

## APPROACHES TO STREET PHOTOGRAPHY

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### **What is street photography?**

Urban photography is enormously varied. City skylines, street scenes and most architectural and built environment photography are set in the urban realm. The city is the site of much photojournalism and reportage, graphic and abstract art photography and has become a favoured backdrop for fashion photography. Of all these urban practices, street photography is probably the most popular. It is also the most problematic.

Street photography has a long history. From its inception, photography was considered capable of representing faithfully the reality of the world and it was therefore a natural move for photographers interested in contemporary life to turn to the streets for inspiration and challenge. The history of photography speaks to a deep engagement with modernity; city street have been a preoccupation of photographers from the start, an engagement which quickly deepened as cameras and photographic processes became practical and portable enough to allow working outside the studio.

The earliest street photographers in London, Paris and the large cities in the United States were often preoccupied with the changing urban environment and the disappearance of traditional buildings, customs and *métiers*. The 1920s and '30s saw street photography come of age with the work of Henri Cartier-Bresson, Brassai, André Kertész, Marcel Bovis, Willy Ronis, and others in France, the American 'documentary' tradition exemplified by Weegee, Walker Evans, Berenice Abbott, Lisette Model and Dorothea Lange, and Bill Brandt in Britain. Robert Frank, Lee Friedlander, Gary Winogrand, Joel Meyerowitz, William Klein and Bruce Gilden are among the better known of the photographers of the harsher realities of post-1945 America while Roger Mayne, Tony Ray-Jones and Chris Killip exemplified a social documentary approach to the streets in Britain in the years after the 1950s.

The reputation of these photographers helps account for popular interest in street photography. Another factor has been the emergence of the 'street' as both aesthetic concept and the site of cultural and political expression; this has found form in popular music, certain art forms (including installation, video and street art) as well as photography. Many amateurs around the world now practice street photography and the number of enthusiasts' websites, forums and discussion threads devoted to the subject is vast and grows every day.

It isn't difficult to see why street photography is so popular. The urban environment offers the attentive photographer a rich seam of photographic opportunities. Capturing a slice of life by representing - often candidly - the everyday and mundane is hugely attractive. It is also accessible. Contrasting with the gadget- and Photoshop-orientation of contemporary consumer photography magazines, street photography sources emphasise spontaneity over technique, ideas over equipment; the ethos is 'anyone can do it - if you have a camera (or 'phone camera!) have a go!'

But what is street photography? Despite widespread interest, street photography is not well understood and many find providing a definition to be difficult. Divergent descriptions are to be

found in street photography web sites and even academic and photographic texts are far from consistent. Another problems lies in the striking differences in subject matter, techniques and motivations of street photographers. So, can we really speak of 'street photography' as a coherent genre?

### **Describing street photography**

In a separate article I have explained how street photography came widely to be seen as a distinctive genre in the years following the publication of *Bystander* by Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz in 1994.<sup>2</sup>

Emphasising the speed and spontaneity with which 'street' photographers worked, Westerbeck defined these photographers as those who '...have tried to work without being noticed by their subjects. They have taken pictures of people who are going about their business unaware of the photographer's presence. They have made candid pictures of everyday life in the street'. In this book Westerbeck identified street photography with its practitioners, attaching the term to a pantheon of photographers over the past century and a half meeting meeting this definition.<sup>3</sup>

So with street photography defined through identification with its practitioners, discussion began to revolve around the objectives, practices and techniques of those photographers. Emerging from, these debates, five broad descriptive approaches seem to have gained currency.<sup>4</sup>

#### *1. The evocation of the street*

The most general description locates street photography in an evocation of the street - as sensual recollection, a form of synaesthesia released by the eye but conjuring up the recollection of smell, touch, taste, colours and sound. This is, no doubt, what Bruce Gilden had in mind when he famously remarked: "If you can smell the street by looking at the photo, it's a street photograph".

