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VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Photographic juxtapositions: taking pictures across borders and life-worlds

Abstract

The article presents a collaborative exploration of Mohamed Keita's photographic juxtapositions. Grounded in the dialogic nature of our encounters, it reflects on the affective power of images to connect people and life-worlds – including the photographer and the anthropologist themselves. Images thus emerge as sites of encounter between situated ways of seeing, taking into account but also transcending a dichotomic approach to borders and power asymmetries between places and viewers. Rather than merely representing reality, Mohamed Keita's photographs seem to express the existential condition of the *tonkaranké* – a way of living and seeing the world that intertwines displacement, adventure, and a sense of being out of place. The article outlines the collaborative methods that shaped this reflexive engagement with images and experiments with a mode of writing that seeks to convey the affective resonances and preserved autonomy of the selves involved in the collaboration. In the second part of the article, ten photographic juxtapositions are presented, each accompanied by extended captions and key titles, to foreground the shared visual and affective dimensions they evoke.

Keywords

Photography, juxtaposition, Africa, Italy, presence, affects, *tonkaranké*

The author

Born in Côte d'Ivoire, Mohamed Keita was forced to flee his country at the age of fourteen. He began a three-year journey and arrived in Italy in 2010. He attended various courses, including at Exusphoto School and the Rossellini Institute of Cinema and Television. He now collaborates with several associations, foundations, and schools such as Action for Children in Conflict, Fondazione Pianoterra, Fondazione Paolo Bulgari, and his photographic work has been exhibited both in Italy and abroad. He has received several awards, including the "Young/Old Photographer" prize at the PhC-CapalbioFotografia Festival (2015), the SUFA "Stand Up For Africa" project award (2019), and the Best Photographer award from the Universities Network for Children in Armed Conflict (2021). In 2017 he founded Studio KENE, a permanent photography workshop in Mali.

Chiara Pilotto (PhD Anthropology Univ. Milano-Bicocca, EHESS-Paris) is a research fellow at the University of Bologna. She has conducted ethnographic research in Europe and in Palestine/Israel, on which she has published several articles and essays. She has worked on issues such as migration, sex work, asylum, racisms, and how these topics intersect with public policies in various institutional contexts. In recent years, she has explored the link of digital technology, visuality and racism, focusing on regimes of (im)mobility in Italy and Palestine.

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In June 2023 Chiara invited Mohamed to take part in a workshop entitled "Imaginaries of freedom and resonances of images", which she organized with Bruno Riccio at the University of Bologna. She contacted Mohamed after discovering his photographs in different websites, including his own (www.mohamedkeita.it). In his public profiles he was presented as an Ivorian guy who had fled from civil war in his country and sought asylum in Italy. Living in Rome, he had started to take pictures also thanks to the support of various associations and social projects in the city. Despite his public presentation in the net, his photographs do not deal with migrations, war or refugees explicitly. From the very beginning, Chiara was struck by Mohamed's pictures, especially for their obliquity: they show and hide at the same time, leaving you with a sense of mystery, or doubt, and providing questions rather than answers. Moreover, Mohamed's oblique gaze rests on the ordinary. His pictures capture images of daily life both in Italy and in Africa: street views, people passing by, non-human elements such as animals, water, smoke. When we started meeting, we established to focus only on his photographic work, which Mohamed sees as very personal and very "general" at the same time – images concern his biographical trajectory but also the wider human experience.

After his participation at the workshop in Bologna, we decided to co-write this photo-essay. We agreed to discuss and exchange some drafts in Italian, and Chiara rearranged the final version of the essay in English. From October 2023 to May 2024 we regularly met online to discuss the photographic juxtapositions that he had created for his presentation at the workshop. These were ten couples of pictures, which he had decided to place side by side to be shown to the participants in Bologna's workshop. Our online encounters consisted in reflecting upon the associations of images and to focus on the relationship that each association could evoke. The dialogic setting of our encounters was accompanied by the simultaneous visualisation of the photographic juxtapositions through the screen sharing of our video calls. Although this process of sharing views was essentially dialogic and plural, Mohamed – as the photographer – started commenting the pictures and explained his choices for juxtaposition. He gave his first input and then Chiara followed with her insights on the images and his comments, so that our conversation became a sort of mutual exchange. However, Mohamed also liked changing this approach and asked Chiara to express her impressions first. Ultimately, our shared reflections on his photographic juxtapositions became also a new way to conceive the sense of these associations themselves.

