us to continue developing different projects on visuality until today.

2.2. Characteristics of the Photographic Images with Which We Work

When working specifically with images as documents and sources, it is necessary to deepen theoretical knowledge about the image and the technical, medial, and ideological characteristics of the visuality with which one works[5]. Below, we present some characterizations of photography as a document for research on youth and youth cultures since its recognition is an essential task for the organization of our own research archives:

- Photographs in photographic catalogs. Photographic catalogs are a space for inquiry where the images that make them up have had a prior organization, which is why they allow us to delve into a topic from a visual point of view in a more or less direct way. These catalogs can be private or public, general or specifically about youth. Also, they can be expressed in organizational traditions such as family albums or catalogs of school photographs, both relevant to thinking about youth.
- Photographs in artistic exhibitions. Photographs in artistic exhibitions represent a fundamental space in which to think about the production of the image, authorship, and certain youth representations mediated by an intentional artistic gaze. This type of photography and its study allow us to delve into the thoughts of artists, photographers—young and adults—and the aesthetic thoughts about youth. Exemplary in this line is the work developed by the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Mexico on the photographic work of Federico Gama (Urteaga 2009), from

which the methodological notion of photoethnography is developed. On the other hand, young people continue to be models and "muses" for artists and photographers such as the American Ryan McGinley[6] or the Frenchman Leo Berne[7]. These aesthetic proposals form an important place to delve into in analytical terms since they allow us to analyze the production, circulation, and reception of these images.

- Photographs with scientific characteristics. These types of photographs are those that accompany scientific production and are mainly used as an objective illustration of youth reality. In the statute of objectivity/neutrality that a good part of the scientific production with respect to the image takes for granted, this type of photograph can vary enormously, but they constitute a type of representation little analyzed in the field of Youth Studies even though their performance for analyzing can be of great interest for students of the body, sexualities, among other topics. This is an ethnography of the uses of images in the social sciences.
- Photographs produced by youth cultures. The production of the image by young people themselves is also a type of material used to investigate representations, languages, interests, and communication strategies of youth cultures (Feixa 2004; Marcellan-Baraze et al. 2013). In that sense, its study requires observing the environment where these images circulate, with the ethical precautions that may be based on photographs that are primarily private or created by minors. If these photographs are found in media such as social networks and, therefore, have a public component, they can always be analyzed with the same ethical precautions already mentioned. In the investigative process, following the journey of the use of audiovisuals (Palacios et al. 2023), this type of photograph can have a double function: as a data collection technique and a pedagogical process with the young people themselves in the field, which It is known as "participatory photography" (Rabadán and Contreras 2014), and as public/private images that are analyzed independently.
- Advertising photographs. This type of image has a history as a visual sign that separates it from other types of photographs. The intentionality, impact, and historical form of how this type of visuality has been developed, as well as its type of use, generate a particularity that must be addressed from this complexity (Saa 2014).
- Journalistic photography. This type of photograph represents a news event and has historically been used within the body of a newspaper or magazine[8] for the purpose of illustration. Therefore, journalistic photography has a direct relationship with its carrier medium, as well as with the texts that "fix" it to certain meanings, be it the body of the news, the titles, or the caption of the image. Journalistic photography not only represents a type of representation but also carries the title of record and proof of reality for many decades of the 20th century, and even up to the present day, it carries the title of record and proof of reality (Tagg 2021).

The history of photography recognizes different uses and forms of photographs, configuring everything that Giselle Freund calls photography as a social document, and its importance lies precisely in the fact that by having different roles, "the techniques of the photographic image have transformed our vision of the world" (Freund 1979, p. 9). Hence, in our research, we have worked with certain types of photographs, which we have characterized and evidenced in their use for the study of youth, but other types of photographic images continue to constitute a novel and necessary research source.

2.3. Construction of Own Photographic Archives

Working with visual images implies an important accumulation of materials and documents, which is why the analyst must build his own files from the beginning of his research. As David Bate (2007) points out:

> The archive is a crucial basic tool of "cultural intermediaries", picture researchers, editors, agents, etc., where finding and naming something is an essential aspect of daily work, an everyday problem. We might say the same applies to photographers as well, be they stock library photographers, art photographers, or even

> amateurs: the taxonomy of "objects, things, and people" that are photographed has the issue of the archive in common. (p. 7)

The organization and new archival processes constitute fundamental tools because they relocate images that originated and were inscribed in other spaces, catalogs, or archives, and in which organization, a different logic was probably followed than the one we will give according to our investigative purposes. This allows us to understand that the archive is not a simple container but rather develops as a classificatory system that requires clarity of categories, concepts, and specific image theory approaches.