In evoking the street, photographers have employed various techniques. Some tried to identify and embed in photographs a narrative quality which can convey fundamental aspects of street life. The common evaluation of André Kertész's *Meudon* (1928) as a 'perfect' example of street photography must be attributed to its multiple layers of narrative and the observer's continual search for what might happen next in the series of actions portrayed in the photograph. Henri Cartier-Bresson's ability to combine a sense of narrative in his photographs with formal coherence accounts for the success of his photographs in evoking a 'decisive' moment. Such narratives can often be deeply ambiguous; indeed, the fascination of many great street photographs lies precisely in the range of alternative outcomes which are presented to the viewer, a street vision of 'fortuitous alignments, instantaneity and a perceptivity scavenging for quirky human behaviours...ambiguities of form and subject that would seem to defy any specific reading.'<sup>5</sup>

Gary Winogrand and William Klein both aimed to evoke the atmosphere of the streets by delving into their underlying chaos, aggression and violence. Winogrand's images are crowded, seemingly haphazard and often tiled, providing vertiginous views from street level, while Klein's close-up shots, facial gestures and staged effects (in one, a child is asked to point a gun at Klein's camera) tap a similar stream of ideas. Bruce Gilden spoke of 'the energy, the stress, the anxiety' which he hoped to capture in his street photographs.<sup>6</sup>

A more bird's-eye evocation of the street is found in Joel Meyerowitz's later urban photography in which he begins to treat the site as landscape. Meyerowitz's earlier work showed the classic street

photographer's urge to capture the incident but in the 1970s Meyerowitz switched to using the large format colour equipment and his subject matter broadened. His street work moved towards a kind of urban scenscape, images filled from frame to frame with the people and complex urban fabric of New York and other cities. In certain key respects, Lee Friedlander's approach was similar.

## 2. *The street as a stage for performance*

An analogy between the street and the theatre - the street as a stage for daily performances - has triggered attempts to define street photography as a practice capturing unforeseen, accidental, surreal and surprising events as they might be presented in the distanced-from-reality world of the theatre. In a similar vein, others see it as the stage for a revealing re-presentation of the commonplace.

The essence of street photography for some lies in finding and photographing the surprises and accidental happenings which lie dormant in the street stage. Praising on the work of a fellow contemporary Nick Turpin, founder of the *In-Public* online group of street photographers, recently said: "What is wonderful...is that [the images] are all just found, none of them could be preconceived or planned...they are events that were simply revealed to him as he walked the streets of London." Street photographers believe that the elements of surprise and chance can reveal something about the inner workings of the street - hidden depths which the camera is uniquely placed to uncover.

The humorous, extraordinary - perhaps even mystical - aspects of urban life have prompted descriptions of street photography as a quest for the inherent surrealism of the street, the extraordinary in the everyday. This element is best captured in the unforeseen and happen chances of day to day life on the streets and will emerge most clearly from the unposed portrayal of people. Underlying this approach is the surrealist thesis that reality can only be discovered in the unconscious actions and thoughts of people whose mind is elsewhere. 'Life' is evoked for the street photographer in those actions, scenes and events which no one plans or expects and constant vigilance is needed to identify and capture them. Cartier-Bresson, Brandt and Brassai, whose night photographs of Paris expose how the banal and can be transformed by the dark with gas lighting revealing weird and unexpected shapes and shadows of a surrealist nature, are only three of many street photographers influenced by surrealist thought.

The surprises thrown up by the street provide opportunities to re-present the commonplace in such a way as to render it unfamiliar. Much in the way a playwright might tackle a subject, everyday events and occurrences take on new meaning by being recontextualised photographically. This idea shares common ground with the representation of found objects and 'ready-mades' of Marcel Duchamp and followers like Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg used photographic elements in their collages. Chance events and happenings in the street can be likened to *objets trouvées* and their representation in an unfamiliar context and manner photographically will bring out unforeseen elements.

## 3. *The photographer in the street*

Several writers approach street photography through the social and cultural relationship of the photographer to the street and its subjects. These accounts find the essence of street photography in the degree and nature of detachment or involvement shown by the photographer.