Etymologically, "juxtaposition" means to place different things side by side. Even in linguistics, this concept does not express a relation of opposition or subordination; rather, the juxtaposed elements preserve their own form, function and meaning. Therefore, juxtaposition does not produce fusion. Despite this preserved autonomy of the juxtaposed elements, juxtaposition has the power to create connections between them – what John Berger defined as a kind of "authority": "the meaning of an image is changed according to what one sees immediately beside it or what comes after it" (Berger 1972: 29). This combination of the image's autonomy and the image's ability to create connections, is particularly telling about Mohamed's photographic associations, but also about our way to work together. In fact, this power of connection that the photographic

juxtapositions engender, had also to deal with our various and multi-layered positionings. Mohamed is the photographer: the author's authority was supposed to give priority to his own words on his work. However, in our encounters this was not always given for granted as a "method" for working together, and sometimes the roles were reversed – Mohamed let Chiara speak first. In his renowned book *La Chambre Claire*, Roland Barthes (1981: 9) stated that photography can be the object of three practices ("or of three emotions, or of three intentions"): to do, to undergo, to look. These three practices correspond to three different figures: the photographer ("the Operator"), the photographed subject ("the Spectrum"), and ourselves who look at the photos ("the Spectator"). For the purpose of our work, ours could only be a dyadic relation between the Operator and one Spectator. Mohamed's photographic subjects concern his repeated journeys between Italy and Africa, but also his personal experience of mobility, which led him to inhabit different worlds simultaneously. Chiara never visited the African countries where many of his pictures were taken. We know border regimes have had, and have, a different impact on our respective lives. "Every image embodies a way of seeing. […] Yet, although every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our way of seeing" (Berger 1972: 10). Recalling one of Mohamed's main ideas on his photography, we could say that even our shared work combined the "personal" and the "general" in our juxtaposed ways of seeing. The social and political conditions that have defined and shaped our encounter, also established the power of our joint connections around Mohamed's photographic juxtapositions.

We have never talked about the "meaning" of his visual associations: one thing we tacitly agreed upon was a sort of refusal (or impossibility) to grasp Mohamed's work through the prism of representation. Rather, we reflected upon what the feminist visual theorist Tina Campt has defined as the "affective resonances" of images in her research on African diaspora (Campt 2012, 2017, cf. Shouse 2005). From another perspective, Roland Barthes wrote about the distinction between *studium* and *punctum* as different ways to relate to a picture. According to Barthes' words, we could say that this distinction relies upon different forms of conscience. *Studium* is governed by a "sovereign conscience" (Barthes 1981: 26), which pertains to the domain of culture and representation; it refers to a general interest for the image, without any particular intensity, that ends up coinciding with the photographer's intentions. On the contrary, *punctum* refers to an "affective conscience" (Barthes 1981: 55): Barthes describes it as an "arrow", a "prick", a "wound". *Punctum* is a detail that is there, in the picture, but it is there unintentionally, so it belongs to the domain of contingency – what the French semiologist conceives as an ontological dimension of photography. So, the photographer's ability is not so much the ability of seeing, but the ability of "being there": "Every photography is a certificate of presence" (Barthes 1981: 87).

