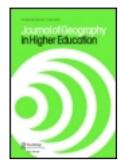
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Promoting visual literacy among undergraduate students in geography: teaching a visualized Latin America

Verónica Hollman ^a

^a CONICET, Instituto de Geografia, Universidad de Buenos Aires,
Puan 480, Piso 4to, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires,
Buenos Aires,
C1406CQJ, Argentina
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Promoting visual literacy among undergraduate students in geography: teaching a visualized Latin America

Verónica Hollman*

CONICET, Instituto de Geografia, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Puan 480, Piso 4to, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires C1406CQJ, Argentina

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This study offers a discussion of the role of the visual in the professional training of geographers arguing that visual literacy is not necessarily promoted during geography undergraduate studies. It then analyzes an experience of teaching a visualized Latin America developed in Argentina, as an illustrative example: on the one hand, it reveals the general lack of visual literacy among geography students; on the other hand, it suggests strategies that call for a shift in what is classically understood as a technical skill. It concludes addressing the need to redefine visual literacy in broader terms within the discipline and its training.

Keywords: visual literacy; Latin America; geography; undergraduate studies

1. Introduction

Geographers deal with different genres of images in the production, communication, and teaching of geographical knowledge. Generally speaking, the geographer's profession has been constructed and legitimized around practices that are based on a visual tradition: geographers analyze, produce, search, and compare images particularly cartographic images; they also go into the field to look, describe landscapes, and obtain pieces of visual evidence. Furthermore, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, geography has enlarged the use and production of images taking advantage of the development in both hardware and software as well as the access to fast cheap Internet connections (Scholttmann & Miggelbrink, 2009; Thornes, 2004). Hence, the acquisition of visual literacy becomes one, among other skills, of the goals of any geography undergraduate programs.

The importance of the pictorial in the practices of geographers to understand how places are shaped and imagined has been acknowledged in the discipline. The so-called *visual turn* started breaking the "imbalance between a progressive habitualization to the use of visual materials and the paucity of related critical reflection" (Scholttman & Miggelbrink, 2009, p. 1). Among many others, Denis Cosgrove's *Geography & Vision* (Cosgrove, 2008) has aptly shown the centrality of images in geographical knowledge and

*Email: vhollman@fch.unicen.edu.ar



Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies* (Rose, 2012) has offered analytical keys for doing research with visual images. A vivid debate around the visual character of geography published in *Antipode* raised some issues related to vision and educational practices in geography undergraduate programs: the use of slides and its effects on audiences (Rose, 2003), the potentiality of visual materials to "unpack visuality" (Crang, 2003, p. 242) as well as the existence of alternative ways in the use of images (Matless, 2003; Ryan, 2003). This group of contributions was particularly concerned about the relationship among images, audiences, and settings focusing on the use and effects of visual technologies in teaching. However, scarce attention has been given to the conceptualization of visual skills promoted among undergraduates in order to train a *geographical eye*. In a highly mediated world, as Thornes argues, there is a need to "totally redesign the teaching of the production and interpretation of geographical visual images so that students are taught the building blocks of powerful images analysis and deconstruction" (Thornes, 2004, p. 788).

Undergraduate geography programs include courses fully oriented to deal with images. These courses pursue the acquisition of the technical knowledge involved in the production and usage of images. In other words, throughout these courses, geography students train their visual abilities to use images and acquire visual literacy. This term was coined in 1960s by John Debes (Debes, 1969; Felten, 2008) to name a group of vision competencies that are not naturally acquired. Visual literacy "involves the ability to understand, produce and use culturally significant images, objects and visible actions" (Felten, 2008, p. 60).

Previous research done in different undergraduate contexts has analyzed both the challenges and benefits of including, beyond these specific courses, other types of images in geography in higher education such as narrative cinema (Aitken, 1994), audio-visual resources (McKendrick & Bowden, 1999), and photographs (Sanders, 2007). In short, it can be assumed that throughout these experiences, geography students develop visual literacy competencies that enable them to critically use images in both the different stages of a research project and in their teaching practices as future teachers in secondary schools.

Yet, despite all this general training, images are frequently used in geography as descriptive illustrations of arguments instead of as active players in the construction of geographical knowledge (Rose, 2008). In the midst of a highly visualized domain (Mirzoeff, 1999), this assessment opens interesting challenges to draw attention to visual literacy and to rethink its meaning in undergraduate geography studies. As Conley states, "the study of images is an extremely important domain because we think, we look at, and we decipher images in ways that disciplines of the past, unless they were devoted to images themselves, didn't ever consider" (Conley, 2005, p. 127).