The origins of the notion of the photographer as detached observer is sometimes attributed to the nineteenth century French journalist Victor Fournel who described as the true modern urban observer, ‘...a roving and impassioned daguerreotype that preserves the course of things, the movement of the city, the multiple physiognomy of the public spirit, the confessions, antipathies, and admirations of the crowd.’ It was, however, Charles Baudelaire who enriched the idea of the *flâneur* with cultural significance as a means of understanding modernity and the city. Baudelaire’s ‘gentleman stroller of city streets - a person who walks the city in order to experience it’, a *flâneur* has a key role in understanding by participating in and portraying urban life, playing a double role as a self-conscious observer-participant.<sup>7</sup>

This notion entered the literature of photography and was extended by Susan Sontag when she describes how the development of hand-held cameras in the early 20th century became the tool of the *flâneur*. The idea is that of the street photographer seeking out images by walking the streets critically, a purposeful quest bringing a detached and culturally-attuned perspective made possible by absorption in the life of the streets. The result is insightful but non-normative.

In practice photographers have taken a rather less romantic approach to the need to remain detached from street subjects. By consciously maintaining a sense of detachment, Walker Evans was able to avoid stereotyping, sentimentalising or decontextualising the poverty he photographed: ‘...you’re not - and shouldn’t be, I think - trying to change the world or...saying “Open up your hearts and bleed for these people”. I would never dream of saying anything like that; it’s too presumptuous and naïve to think that you can change society by a photograph...I have inhibitions about exposing the personal ego and feelings.’<sup>8</sup>

If one line of thought sees the street photographer as *flâneur* or detached observer, wandering the streets in a disinterested fashion seeking out chance encounters and happenings, a rather different version posits the photographer as consciously involved with his subjects. This can take a variety of forms. At one extreme, street photography is the expression of social and political concerns by a committed observer commenting on what he sees and trying to influence others to his point of view. Support for this definition of street photography can be traced back to the early work of Lewis Hine and Paul Strand and is clearly present in much documentary photography in 1930s America and Europe. The spirit of the socially-committed street photographer has continued strongly into more recent times: Chris Killip’s intense images from the 1980s of the North East of England in industrial decline demonstrate photography from a committed point of view. There will always be a close affinity between street photography of this kind and documentary as the subject will usually be some form of social injustice or disadvantage.<sup>9</sup>

Descriptions of the street photographer as empathetic observer occur regularly, particularly in accounts of the work of the ‘French humanists’ like Henri Cartier-Bresson, Willy Ronis, André Kertész, Robert Capa, Chim, Robert Doisneau and their compatriots. Gisèle Freund, herself a member of this group, said that for these photographers “...photography was not only a way of making money but a means of expressing their own feeling and ideas about contemporary problems” and most were associated with left-wing causes. Assignments often came from left wing magazines and newspapers for which Chim photographed a Paris strike for the Popular Front and Capa striking department store workers in 1936, the year in which Gisèle Freund photographed the effects of the depression in England for *Life*.<sup>10</sup> This political alignment needs to be set in context. For many of these photographers, adherence to the left was not so much a doctrinaire or ideological decision as would be the case with a committed observer but more an expression of what they were

against - primarily the rise of fascism - as well as being a broad affirmation of their sympathy with and support for working class causes. It was a commitment propelled by a broad humanistic outlook, producing fine photography which Willy Ronis described as 'geometry modulated by the heart.'<sup>11</sup>

Whatever measure of involvement or detachment is adopted by the street photographer, many commentators argue that the maintenance of an open-minded attitude is crucial to a successful street practice. Nick Turpin put it as follows: "More than anything street photography is an attitude, it is an openness to being amazed by what comes your way, it is unlearning the habit of categorising and dismissing the everyday as being 'just the everyday' and beginning to recognise that extraordinary, beautiful and subtle stories are occurring in front of you everyday of your life if you can see them."<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. *The vocabulary of the street*

Street photography has evolved a distinctive visual vocabulary, a toolkit of signs which can be deployed in varying combinations. A number of observers have seen these compositional elements as being so fundamental to street photography that they are capable of serving as descriptors of the genre.