Barthes' notion of *punctum* and Campt's reference to "affective resonances" help us to explain what kind of work we tried to do with Mohamed's photographic juxtapositions. This work has had a double implication, concerning both the association of photos and our shared commitment to them. First, the photographic juxtapositions precisely evoke fortuity, not only linked to the images' birth, but also to their later

combination. This is very clear in all the couples of photographs. For example, in the juxtaposition n. 1 "Transitions", smoke is an obviously evanescent element that has been captured by Mohammed's gaze, both as dust in an unpaved road in Kenya after the passage of a lorry, and on a film set in Rome. In the juxtaposition n. 4 "Retrospectives", we can focus on the cat's and the girl's look respectively, but a further detail in the right-side frames both the pictures: we can see a man sitting on a bench and a naked child, who are in the background. They seem to be far, little presences, which notwithstanding are there. So, the juxtapositions attest Mohamed's presence in those places and also the time of his passage.

Second, *punctum* or "resonance" as a sensitive and affective experience guided our mutual exchange about the photographic juxtapositions. Hanging between Mohamed's images of Africa and Italy, we discussed about impressions rather than about intentions, about lived lives rather than social and political situations, about the viewer's power *to add* rather than to read ("Punctum is an addiction: it is what I add to the photograph and *what is nonetheless already there*", Barthes 1981: 55). It was easy to follow this path, because this approach was already inherent to Mohamed's process of creating his own juxtapositions: Africa/Italy, Black/White, Human/Nature, etc. had not been the categories that led to make the associations dichotomously. The process of association follows a different logic that we attempt to highlight in this writing through an ensemble of comments and captions, without necessarily searching for discursive coherence. Ultimately, these may not be considered as "ethnographic descriptions" according to standard anthropological representations, but they rather aspire to offer ethnographic *insights* into people's daily life and the ways of seeing it. In this sense pictures do not accompany words: rather, words precariously attempt to share our differently situated but converging resonances around those images. For this reason, our writing here below, which tries to render pieces of our exchanges, is possibly chaotic. It keeps shifting from the third person to the first one in order to show the co-presence of the general/analytical and the personal/affective dimensions of this writing. We do not use inverted commas to distinguish who said what in direct speech, the "I" is both undefined and suggested through the speaker's name put between brackets.

Mohamed stresses the very personal character of his work, which he says "starts from myself and not from the camera". Given my personal experiences and my mobility between Africa and Italy, I (Mohamed) sometimes feel lost between my previous life and the actual one, and also future looks unpredictable… However, the chance to work with images helps me to live in different places and experience different things simultaneously. Images become a meeting point that makes me feel good. Sometimes I think I stay on a border, permanently. I was born in Africa and now live in Europe, and I live mentally and sometimes physically between these two continents, which are both parts of my life path. It is difficult, and you need to find something which you can cling to. So, the camera has become my best friend, images are my travelling companions… Until I breathe, the journey goes on, like it is for anyone of us.

The dichotomic character of Mohamed's photographic juxtapositions is, however, not deriving from a simple duplicity of the worlds he crosses. In some cases, the

juxtaposed pictures concern the same place or the same country. In my (Chiara's) view, Mohamed's different experiences of mobility across borders and boundaries, and his personal approach to visual "writing" – as he defines photography – grants a special sensibility to his association of images. I (Mohamed) like that in an image one can feel the different elements that compose the frame: my presence, the subject, the place, and the camera, which let me write through my eyes and observation. I do not take pictures of places where others live, but I take pictures of my life where I live. At the same time the image must not talk about me, but about my experience of visuality. Photography should not be only the image – a nice image – but should say something to me. In a way I (Chiara) think that Mohamed's work spontaneously undermines the authority of gaze and the hierarchies of places, which often link aesthetic norms with the social aim of photography conceived as documentation, such as in the reportage genre. It is not the photographer of one place (the Global North, for instance) that goes and look into *other* realities (the Global South, for example) to show images once back home. Usually, as Mohamed highlights, this kind of images must not only tell something about *the others'* life (especially *the others'* suffering), but should also be *beautiful* images that follow the aesthetic canons of professional photography – otherwise, they would not find a public and a market. This often creates a paradox (but is it such?): images often expose people and bodies that are *beautifully* represented in their suffering. In this (Chiara's) sense, I (Mohamed) think that images of Africa are very often dishonest: through them people know only about ordeals.