This study discusses the importance of promoting visual literacy in order to allow geography students to recognize images as much more than illustrations as well as to rethink the role of images in the field of geography and, finally, to understand themselves as visual subjects and subjects of particular visualities. This study begins with discussing the role of vision in geography as well as visual literacy in professional training. It then analyzes an experience of teaching to conceptualize a visualized Latin America, developed during the last 5 years in a course of an Argentinean undergraduate geography program, as an illustrative example: on the one hand, it reveals the general lack of visual literacy among geography students; on the other hand, it suggests strategies that call forth a shift in what is classically understood as a technical skill or ability. It concludes with final thoughts on the need to redefine visual literacy in broader terms in undergraduate programs.



2. Training the eye: visual preparation in geography

[...] Once a week we leave the School of Geography and proceed (carrying lunch) on an excursion –ostensibly they are all for the study of geomorphology- of land- forms and their causes. [...] Beauty has deepened- blue of hyacinths- delicate tracery of young beech leaves against the sky, the burning bush of the gorse, sky larks and cuckoos, wind on the open downs, mingled rain and sunshine on old stone, thatched roofs and cottage windows, rainbows and the glory of golden sunsets have met us week by week & called with a more insistent voice that we look at them & heed them ... (Anonymous manuscript: 1914, quoted in Cosgrove, 2008, p. 121)

Driving from the airport to downtown Salvador was very eye opening. It was rush hour so everyone was on their way to work. People were pouring out of every crack of every neighborhood to stand on the street to wait to board a completely overcrowded city bus. I was not expecting to see such crowds of people so early in the morning. What was every more unexpected was to see the neighborhoods that these people lived in. I was pleased when we got to the hotel that we weren't staying close to those terrible neighborhoods but at the same time our neighborhood is definitely still very diverse. (Kelsey Quillan: May 22, 2012. Project Bahia Underground Blogspot: http://projectbahiaunder)

Let us explore through which activities and practices the eye is introduced into the geographical tradition. The opening quotations evince the importance attributed to field trips to stimulate visual skills. Almost a century separates these learners' experiences in the field and certainly many changes have occurred in the trends of fieldwork as well as the methodologies applied (Zusman, 2011). However, striking similarities that connect vision and geographical education can be pointed out.

In the field, students are almost naturally invited to open their eyes, to notice, to look at new and already known things, phenomena, and processes. Nevertheless, this is not a natural process. Students are "strongly guided so that they observed and measured what their tutors wanted them to observe and measure" (Dalton, 2001, p. 389). A set of practices are deployed during the field trip studies directly oriented to train a geographical vision: students are trained to keep eyes opened, to recognize phenomena previously viewed and analyzed in maps or photographs, to choose places where to obtain better sights, and to identify processes previously studied. For example, the author remembers learning to take "appropriate" photographs to be used in presentations and papers using an object to mark the scale of the objects photographed. In other words, the eye is trained to obtain *scientific* photographs and to give them an unquestionable accuracy to depict reality.

Students' writings highlight *seeing in the field* as a way of learning things not learnt before or achieving a complete understanding. In other words, students are taught that knowledge is obtained from direct experience through field observation (Cosgrove, 2008). Students' comments share a common underground: a transparent knowledge of the places and people visited (Nairn, 2005) and captured with their eyes. Seeing and knowing become synonymous.

The training of a *geographical eye* has not been restricted to fieldwork. Cartography courses and more recently, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) courses aim to develop a range of visual skills in order to prepare students to plan, construct, analyze, and interpret maps, aerial photographs, and satellite images. Although geography students live in a map-immersed world (Wood, 1992) and, as a consequence, share a sort of "cartographic memory" (Lois, 2009), the professional training promotes being fluent in cartographic language: principles of generalization, symbolization and terrain representation, map projections, visual variables, levels of quantification, and visualization of spatial analysis.

In Argentinean universities, there are courses such as Cartography, GIS, Techniques of cartographic representation, and Techniques of aerial photograph interpretation.² Images,



particularly those categorized as geographical images, are the core content of these courses' syllabi: students learn to produce and interpret cartographic images, aerial photographs, and satellite images, and (hopefully) learn to use them in the production and communication of geographical knowledge.