Common to the vocabulary of street photography are the juxtapositions and telling contrasts with which crowded streets abound. Juxtaposition is one of the most effective ways of changing the meaning of a photograph, particularly when it involves incongruous elements, and comparisons can draw attention to social, economic and cultural differences in a pointed way. Perhaps the most common use of these techniques is in the careful comparison between sign of affluence and poverty. Looks and glances may be used by street photographers to emphasise these differences. In *Outside Claridge's Hotel, Mayfair (1967)*, Jerome Liebling combined all these elements as a top-hatted doorman and a roughly-dressed working man exchange meaningful looks.

In the built environment, it is not surprising that street photography has evolved a rich vocabulary around architectural elements. Doors and windows provide scope for external-internal duality and can be used to direct attention to figures, emphasise their distance from others or to create physical separation. Walls sometimes provide visual evidence of blocked personal or social progress and sometimes contain their own signs in graffiti, chalk marks, wall paintings or simply textures. Streets and alleyways can lead the eye of the viewer in a certain direction and can be crowded or empty. Shop windows in the photograph can be used to draw attention to the merchandise or notices juxtaposed with a subject or happening outside the shop as in Bill Brandt's *Stationer's Window in Bethnal Green*. On one level, Eugène Atget's photographs are devoid of subjectivity, but there is a haunting presence within the blurred shadows which attracted the surrealists. Atget takes this to another level with his photographs of shop windows. In *Avenue des Gobelins (1925)* we see that the world creates its own montage of objects through a kind of 'layering', posing questions about reality and creating ambiguities. Atget's camera creates three layers: that of a (simple) fashion display in the window itself; that of the reflected street in the glass, in which the mannequins act like real people, walking along the street and looking into the window; and the mannequins as the true observers of the passers-by who appear on the windowpane.<sup>13</sup>

Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and other photographers of the 1930s were to make advertising hoardings and billboards staples of the street photography lexicon but this tendency was not confirmed simply to the work of American practitioners. These overt symbols of the dominance of

commercial values formed a rich seam of signs (literally and semiotically) for photographers, who were able to play off their messages in a variety of ways ranging from cynicism to humour: *Scandale* (1947) by Isle Bing mines the same seam to humorous effect.

The lines and form of the built environment and the modelling created by light and shadow have allowed a number of street photographers to exploit a strikingly graphical vocabulary. Ray K. Metzker, a student of Aaron Siskind and Harry Callaghan at the Chicago Institute of Design, showed how a deep concern with formality could be successfully extracted from the urban environment without sacrificing the portrayal of the visual-cultural code of contemporary life. His luminous monochrome images in Chicago show how the play of light and the use of deep blacks transformed the street scene into something of formal precision.

A distinctive street vocabulary can also be identified in the pictorialist tradition. Following his return to US from Europe, Alfred Steiglitz's work as a photographer featured many urban street scenes. Moving beyond the documentary style through the application of a conscious aestheticism, he was one of the first to explore the language of photographic modernism with its celebration of the machine and the urban age - streets, skyscrapers, ferryboats, railroads.

Steiglitz was in part responding to what he saw as the limitations of the contemporary pictorialism with which he had been previously associated. Although the overwhelming tendency of pictorialism was towards nature and still life, domestic and genre scenes and dream-like inner worlds, key figures in this movement applied their style to urban scenes, among them Robert Demachy, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Henri Berssenbrugge, Berend Zweers and Bernard Eilers. Berssenbrugge's *Children with Hoop and Spiel, Fish Market, Rotterdam (c.1910)* obviously lacks the direct frontal impact of Lewis Hine's portraits of child labourers in New York in the early 1900s but the self-regarding artistic patina with which this photograph is cloaked does not diminish the fact that a conscious, if backwards-looking, engagement with the condition of modernity is at work.