On the contrary, when I take a picture I do not want to intrude into people's life. If we want to tell about people, we don't need to look only at people, we can also tell about them through non-human life, there's nature, and the contexts in which people live. This is maybe a lighter way… For instance, the juxtaposition n. 2 "Disappearances" shows two images of plants growing in the water. The second picture was taken in the lagoon of Venice, the first one near the river Niger in Bamako. In Bamako I was going around with the children attending the course of photography organized by Studio Kene (https://studiokene.org/), we wanted to take pictures of people fishing, swimming or doing their laundry by the river. I chose not to take pictures of people, I preferred to look at the little plant that was growing in the water. Anyway, plants represent life, and water, too. Chiara says my photography is evocative rather than representative: yes, it pushes you to ask questions, it does not aim to explain things. And this can lead different people to see different things in that same image, even *this* is not bad… Then, things can look the same in the images, but are very different instead: the little tree in the lagoon was put there by people, but the plant in the river Niger has grown there by itself. Like in the photographic juxtaposition n. 1, where in both pictures we see smoke: I like showing details and not the totality of things, showing how things can be different but also similar in shape, like people. Even places can be very far from each other, but similar things can happen in them.

At the same time, I am very interested in contrasts. In the photographic juxtapositions n. 3 "Contrasts" and n. 4 "Retrospectives", there are both similarities and contrasts. In the pictures of feet of people laying on the ground, we are in the same city,

Rome. Both lives are on the pavement, but these lives are completely different from each other: someone cannot have a roof overhead, and the other can marry. A life collapses and the other begins. Personally, the question of contrasts pushes me to tell things through photography: there are many, and we can choose to show the ones we want. A pavement is where everything meets in a city, it's a part shared by anyone. It also says what represents whom. And I am also part of the picture, can you see me? I am in the gesture of avoiding to expose faces, in order to preserve people's dignity, to protect people from their own images. I usually take picture with a 50 mm camera and never use telephoto: you are one meter and half or two meters from the subject, so you are in contact with her. Then you have to move like a cat, do things but never think you are alone, leave space to the other, where her reality is. I like street photography because it shows nuances. I don't like showing these nuances only in a tragic way, there's also cheerfulness. In the photographic juxtapositions of the woman with the cat and the young girl with the mirror, the combination is based on the double sight back-front. The hair of the cat is similar to the woman's hair, and the cat seems to say to me: "What are you doing?".
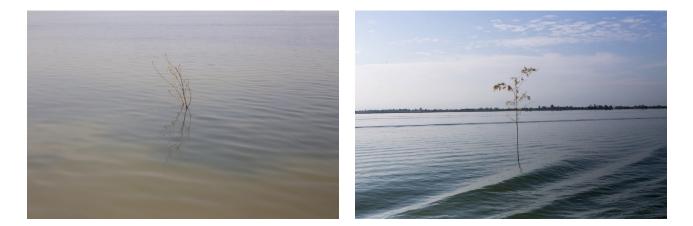
I (Chiara) think that Mohamed's photos also question different ways of relating to images. In the photographic juxtaposition n. 5 "Journeys" and n. 6 "Dreams", the main subject seems to be, respectively, the touristic images of Rome and the portraits of Bob Marley and Ghaddafi printed on people's shirts. The couple of pictures concerning "touristic" Rome is completely different from the one representing people's feet in the same city. It entails a relationship with the image of the city, not with its lived life. At the same time, I (Mohamed) show the back of a horse: what interests me is to evoke other presences that we cannot see, like the person who took the horse there, for instance. Furthermore, not only people travel, but also images. They may cross borders in imperceptible ways, there's no control at the borders. This is also why nowadays there's so much attention to control the circulation of images, especially in certain contexts (Chiara says). Mohamed believes that, no matter how much you try to control them, images eventually get out – whether you want it or not. The images of Bob Marley and Ghaddafi show how they are powerful symbols for African people until today, and move with people on the move.