The construction of an archive entails two processes: one of rudimentary order, although important, which is the ordering of the files and their primary description, and the second is the organization of these visual documents according to theoretical, empirical, and/or visual criteria. Working with photography involves recognizing that we generally research through these sources through photographic reproductions and not necessarily originals. This has a great advantage: digital reproductions allow greater ease of access and circulation. On the other hand, a correct contextualization of the material media where the image is inscribed is of great importance, which will be carried out from the first description we make about them.

In the first file construction process, the focus will be on the naming of the digitized image (for our team's and our location's purposes), as well as the construction of a summary table that contains the basic elements of the visual document. This summary and organization table may vary according to the interests of each team, but we propose at least the following elements for its correct classification: (a) Original name; (b) Identification of its original location; (c) Brief descriptor of the medium where the image was originally found; (d) Year of production; (e) Recognition of the type of image, from chromatic conditions to its typology; (f) Brief description written as keywords; (g) Copyright conditions for reproduction (Table 1)

Table 1. An example of the primary organization of visual document photography in youth press.

Imagen	Original Name	Identification of Its Original Location, and Brief Description of the Medium Where the Image Was Originally Found	Year of Production/ Publication	Location of the Original	Image Type Description	Keywords That Describe the Themes Represented	Copyright
	Students overturn a bus.	Youth Magazine, edited by the Federation of Secondary Students of the city of Valparaíso, Chile.	1949	National Library of Chile. Magazine section, add the number and series of your location.	Image type: Journalistic photography. Color: Black and white. Function: News illustration.	1. Young people protesting in the streets. 2. Incidents on public roads. 3. "Chaucha Revolt"—Chile. 4. Secondary students—schoolchildren.	The image corresponds to the common cultural heritage, it can be used freely if the paternity and integrity of the work is respected.

Although this seems like a routine action, we cannot take it for granted, and it must be part of the primary methodological actions of the documentary researcher that will not only be useful to organize but also to share said files with other researchers, for example, training processes or construction of databases open to public use. Likewise, this ordering exercise allows us to build databases and view them through graphs or tables as synthetic information that can eventually cover large quantities of documents, years, magazines, etc.

In the second process, the construction of the archive of own photographic images must be thought of as a construction that produces ordering of the material as well as knowledge, mainly at the level of visual literacy of the researcher and teams. We propose 3 strategies for organizing your own files that can work independently or together: Themes, Categories, and Visual Motifs.

- Themes. The thematic organization is based on empirical clippings and descriptive organizers from the encounter with the archives we manage. This is a common exercise in all qualitative research practice and consists of a careful reading of the corpus and its subsequent organization following the substantive characteristics of the material itself. This proposal, based on the data itself, allows, among other things, the emergence of topics that may not have been initially contemplated in the project planning, as well as the possibility of theorizing about them. This inductive and emergent logic, articulated with the theory of the image and visual culture, finds its methodological foundation in the principles of the grounded theory proposed by Strauss and Corbin (2008). Among the themes that emerged in our photographic archives during these years of research, we found, for example, romantic advertisements, the queens of spring, the beach, and the visuality itself linked to the understanding of youth in society, dimensions that have generally remained subordinated to other topics or have been directly minor in the study of youth cultures.
- Categories. These are conceptual approaches to understanding the phenomenon of youth, so each of them—separately or jointly—helps to think about the creation and development of youth, subjectivity, and youth cultures. Each researcher can have his or her own categories from their theoretical frameworks of reference and organize the visual documents according to their representativeness and links. In our research, we have worked on five categories that cut across the different projects: youth sociability, consumption, body, emotions, and socialization. From them, we have been able to understand different visual expressions and their dialogues with elements of youth cultures and society (Aguilera and Saa 2022).
- Visual Motifs. They are images organized based on the recurrence of their forms, and they persistently impact the history of representation. They do it through compositions and patterns, about youth in this case, that allow us to contrast and relate different images, supports, and styles. Some visual motifs can represent spaces such as youth rooms, hairstyles, or even certain gestures associated with youth.

In our experience, we work with these three ways of organizing files. That is, we have been building categories a priori from our conceptual frameworks, and we have searched for them through catalogs. However, in this search and primary organization of the visual archives, we have also observed unconsidered themes and repetitive iconographic elements that constituted visual motifs, so each image was able to share its place in different spaces in our research archive.