The analysis of different syllabi of Cartography and GIS courses of five Argentinean universities demonstrates the visual skills to be promoted: identification, selection, and application of appropriate visual variables, application of methods of symbolization, recognition of geographical data suitable for mapping according to measuring scales and geographical scales, seeing at different scales, reading of cartographic images, identification of process and problems related to spatial organization, and recognition of bands within the infrared spectrum on a remote-sensing image. Only one syllabus includes as an objective the development of the ability to identify the advantages and disadvantages of each image to present different geographic information.

The syllabi analyzed share a common silence: mapping and visualization are not discussed as geographical practices capable of "reshaping our vision and understanding of the world and our capacity to intervene in its material and social process" (Cosgrove, 2008, p. 167). For example, the syllabi do not include discussions that have enriched geographical understanding of maps and mappings (Harley, 2002; Wood, 1992) such as:

- the creative process involved in mapping;
- the propositional character of maps;
- the assumptions that shape the creation of maps;
- the historical context of maps creation and circulation, and
- the authority attributed to maps and satellite images.

There is a clear orientation to the acquisition of technical knowledge in the training of the eye. In other words, mapping practices are isolated from their historical and social context without taking into account that the visions promoted through maps have ideological and political implications. Therefore, "mapping remains a technology" (Perkins, 2004, p. 384) and the acquisition of the visual skills required to search, interpret, and create a map turn out to be understood as neutral techniques.

Research on the use of images in teaching the subject of geography is sparse in Argentina, and there are only a few published studies on this topic (Hollman, 2010, 2011, 2013). However, based on the author's learning and teaching experience some initial conclusions will be put forward. Every semester, the author asks both colleagues and students whether images are used in undergraduate courses. Responders recall the practice of looking at images to develop geographical contents in other courses besides Cartography and GIS courses such as Physical Geography, Urban Geography, Biogeography, and Rural Geography among others. Photographs and maps (mostly shown through PowerPoint presentations) are the types of images primarily mentioned. However, when asked about the activities proposed with these images both instructors and students recall *just looking at* them.

During the last 2 years, the author has had the chance to assess seven final monographs submitted to obtain a bachelor's degree in geography.³ Despite the limited number of monographs under analysis and consequently, its lack of generalization, some interesting findings can be raised to reflect on how visual materials have been used by the geography students. The monographs assessed incorporated photographs and maps whether of original production or obtained from other sources. Even more, in some cases the amount of images was so important that they were edited in a separate document such as an appendix. Many of the images selected were accurate and enriched the arguments offered



to the reader. Nonetheless, images were not analyzed, interrogated, opened up, or unpacked by undergraduate students. Throughout these monographs, there was scarce reflection on the role of images in the construction and imagination of places and space as Vujakovic (2002) has demonstrated in the case of the world maps used in teaching political and economic geography.

Despite the limited character of these empirical findings, it can be stated that images and the practices of looking become black boxes, which are hardly unpacked and therefore limit the promotion of visual literacy. In other words, the professional training of geographer's vision has not yet been enriched by the insightful debate about images, practices of looking, and geographical imaginations that the discipline has been experiencing in recent years.

3. Teaching to conceptualize a visualized Latin America

In addressing questions of the visual, then, geographers need to think more deeply and imaginatively about the methods they employ in both teaching and research. (Ryan, 2003, p. 233)

It is well known how central images are in how we understand, give order to geographical information, and position ourselves in the world. However, it is certainly worth noting that books classically used to teach Latin American Geography take images as illustrations of their arguments.⁴ This empirical finding became a challenge to the silence of images in a course called Latin American Geography, taken in the third year of the geography program at the National University of the Centre of Buenos Aires Province (Tandil, Argentina). The instructor's assumption was that students had enough tools to critically work with images because they had already taken three courses dealing with the study of geographical images: Cartography, GIS, and Techniques of cartographic representation. The proposal was to analyze the contribution of images in the ways Latin America is envisioned and imagined.

The experience started with a visual exercise: students had to choose an image that they considered representative of Latin America and explain their choice. Neither the possible sources of visual research nor the genre of image was mentioned in the instructor's explanation of the task to avoid any sort of influence in students' search. The aim was to identify different (and even contradictory) ways of visualizing Latin America. Images chosen by students evince strong similarities: the genre of image, the historical period of production of the image, and its visual content were incredibly homogeneous.