The circulation of the images is thus inseparable from human mobility. Today we use to talk about refugees and *exilés*, we are overwhelmed by images that are supposed to represent this human reality. In Mandinka and Bambara there is a word that is hardly translatable in European languages. The word is *tonkaranké*, coming from *tonka* which means "outside". So, *tonka-ranké* refers to someone who is "outside", out of her home, maybe out of her city of origin. Mohamed says that the word *exilés* in French cannot give the same idea, because it refers to those who are out of their "home", but this "home" is conceived only as the "homeland" of the nation state. *Tonkaranké* refers to a wider experience of mobility that any way implies displacement, adventure and the feeling of being out-of-place (cfr. Chapatte 2022). Following Berger's insights, *tonkaranké* could also recall a precisely situated way of seeing the world. Hanging between presences and absences, Mohamed's photographic juxtapositions are certainly a means to embody and express this precarious but vital way of embodying and inhabiting multiple life-worlds.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 1 Transitions

These two photos represent smoke and dust. The first was taken in Rome, near the Colosseum, during a walk in the city centre. Suddenly, I noticed this smoke that caught my attention: from a distance, you couldn't really tell what it was. It looked like smoke from a fire, but it was actually coming from a film set. The second one was taken in Thika, Kenya, during a photo excursion with the guys who were participating in a photography workshop I was holding. We were on a road, which crossed a cultivated field, when a lorry sped past us: what I was interested in photographing was not the lorry, but the traces it left as it passed, with all the dust it raised. What interests me is to show details, not the totality of things. Through these details, this seeing-not-seeing that the two images evoke, I like to point out similarities: things can be different, but also similar in form. In the first photo the smoke, lit from below, becomes visible and illuminates the night, while in the second picture the dust momentarily obscures the landscape. In both there is a sense of suspension and the same upward movement of light matter. In their fixity, however, these images show the fleeting nature of the moment in which the photo was taken: after a while the dust will return to the ground and the smoke will vanish. The gaze captures the moment precisely because of that attention to details, to the movement of things, to transience and passage: despite its immobility, the photographic image paradoxically shows a reality that is alive and in the constant process of becoming.
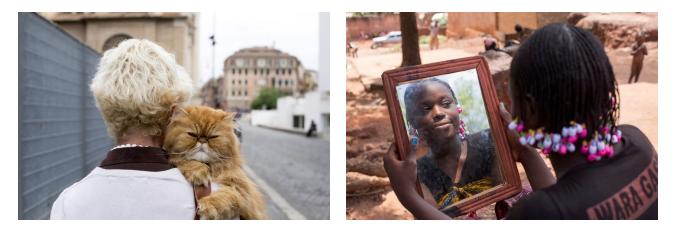
Photographic juxtaposition n. 2 Disappearances

The first photo was taken in Samaya, on the Niger River in Mali. Seeing this solitary branch in the middle of the water was like witnessing a spectacle of nature. Observing this ability to generate life, even in unexpected spaces, I reflected on how much we can learn from nature. The other photo was taken in Venice. From a distance, it looked like a tree growing in the middle of the sea; in reality, it was a passing signal for ships, positioned by human beings. Different from the photograph taken on the Niger River, this image highlights an artificial rather than a natural element. The solitude of these plants in the water, albeit in very different contexts, made me think of the effort to survive. Life involves disappearing, to survive you have to find the balance: there are things you suffer, but there are always people who endure throughout history. To tell the story of people's experience, one must not only look at the human world, there is also nature, the environments in which people live. In the photo of the Niger River, I was there with the guys training at Studio Kené in Bamako, we were doing some outdoor photography exercises: at the river there were people bathing, fishing and doing laundry. I did not photograph the people, but preferred the plant, which represents life. This is the way I like to talk about life and its precariousness: a delicate, non-invasive way.
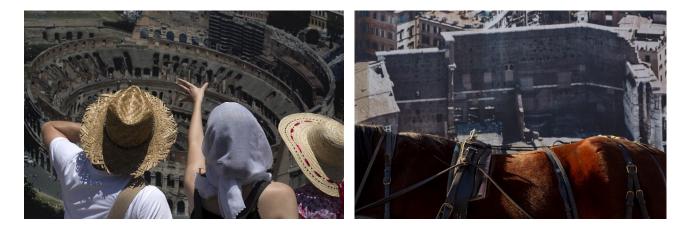