As working with photographs can pose many challenges for those who do not come from specialized academic fields, we present below our proposal for working with individual images and groups or series of photographs. In both cases, it is about making visible a research experience that has accompanied us in recent years and that has had a notable performance in the production of new knowledge about youth.

3. Individual Analysis and Group: Analysis of Photographic Documents

Until now, we have presented the methodological journey through the different actions involved in youth research through photographs, starting with the gesture towards the visual, passing through the findings, the characterization of the type of photographs, and the archive as a methodological device. All these steps will allow researchers to become familiar with the different dimensions involved in working with visual materials such as photography, reconstruct their circuits, learn about their materiality, and intuitively investigate the representations they observe. In other words, the learning that emerges from the discovery, its organization, and archiving translates into visual literacy, which will be the main tool that researchers will use to enrich documentation and interpret images.

Below, we will present two strategies for the analytical work of the photographic image: on the one hand, analyzing a photograph individually, which we have called layer analysis, and on the other hand, analyzing a series or group of photographs through what we call panel analysis. The use of each of these forms will depend on the objectives and the

research problem that has been formulated. It is not, therefore, a question of the need to sequence the analysis from the individual to the group but rather to offer two differentiated strategies that allow us to build historical and cultural knowledge about youth. Of course, the combined use of both strategies is possible and very productive, but it will be defined by the objectives of each investigation, its temporal and knowledge scope, as well as by the feasibility of the researcher and in relation to his time, financing, and career.

3.1. Individual Image and Layer Analysis

The first methodological and analytical strategy used is layered analysis, and in the case of photography, it will be presented to exemplify the individual analysis of a photographic piece in a written media (youth magazine).

In this journalistic photograph from 1949 (Figure 1), we can see young people running and others half hidden on the ground, both taking shelter from the police forces in a context of demonstration according to the text that accompanies the image. Due to their clothing, they are mainly young school adolescents who reveal the popular cotton aprons that are used in Chilean schools to this day. This image appears in the newspaper Juventud, produced and circulated in the port city of Valparaíso, Chile, and such image and news item refers to a public demonstration that will be known historically as "Revuelta de la Chaucha"[9]. This first description of the photographic image in a youth association newspaper from the mid-20th century could be the starting point for understanding the different cultural layers that unfolded at that historical moment around young people and around their images. The meaning patterns of this photograph must be thought about analytically through a decomposition, that is, analyzing the different cultural, social, historical, and visual layers that enable the production of its representation (Aguilera 2024). This approach takes the image as an event, that is, as a milestone in history—be it cultural, political, photographic, or youth, among others.

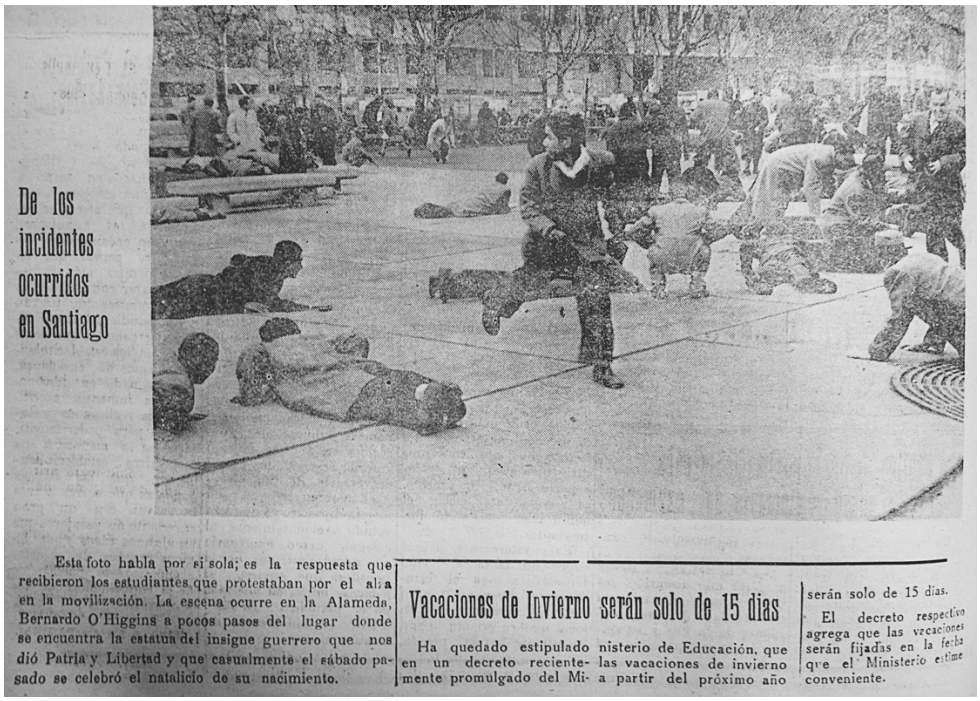


Figure 1. Newspaper photography. In Juventud magazine, published by the Federation of Secondary Students of Valparaíso. Year: 1949. Location: National Library of Chile.