First of all, students selected photographs, and most of them were photographs produced by photojournalists.⁵ In addition, learners gave authority to photographs emphasizing that they were showing Latin America "as it is." It is worthwhile noting that, as these students were born and are currently living in a Latin American country, the instructor expected that they could seize their own experience and personal histories to challenge Latin American images offered by mass media. However, students hardly debated their presumed accuracy to reproduce reality, as Goin (2001) discusses regarding the usage of photographs by social scientists. The hegemony of photojournalism also suggested the absence of other genres of images: for instance, none of the students chose cartographic images despite having courses of cartography or murals, although Latin America has a rich history and tradition in the appropriation of walls as sites of expression in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Peru (Calderón, 1991; Imaginario, 2000; Rivera Marin, 2001).



Second, whether in terms of its period of production or in terms of the period shown, images were from the recent past depicted as a "continuous present" (Dussel, 2009, p. 99). The visual order evoked a contemporary and static Latin America. The history of the production of this territory was completely absent in the chosen visual material.

Finally, images depicted a Latin America for the eyes of foreigners: on the one hand, beautiful and iconic landscapes such as Amazon rain forest; on the other hand, faces of poor people living in the streets of the main metropolises of Latin America depicted as *the others*. A problematic issue has to be pointed out – and it certainly deserves further comprehensive research: students did not acknowledge themselves as subjects of visual discourses and particular practices of looking. It seems as if their practices of looking were not enriched by their own history of being Latin Americans and experiencing their daily lives in a Latin American country. In other words, they could not deconstruct their own interpretation of Latin America as a tourist gaze.

Previous studies in Argentina have suggested that despite the greater availability and circulation of images, both teachers and students do experience a surprising visual homogeneity when asked to choose images of the contemporary period (Dussel, 2009; Hollman, 2010). Assuming that the visual order constructed by students was evidence of a hegemonic mode of visualizing of Latin America, the challenge was to imagine a different starting point for the following semesters.

3.1. A new start: preparing the encounter of students and images

Before asking students to choose an image of Latin America, they were shown a selection of images, which was different and even dissonant with hegemonic visual discourses. First, a short video was shown with images produced in different periods of time⁶ followed by a PowerPoint with the selection of images made by different personalities of Latin America.⁷ The former presented the following genre of images:

- Maps: Map of America by Diego Ribero 1529; Inverted Map of South America by Joaquín Torres García (1935); Latin American Map, poster of the XIII Meeting of Latin American Geographers (2011, Costa Rica).
- Photographs: "Gigante de Paruro" by Chambi (1929); Machu Pichu; Victims of Human Rights violations, Rabinal Baja Verapaz Guatemala May 2008; "Ramona" Zapatist woman, Neighbourhoods of Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Buenos Aires (Argentina); "President Evo Morales"; Modern Agriculture; Pit Mining in Argentina; Social movements against pit mining.
- Paintings: "La última cena" by Marcos Zapata (1656); "Drago" by Xul Solar (1927); "Abaporu" by Tarsila do Amaral (1928); "Floresta" by Tarsila do Amaral (1929).
- Murals: "La marcha de los humanos en la Tierra y hacia el Cosmos: los soldados de Zapata" by David Siqueiros (1971); "El cargador de Flores" by Diego Rivera (1935).

The PowerPoint presentation included 10 images: one painting, one map, and eight photographs which were selected by a historian, geographer, sociologist, artist, film director, political scientist, psychologist, musician, and two photographers.

Both the video and the PowerPoint offered different modes of looking at Latin America. For example, the scientific look of the territory exposed in the cartographic image of Diego Ribero (1529) is challenged, in the painting "Inverted Map of South America," by the cartographic intervention of Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García. This was only one of several possible ways of looking at Latin America.



As a result of this new starting point, the homogeneity detected in the previous semester started to crumble. However, students still identified difficulties in speaking and writing about the representative images chosen. Their short writings regarding the issues that influenced their particular image choice were extremely poor, showing that they did not have visual literacy competencies to analyze and write about images.