Photographic juxtaposition n. 3 Contrasts

This juxtaposition highlights contrasts, even though it tells about the same city, Rome. Both lives are on the pavement, but they are completely different lives: there are those who do not have the possibility of having a roof over their heads and those who have the chance of getting married, a life that collapses and one that begins. Personally, the issue of contrasts gives me the desire to tell through photography, there are many in life and we can choose to show the ones we want. The pavement is a place where all the things of a city meet, it is a part shared by all. It becomes a meeting point, where everything mixes, but it also says what represents who. In the second photo, when I met the bride with her husband and their photographers, a small detail caught my attention: they were obviously a beautiful and very elegant couple, but her dress was picking up a lot of leaves and other things from the pavement. It was like seeing the beautiful and the dirty mingling at the same time. The second shows the uncertainty of the future: some are able to walk on rays of light, while others are forced to move in darkness.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 4 Retrospectives

These photos set up a retro-perspective, in the sense that the point of view focuses on the back of a scene in both of them. The back of the scene is in the foreground, but there are other elements of the frame that make up the front: a gentleman sitting on a bench in the first photo, a naked child in the second. The first photo was taken in Rome in 2015: I was amazed to meet this lady walking with her cat. I was struck by the harmony between the lady and the animal, and also how the fur and hair bore some resemblance. The cat, with that sly air, seems to ask: 'What are you doing?'. I'm very interested in this side of street photography, I don't like to show things always in a tragic way, it's also nice to do it with a certain irony. The second photo was taken in Bamako in 2016: some friends were braiding each other's hair, that's why the girl is holding a mirror. However, she is not looking at her image in the mirror, she is looking aside. She is looking at the younger little girl she carries on her back, wrapped in a piece of cloth. This picture represents for me the transition from childhood to adulthood. The girl's reflected gaze, which turns backwards and is softened by a smile, is also a look back to the past, to the childhood that the girl is abandoning in order to grow up.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 5 Journeys

Both pictures concern tourists in the city of Rome. What you see in the background of the photos is not real, it is the advertising image of the city. Visually, it is important for me to play on different levels, to let the city speak through the different people who live it. Unlike the photos of the pavements in Rome (juxtaposition n. 3), the relationship here is with the image of the city, not with its lived life. At the same time, photographic elements such as the horse evoke presences that cannot be seen: for example, who brought the horse there? I am interested in linking presences to absences: I could have shown the whole horse and not just its back, but I prefer to show fragments of reality, I don't like to show it in its entirety. Moreover, the touristic images of the city's monuments refer to a journey throughout time, not only through space, and to our quest for knowledge and awareness through the journey itself.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 6 Dreams

This couple of photos represents the circulation of images and ideas through the movement of people. In this case, this movement simply concerns mobility in one's own city: in the first photo a young man with a Bob Marley T-shirt is riding a motorbike in Bamako, in the second picture a man wears a shirt with Ghaddafi's face printed on it, while he is cycling on a street of Thika in Kenya. It is curious that both the faces of these renowned people are on the back of the shirts, as if they were an alter ego of the people

who wear them. Although in different ways, both the figure of Bob Marley and that of Ghaddafi represent Africa: a social and political project that aspires to unity, justice and independence for African peoples. We know that this project has never been realised. I believe there are several elements that deserve to be observed in the everyday, because they tell us both about the past and the present, but also about our dreams and where we are going. The faces of Bob Marley and Ghaddafi printed on the T-shirts people wear, remind us of the dreams of the weakest, of those who do not have a voice. We know that image control is part of border control; however, I am convinced that these symbols cross borders invisibly, that they can circulate even without being noticed. People carry these symbols around because they still recognise themselves in the force of their words and ideas.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 7 Balance