The layered analysis allows us to expand the structuralist semiotic approach of visual analysis (Barthes 2003) through analytical work that links the image and its denoted representation with the visual culture of each era and the technological, authorial, and

visual operations that allow us to understand the production of that photograph and the particular image of youth that it mobilizes. From this analysis, we will reconstruct what Susan Sontag (2008, p. 152) has called records and "materials that we never see at all". In other words, layered analysis is a methodological procedure that begins with the image and is projected in different directions to reconstruct and contemplate the production possibilities of this photograph.

This methodological statement dialogues with a theoretical premise, which is that this photographic material is part of a certain visual culture, and therefore, it is a semiotic fact made up of diverse elements that we need to know for an adequate interpretation. This methodological and theoretical dialogue that we propose is inspired by the interpretive theory of Clifford Geertz (2017), for whom culture,

> "[. . .] is essentially a semiotic concept. Believing with Max Weber that man is an animal inserted in webs of meaning that he himself has woven, I consider that culture is that warp and that the analysis of culture must be, therefore, not an experimental science in search of laws, but an interpretive science in search of meanings. What I seek is explanation, interpreting social expressions that are enigmatic on their surface". (p. 20)

As we have previously pointed out, visual discovery leads us to the first phase of visual literacy and documentation of the photographs with which we work. Considering certain images as events depends on the result of this phase, that is, as chronotopes that show the symbolic structure of a society at a certain moment.

- First layer. As we previously observed, this refers to the content represented in the photograph. With this first dimension, we work at a descriptive and interpretive level, understanding that it is a level that requires situated knowledge to carry out the decoding of the image. In this press photograph, for example, a public event is represented, a demonstration or protest in which students from a city participate, so to carry out the description, it is necessary to establish the link with its historical and political context and interpret the image with the type of protest it illustrates, as well as with the written news that accompanies the photograph. The text and the medium where the image circulates provide central elements for its decoding since they constitute a way of fixing and giving greater control to the image (Joly 2021).
- Second layer. The technical qualities of the type of image analyzed, in this case, a press photograph, are examined. To delve deeper into this level, one must theorize in relation to the technologies of images since the invisibility of the technical medium of the image with which we work is undoubtedly a very common element in the field of social sciences. As Fontcuberta (1990, p. 22) points out, "that we treat engravings, lithographs, serigraphs, etc. of photographic origin that appear in the media without any shame as "photographs", indicates to what extent we tend to systematically mix technological criteria with functional criteria". The technical qualities of the image can be traced through the historical moment of its production, thereby shedding light on its status as an original or reproduction. However, in this technical dimension, there are also other elements that we can analyze, such as the influence of its authorship, personal or institutional, and the discourses that are deployed in society with respect to the technique used. For the example reviewed here, we will be able to delve into the discourse of the photographic image as proof of reality as a documentary and news testimony that represents mid-20th-century photojournalism.
- Third layer. The text–image relationship and the material body where the image is inscribed are analyzed. In the photograph that we observe, the image analyzed is linked to texts and statements within a magazine that has an editorial line. That is why its analysis must recognize two dimensions: on the one hand, the relationship between the image and writing, the coherence between both signs and the design of both. On the other hand, the identification and characterization of the editorial line of the medium that publishes the photograph, thereby delving into the ideological dimension in which

the image is inscribed. In that sense, there are different perspectives and analytical models that have outlined the interpretative possibilities between text and image, as well as between photography and technical medium, all of which constitute a very rich methodological basis to address the relationships between different modalities of signs. (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006).