The challenge was twofold: on the one hand, to introduce students to different visual regimes of Latin America, and conceptualizing visual regimes as modes of regulation of what is allowed to be seen and what is deliberately not shown (Jay, 1988); on the other hand, to offer students a methodology to look and to analyze images from a cultural perspective. On the basis of the analytical tools to think about different approaches to photographs proposed by Rose (2008, 2012), the instructor designed a series of questions as keys to look at images of Latin America. An outline of these methodological questions is presented here as follows:

Genres of images

- What genre of images is primarily used to depict Latin America?
- What is the status generally given to maps, photographs, or documentaries?
- What sorts of images are absent?
- Which landscapes are more pictured?
- What sorts of issues are raised by the images?
- What sorts of issues are not present in the images?

Images as representations

- Who produced the images?
- Which ideas of Latin America are expressed?
- Try to image experiences and ideas that could be raised if these images are seen today by an indigenous woman of Bolivia, an undergraduate European student, an undergraduate Latin American student, and an African immigrant in a European primary school.

Images as material objects

- Where do these images circulate? How are they presented?
- What sort of looking is proposed (is it guided, not oriented, a distant look)?
- What are the implications of showing these images in a museum, in a geography textbook, or in a newspaper? How do the places where the image is shown affect the images?

Images as illustrations

- Do images illustrate a phenomenon, a process, or an analysis?
- Are the images chosen accurately? Would you have selected other images to make your argument more powerful? Why?

Images as evocations

- Do these images offer you something that could not be achieved by a written text?
- Does a particular genre of image offer you something that could not be achieved through another image genre?

The activity proposed was to work with the above questions the images of Latin America that circulate in different visual discourses: geography textbooks, magazines,



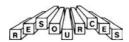
YouTube, image databases available online, and newspapers. Students were required to look at a group of images taking into account questions of different levels of analysis. They neither have to answer all the above questions nor have to keep a linear sequence to work with them. The assessment of this activity by students emphasized that the questions proposed by the instructor turned out to be extremely helpful for researching, looking, interrogating, and writing about images of Latin America.

3.2. Some results to (re) think a visualized teaching

The pedagogical proposal described in the previous section offered students a methodological framework to search, look, and analyze visual materials of Latin America and to start thinking of themselves as visual subjects of particular visualities. In other words, the list of questions about images became an effective instrument to deconstruct images and their politics of representation. This section focuses on the identification of three results directly related to the application of the list of questions, as well as new research paths opened by this experience.

First, students' selection of representative images experienced a shift from visual homogeneity to a much more heterogeneous visualized Latin America. Maps and paintings started breaking the hegemony of photojournalism. Satiric maps as well as paintings started to appear as a possible and valid way of presenting Latin America within the academic scenario for students. Even more, students started noticing the power of particular genres of images, such as satiric maps, to visualize processes and phenomena not generally portrayed by photojournalism. This result suggests that the activities proposed to gaze and analyze different visual regimes constructed to look at Latin America became a teaching strategy that broadened/expanded students' visual discourses. This pedagogical itinerary on the one hand helped students to recognize other genres of images as geographical documents; on the other hand, it introduced them to unconventional uses for images (at least in geographical academic discourse). It may be worthwhile to note at least three new paths of research from this finding: (1) the analysis of the circulation of visual discourses of Latin America in different geographical contexts. Some questions that could be explored are the following: What types of visual discourses of Latin America do geography students of different parts of the world share? How does the local experience as well as geography studies shape global visual discourses? (2) The analysis of the status given to visual materials by geography students: Which genres of images are given more authority by geography students? How does professional training influence the validity given to each image genre? (3) The analysis of the assessment process of the specific power of each genre of visual materials in relation to the production and communication of different topics of the geographic research agenda.

Second, all the selected images were searched in Google. Students did not use newspapers, books, or journals to search and select their representative image of Latin America. Google turns out to be the visual encyclopedia for undergraduate students opening an interesting agenda for new research regarding the effects of global regimes of visualization on geographical imaginations. Some questions to be explored in this path are the following: What sort of regimes of visualization does this virtual image bank put into circulation? What are the effects of these regimes of visualization on the shaping of people's geographical imagination? How do these regimes of visualization circulate in different geographical contexts? How does the local shape these global regimes of visualization? And finally, how do geography undergraduate programs enrich image searching and image selection?