Both photos were taken in Bamako and represent some kind of acrobatics, the ability to keep one's balance, the quest for height. The first is taken from the bottom upwards, pointing at the sky, highlighting the height of the man standing on the shoulders of others, and is intended to convey a mythical atmosphere. It is a photo taken on the outskirts of Bamako, in Kanadjiguila, during *ke-blenké* ritual. *Ke-blenké* means 'red men' in Mandinka and Bambara, this is a ritual that takes place in the Kaye area, Kolokani being the town where this group resides. The photo depicts a group of boys dressed in ritual costumes; the headdresses have red tufts that refer to the so-called 'red men'. The second photo shows an ordinary moment, a little girl is playing in the street with her friends. In this game, one punctures cans (in this case cans of tomato sauce) and puts a rope through the holes, which are then grabbed for walking. So, what is funny is feeling to be tall and also keeping your balance: this picture represents for me the desire to grow up. To represent this desire to grow up I did not want to make a portrait of the little girl, I was more interested in the tomato boxes, the ropes and her shadow. In fact, in this photo the lens points downwards. If you look closely, it is the shadow that reveals to us that this is not an adult, but a little girl. On her shoulders she carries a kind of backpack with a stick, like an arrow: they are other parts of the game, the materials to fix the ropes if they split.
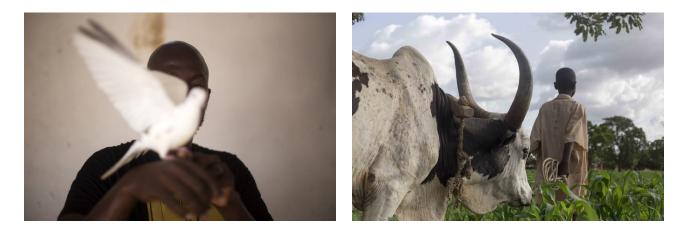
Photographic juxtaposition n. 8 Traces

Both photos were taken in Rome and evoke traces of human presence in the environment. In these traces I see faces. The first is a drawing on a bench, created with a single unbroken line, a face looking towards the sky. The second is the shape created by water as it is absorbed by the earth. These traces we leave, sometimes without realising it, in photography are also reflections of reality. They express the relationship between the environment and the people who inhabit it. Sometimes we do not grasp it, but every step we take leaves some marks, some are obvious, others less so. I like to tell the story of people through the details, the unusual shapes, which are also what each of us composes in our own journey.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 9 Water

The juxtaposition of these photos is evidently linked to the element of water. However, the images express different dimensions of the relationship with water, including both abundance and measure. Both photos were taken in Rome. The first one shows a public fountain leaking water and flooding the surrounding space. The first thing I thought of when I took it was all those places where having water is a problem. In the picture there is a boy washing his hands at the fountain, but there is much more water than he needs. In the second picture, on the other hand, there is a dove resting on a fountain to drink. The water comes out so flush that we can isolate the drops in its fall. The idea of measure that

this image of water gives, is also reinforced by the dove balancing on the edge of the fountain. Fountains are designed primarily for people, but as we observe them we realise that there are many other life forms with whom we share them. I like to emphasise this inseparability of the human from the non-human. There is also a question of light: the abundance and prominence of the water in the first photo is emphasised by its ability to reflect light and illuminate the space and the image; in the second, on the contrary, the water is backlit, the effect of measure is also expressed in its remaining in the shadows.

Photographic juxtaposition n. 10 Ties

These images tell about the intimate relationship between human and non-human. The first picture was taken in Tambacounda, Senegal. I went to visit this guy who raises doves and I noticed that there was a great affection between him and his birds. I find it very interesting this ability of understanding each other without being able to speak to each other, it makes us realise that communication is not only made by voice and words. The second photo was taken in Kolokani, a village in Mali. It shows a maize field where a child is working with a bull. In both photos the animals are in the foreground and the faces of the people are hidden: I am not interested in revealing their identity but in telling them through the relationship they have with other living beings, through the interdependence that exists between them in the context in which they live.

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