- Fourth layer. Photography is analyzed in connection with visual culture. This level is interpretive and requires documentation and visual literacy on the part of the analyst to connect the image with other similar visual forms. This example analyzes the contents of the photograph and the relationship that exists with other iconographic expressions of the protest, and that can be present in different formats—audiovisual, drawing, painting—even from other times and not in the immediate context of the photo analyzed. In this way, the long history of visual forms allows access to visual canons and forms of representation, as well as the maintenance or transformation of certain representations of objects, actions, and subjects.
- Fifth layer. Fifth layer. The image is analyzed in relation to the historical, social, and political dimensions where it is produced, as well as the moment in which it circulates and is received. Here, not only the moment of creation is important, but also the recognition of the life of the photograph itself and its significance over time. Likewise, in this layer, we could think about the contexts of reception of such an image and what it produces in society, as well as the audiences that potentially consume it, with preferential attention to youth. As Fontcuberta (1990, p. 30) points out, it will be "the context that attributes a certain charisma to each medium," so it is essential to understand the context to understand the relationship between photography and youth. In this case, what is fundamental will be the role that the secondary student movement will have in this and other moments in the social history of Chile.
- Sixth layer. Discourses associated with youth and youth cultures. At this level, an interpretation of the image is carried out in relation to its own dimensions that come from the theoretical frameworks with which we problematize youth in a way that integrates the substantive and the theoretical. In this case, photography cannot help but be thought of without concepts such as youth agency, student mobilization, and social movements.

Layered analysis has an expansive scope that links an image to different areas of culture. Thus, to analyze the image, it is necessary to "get out of it" and go to the different layers of culture that make it possible. The separation made by each layer is only procedural to make visible the different possibilities lying "behind" the image, but in the analysis, they must be integrated and propose new questions and knowledge, as well as possible links with other corpora of images. Finally, and by way of clarification, although we recognize and have analyzed the multiple cultural layers that support an image, it is not imperative to develop all of them as part of the analysis of a photograph. The development of this strategy—or the analysis of certain layers over others—will always depend on the objectives of each research project using photographs, as well as on the feasibility of each study.

3.2. Image Groups and Panel Analysis

The analyst who works on the intersection of youth and visual culture encounters a multiplicity of images in archival or fieldwork. That is why, faced with the challenge of analytically approaching large corpora of images, we will present a proposal for working with groups of images as another methodological strategy. It is not, therefore, a sequential continuation of the previous strategy but rather a new way of approaching specific and group themes and corpora of images. We propose working with visual series that we call panels to account for visual analysis beyond a specific image.

The construction of panels or series of images must be understood from two actions: the process of finding images and grouping them to form the panel—a kind of collage of different images coherent between them— and what the group analysis formed as a new image comes to say about a phenomenon, action or youth body (Figure 2). Thus, we

can think of this methodology of panels from the notion of montage: "montage escapes teleologies, it makes visible the survivals, the anachronisms, the encounters of contradictory temporalities that affect each object, each event, each person, each gesture" (Didi Huberman 2008, pp. 62–63).