Third, writing about images offers a wide range of difficulties to geography students. After looking at a group of images with the orientation of the questions mentioned above, students had to write an essay of two or three pages about the representative image of Latin America chosen. Students' writings were focused on: visualized/not visualized processes or phenomena, sites of circulation, history of production of the image, ideas of Latin America proposed by the image, and the impact of the image's circulation. The author's hypothesis is that the lack of visual literacy forced students to use the *looking questions* as the guide in their writings. In other words, a guide that opened their minds to think about an image at the same time precluded them from writing about two main visual issues: the esthetic of the image (and its particular power) and the subjective experience provoked by the image. This result invites the continued exploration of pedagogic strategies to strengthen geography students' writing skills about images, which should include the esthetics of image as well as the reflection on image's politics of representation and their effects.

4. Concluding remarks

The use of so-called visual aids does not provide by itself a sufficiently favourable condition for visual thinking. [...] Visual education must be based on the premise that every picture is a statement. The picture does not present the object itself but a set of propositions about the object; or, if you prefer, it presents the object as a set of propositions. (Arnheim, 1997, p. 308)

The use of images throughout undergraduate geography programs does not ensure that students develop visual literacy. It is well known that images do not speak by themselves; on the contrary, it is our knowledge, culture, time, and place that make them speak and, at the same time, enable us to call into question what they visually construct. Therefore, looking at different genres of images and introducing methodologies to analyze them becomes central not only in the general training of geography students but also in their oriented training. Images offer a remarkable opportunity to every course of undergraduate geography programs when they are introduced as objects of analysis. Hence, the education of the eye should not be restricted to field studies and specific disciplines.

The pedagogical experience presented in this study evinces that images are particularly suitable for the identification and analysis of tensions, conflicts, and contradictions that put forward the material and symbolic appropriation of space. Many courses and contents of undergraduate programs could be enriched by the introduction of images and their politics of representation as objects of analysis as in the experience of teaching a visualized Latin America.

The illustrative case presented is also an invitation to rethink what visual literacy means in the education of future geographers. Visual training in geography has been restricted to the transmission of technical knowledge. There are no doubts that this knowledge is necessary to deal with images in geography as a whole. However, this conceptualization of visual training has narrowed the potentialities of images as well as the reflection on the practices of looking in undergraduate studies. Visual training should experience a shift from a technical to a critical and interpretative approach oriented to the acquisition of knowledge and methodologies to place images in relation to practices of looking, geographical knowledge, and power. In other words, visual literacy in geography should mean stimulating knowledge of how images are produced and at the same time, despite being statements of place and time, construct our geographical imagination. An interesting challenge for instructors committed in the education of a *geographical eye* is opened: in a highly visual world, we have the opportunity to rethink the place of the



image in the education and training of geographers as well as the critical visual skills that are needed to be introduced into undergraduate programs.

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Notes

- Previous records of the interest in developing visual skills can be traced back to the period between 1918 and 1928 in the USA. This movement called "visual instruction movement" (in which a Professor in Geography has a key role) promoted the application of visual resources. However, its focus was primary education. Visual instruction was understood as a way of promoting national unity (Johnson, 2008).
- 2. Undergraduate studies in geography are held in 21 public universities in Argentina. They have duration between 4 and 5 years and in most of the cases have a closed curriculum: as all the courses of undergraduate programs are compulsory, students do not have the option of planning the orientation of their studies.
- 3. The monographs analyzed were submitted at the National University of the Center of Buenos Aires Province (Argentina) and covered the following areas: geography and education (2), economic geography (2), human geography (2), and environment and urban planning (1).
- 4. There are wonderful books that propose studying Latin America through image analysis. Among them, the author would like to highlight the works of Gruzinski (2000), Penhos (2005), Andermann and Rowe (2005), Andermann (2007), and the recent compilation of Dym and Offen (2011). However, their inclusion in Argentinean university education is limited.
- 5. It is interesting to note that research exploring teacher's visual culture done by Dussel (2009) in Argentina highlights the predominance of photojournalism in the repertoires of images chosen by teachers. As Dussel puts it: "Photojournalism provides the monuments of contemporary memory, and memory in return archives photos as its privileged material" (Dussel, 2009, p. 96).
- 6. Images and music were selected by the instructor. Music "De Ushuaia a la Quiaca", composed and interpreted by Gustavo Santaolalla. The video is accessible at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cLqbx_BSGDI&feature = youtu.be
- 7. A group of researchers asked Latin American photographers, historians, and musicians the following question: which image speaks about Latin America? Images and narratives are available at http://www.tramas.flacso.org.ar/recursos/imagenes (December 2012).

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