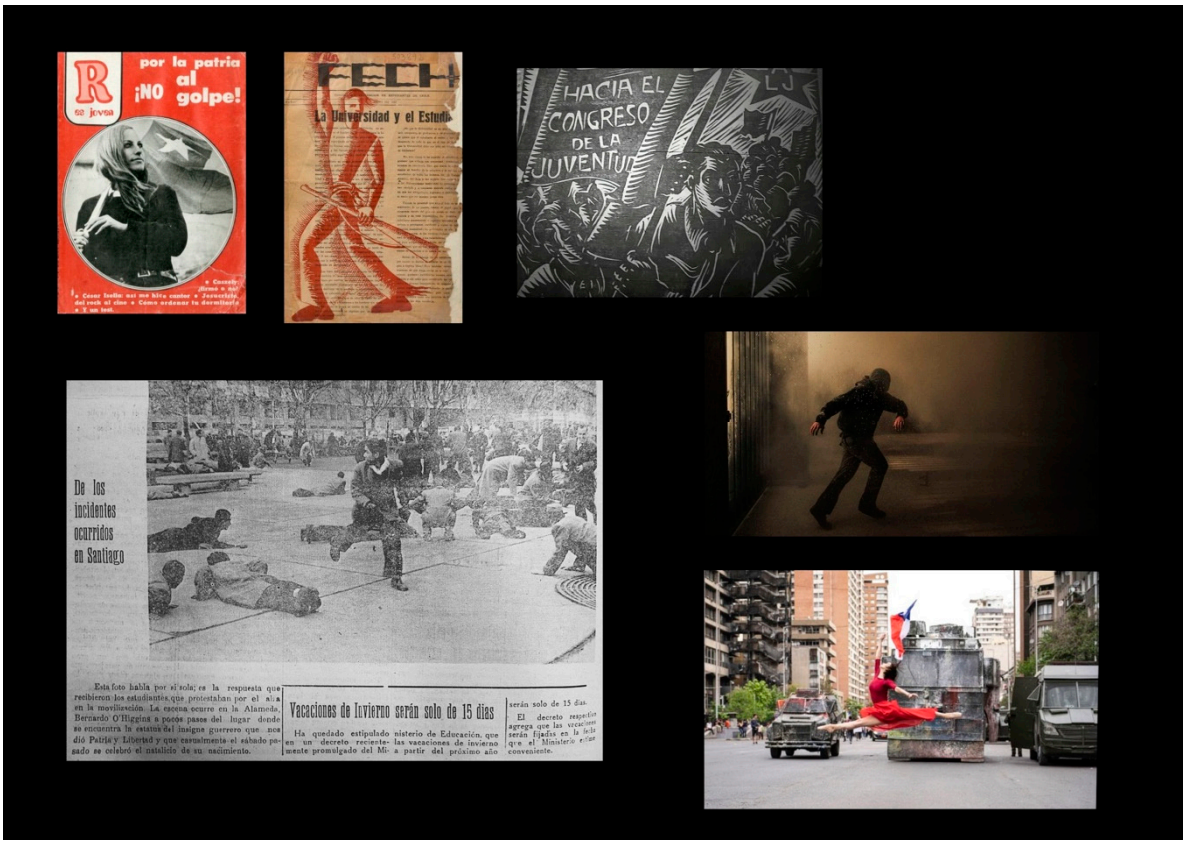


Figure 2. Panel "Youth agency and movement in the streets". This image/panel was made by the authors of this article; it contains six photographs and reproductions that are referenced in Figure 3.

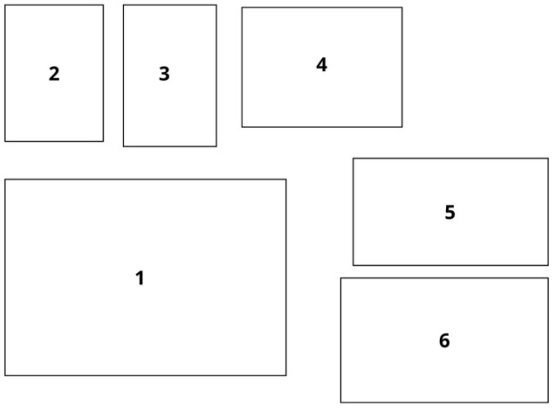


Figure 3. Example description of the contents of panel "Youth agency and movement in the streets". 1. Journalistic photography in Juventud magazine, 1949 Chile. 2. Cover photograph Ramona Magazine, 1973, Chile. 3. Engraved in Fech Magazine, 1937, Chile. 4. Engraved in Juventud en Marcha Magazine, 1937, Chile. 5. Journalistic photography by Diego Figueroa. Fotoprensa Award 2015. 6. Personal photograph by María Paz Morales. @paz.pachy, 26 Octubre 2019, Chile.

As we can see in the panel we present, we use our image of the protest (Figure 1) as the precursor to gather images that formally and in their content dialogue in the same group

of photographs. The images that make up this panel are photographs and engravings published in Chilean media between the 1930s and 2019. That is, they are images that precede and survive our precursor photography. What mainly motivates them to be together is the movement of the bodies of young people in public spaces when they demonstrate: they move without formality, they seem to dance and laugh as if they were playing with their hair in the wind, thus putting in the foreground the pleasure that they get from being in the public space disputing the social. The analysis of a panel with these characteristics, therefore, translates into a new image of the protest whose significance lies in the pleasure of the agency of young people in the streets[10].

3.2.1. Construction of the Panel

The construction of the panel should be thought of as a synthesis where organized images coexist to elaborate the meaning of a practice, situation, or social space. In this way, a series of different images is organized not pre-configured by thematic, categorical, or visual conditions but by indications that appear in different images that allow a dialogue with what we study. Here, we do not only resort to the visual technology with which we work, but we can also incorporate any type of image that refers to our organizing image. The search and incorporation of these visualities into the panel requires that the analyst build a visual literacy of the topic and the visual culture that has allowed the youth protest to be represented in such a way in order to include different types of images and elements to the panel.

Regarding the characteristics of the images that are incorporated into the panel, these can be very different from each other, with different techniques, produced in different temporalities, or with expressions/representations on the subject that do not look exactly the same. One of the best ways to select the images that make up the panel is to pay attention to the signs and details, that is, to observe if there are gestures, movements, and repetitive actions that account for visual memory and can, therefore, be in harmony in the same space. The construction of a panel can contain as many images as we find about the phenomenon studied, although a minimum of 6 images is recommended so that these series are rich in their interpretation. It is carried out on a black or white background, without including anything other than the images and indicating the order in which you wish to read/view them through the nomenclature Figures 1–3, etc.

3.2.2. Analysis of the Panel

The analysis of the panel begins at the exact moment of its formation, in the work of finding images and objects that show the significance of a certain youth phenomenon. The creation of the panel allows us to expand on what was originally proposed, and with these, new interpretations of the action, phenomenon, or theme emerge. Describing the search process, organization, and reasons for including an image in the panel is the material basis of the analysis.

But how do we interrogate the images? How can we answer our research questions through this procedure, which is always open and unfinished? First, it is important to highlight that the formation of a panel creates a new image, and therefore, the analysis is carried out on the formed group without losing the value of the individual image that is contained but with the clear purpose of understanding and emphasizing the relational analysis. The inspiration for these panels (Figures 2 and 3) is found in the rhizomatic ideas of Aby Warburg (2010), who, through his work, Atlas Mnemosyne, proposed to organize through images a cultural history of humanity[11]. Although our Investigative purpose is far from this proposal, we return to some central elements that appear in Warburg's thought and his atlas, such as the construction of panels as places of encounter and visual understanding. In this way, the analysis of this new image is oriented towards the recognition of the memory carried by the images and their forms, or visual motifs, the transformations and continuities to account for something represented, and the emotive formulas, that is, the patterns of gestures and postures that are displayed individually and

that in the light of a group allow us to understand the power that these gestures have had in visual thinking about a certain representation. From the panel and the analysis of the visual forms, we do not seek complete and closed answers but rather proposals to understand the forms that have surrounded youth representations and figurations. Due to its open nature, the panel analytical strategy is necessarily characterized by its flexibility and allowing modifications and extensions to the panel as it is built and analyzed.

3.2.3. Exhibition of Results

The panel with the images is the main result (Figure 2). It must have a title—what originated it or the summary of the result of its analysis—and it is necessary to present the names and locations of the images that make it up (Figure 3). Subsequently, it is recommended to write the new interpretations that come from the series, emphasizing relationships, affiliations, discontinuities of a specific visual form, and the trajectory of significance that we have reconstructed (Saa 2024, 2018).

4. Seeing Images to Understand Youth: A Possible Conclusion

It is very difficult to find studies on youth that do not mention images. Our own trajectory in historical and cultural research confronted us with images, although we were not in search of them, and forced us to carry out a learning process that involved theories of the image, visual culture and techniques, and specific languages. Thus, we were able to build a place of relevance for the images of youth that we found when working with youth magazines from the beginning of the 20th century. Investigating images requires image theories that allow us to substantiate concerns and guide the analysis.

Likewise, we were able to overcome a theoretical and empirical problem: studies in which the image and its description and interpretation form a discrete unit that recursively return on themselves what can or cannot be expressed. Here, there is no mediation or articulation between the image itself and the cultural and ideological dimensions to which it refers or in which it is inscribed. At the other extreme, historical–cultural studies in which what matters are the other documentary sources and where the images come to illustrate or exemplify something always in a subordinate manner to the written text. Therefore, here, the analysis of the images becomes arbitrary and secondary to the written word that narrates a historical–cultural moment.

The analysis of press photographs compelled us to go beyond the image and its original function. Describing and analyzing what is in the photograph is a fundamental step. But its analytical and political–cultural power emerges when we place that photojournalistic image in its time; we link it with technologies, their uses, and appropriations. But also, when we group it with other images that are not necessarily contemporary, it can dialogue and show us the survival of its forms and allow us to recognize the visual motifs they mobilize. This may seem like an obvious question or a settled discussion in certain fields of communication, art, or visual studies or in debates about strategies and approaches to visual analysis. However, the same does not occur in visual studies within a field such as Youth Studies, in which the hegemonic approach has been observational and experiential research, as outlined by current state-of-the-art studies (Benedicto et al. 2022).

In the light of visual literacy, we will be able to recognize how photographic images have their own memory, the memory of their forms that connect them with other visualities, of visual motifs, and their recurrence in visual culture. However, it also encounters the visual memory of those who investigate images, regarding what they have seen or can see from their visual memory recovery process or the new visual literacy to which they are exposed when investigating images. In this interaction, memory is produced, perhaps a new one, and it will be the montage, as a methodological and interpretive resource, that mobilizes and contains this creation process.

The richness of this methodological proposal to understand and deepen the study of the category of youth lies in the fact that it allows us to articulate diverse images, different geographies, and multiple times from photography and its pathosformel (Didi Huberman

2010; Ginzburg 2008; Warburg 2010): the trans-temporal connection of the emotional formulas that are present in the images we analyze. It is the emotion contained in the face and body of that young man who protested in the center of Santiago de Chile in 1949, converted into a collective body through the student movement of secondary students that mobilizes its energy in social protests and connects with the emotional energy of other images prior to that year but that also reach the 21st century with the new visual twist of youth protest as we could see in the panel's proposal. It is, therefore, about recovering the memory of these images to better understand the stories of significance that have been given to youth through visuality itself.

We conclude this article by returning to the origin, at the beginning of our historical–cultural work with youth magazines of the 20th century and when images were not part of our horizon of investigative concerns. The surprise of facing a youthful visuality since the end of the 19th century led us to incorporate these findings, to recover and update theory on images and visuality, and quickly to test methodologies that would allow us to take advantage of the interpretative richness that photographs and other visual techniques offered us. This journey was fruitful because from the layered analysis and the dialogues between images through panels, we have been able to approach the visual canon of youth protest, the naked body in images that arises as a sociocultural problem, the secondaryization of rural women and the need for their visibility in the field of studies, to the different spatialities that youth traveled in images, from rooms to beaches, to body pedagogies through dance and workouts, to the emotional and expressive world of youth cultures, among other topics.

At the same time, the serendipity of the youth image has allowed us to build not only a research project but a research program that, in its development, has books, articles, a doctoral thesis, a master's thesis, and a degree that, all together, it has allowed us to systematize and formalize our methodology for the visual analysis of youth.

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Notes

1 The fields of study in social sciences do not operate in a synergistic or synchronous manner; for this reason, the study of visual culture and images as very prolific fields of study during the last decades have presented perspectives and debates that have even surpassed; however, these discussions have not necessarily been taken in the fields of youth studies. Therefore, we find old/new questions that continue to emerge, given their feasibility.

2 For this purpose, it is possible to see the following works: Aguilera (2014, 2024) and Saa (2022, 2024).

3 Some of the authors that we have had as references in our years of research are Georges Didi-Huberman, W.J.T. Mitchell, Keith Moxey, Jhon Berger, Hans Belting, Víctor Silva Echeto, Susan Sontag, John Tagg, Nicholas Mirzoeff, among others.

4 It is important to note that both the youth media and the illustrations that young people produced during the 20th century are the result of practices and modes of production that are very different from those of today. Those were moments of incipient

professionalization of mass media and great amateurism. To learn more about this research, see (Aguilera 2014; Aguilera and Iroumé 2018). To observe this process in the Latin American context, see (Ossandón and Santa Cruz 2001; Santa Cruz 2022).

5 For investigative purposes, we generally work with reproductions or digitizations of documents. However, it is essential to analyze these sources in their "original" conditions, that is, in the way in which we found the image. This, certainly, can already be a reproduction of the photographic image in a media and not an "original photograph". All of this should make us reflect on the techniques used and the bodies in which these images circulate.

6 His photographic work can be seen on the following website: https://ryanmcginley.com (accessed on 30 June 2024).

7 His photographic work can be seen on the following website: https://www.leoberne.com (accessed on 30 June 2024).

8 It should be noted that this has currently changed thanks to new images and news platforms.

9 The "Revolución de la Chaucha" or Chaucha revolt was a demonstration held on 16 and 17 August 1949 in Santiago, the capital of Chile, to mark the rise in the value of public transportation. This protest was led by high school students.

10 See more about the analysis of this visual form in the article "El placer de la Agencia. Nuevos motivos visuales de la protesta juvenil en Chile 2012–2015", currently in press (Aguilera and Saa 2024).

11 As Ana María Guash (2011) points out, "Warburg rethinks, then, the history of art through an iconic archive that is articulated through heterogeneities and discontinuities, constituted with the individual, but at the same time relational, value of each image" (p. 25); it is therefore a "living thought", as Monica Centanni (2022) maintains, whose purpose was to challenge art and culture through thinking with images. For more about Aby Warburg and his work, see Michaud (2024).

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