##### 5. *Street techniques and equipment*

Finally, it is common to find street photography approached by way of the methods the street photographer will be required to employ as he goes about his work. In this approach, it is the techniques of street photography and equipment required to implement them successfully rather than the subject matter or treatment become the defining feature of the genre.<sup>14</sup>

Working unobserved - assuming what Dorothea Lange called a "cloak of invisibility" - is widely used as a description of the street photographer's preferred method and, for some commentators, it's not so much a matter of what is being taken but more that the subjects are unaware of the photographer's presence through which the reality of street life is revealed. There are numerous instances of this technique: Paul Strand added a false lens to his camera to distract subjects whose close-up portraits he wanted to take; Walker Evans used a camera secretly when he made his subway portraits; and the late-Victorian British photographer Paul Martin concealed his camera in a specially-made leather case to capture people unawares. Cartier-Bresson is often cited in this context but he might be better described as working surreptitiously, operating quickly, darting here and there and always moving on swiftly.<sup>15</sup>

A quite different technique is adopted by the intrusive street photographer, deliberately looking to provoke expressions of surprise, and sometime annoyance, as the essence of the street. William Klein involved himself with his subjects, occasionally asking them to adopt particular facial

gestures or poses. Bruce Gilden, the epitome of the in-your-face street photographer, claimed he 'had no ethics' when it came to his street technique and employed confrontation as a kind of aesthetic, often using flash to surprise his subjects and to 'energise the frame and visualise the feelings of the city'.<sup>16</sup> Another practitioner of this technique was the German photographer Lutz Dille whose belligerent approach yielded a wonderful study of a hostile glare from a heavily made-up, fur-clad woman photographed close up (*Outside a Branch of Woolworth's (1961)*). A sequence of images taken on the street in Hong Kong by Ed van der Elsken seems to border on harassment if we are to believe his account that the photographer just followed a 'babe' around even though she didn't want him to.<sup>17</sup>

The speed with which the street photographer must work and rapidity of reaction are often brought into play in accounts of street photography. Constantly mobile, prowling the streets for chance events and occurrences, the photographer must react quickly, grabbing his shot and then moving on. If the scene presents an opportunity for several shots, these need to be dispatched in rapid succession. The aim, as ever, is to '...to pursue the fleeting instant, photographing their models either openly or surreptitiously, as casual passerby or as systematic observers.'<sup>18</sup>

In pursuit of this objective, some street photographers have pointed to the need to capture as many images whilst working the street as possible to make sure the unforeseen is properly stopped in its tracks. Gary Winogrand - who is famously said to have exposed three rolls of Kodak TRI-X black and white film on the streets of New York City every day for his entire adult life and died in 1984 leaving more than 300,000 unedited exposures - is sometimes offered as a kind of hyperactive role model for aspiring street photographers. Ruthless editing of the contact sheet to isolate the 'perfect' street photograph is as much a part of this process as the actual shooting.

Advice on equipment for street photographers often follow from what are seen as the appropriate techniques. The street photographer will be advised to use a small camera for the sake of discretion. The most appropriate technique is to maximise depth of field by fitting a wide angle lens to a camera, setting the ISO to a moderate high speed (400 or 800), and pre-focusing on a chosen spot or against an appropriate background. Harry Callaghan's street photography technique seemed to combine all these elements: 'I photographed [people walking on the street] by setting the camera at 4 feet with a telephoto lens on a 35mm and just when they filled up the frame, I snapped it....I photographed for a long time doing that. To describe what I got...I have no idea. I just know it was moving to me.'<sup>19</sup>

For many observers, it follows from all this that the true street photograph will be unposed; the immediacy and 'truthfulness' of candid unedited shots are the essence of street photography. A number of street photographers go so far as to advocate that images should have few or no post-production edits in order to maintain the authenticity of the 'moment'.

### **Some conclusions**

All the approaches to street photography discussed above have been employed at various times and in various permutations to describe the work of different photographers and they provide helpful insights. There are many styles of street photography and individual photographers have usually adopted a combination of these approaches and melded them to form a distinctive personal style. For this reason, the fact that some stand in flat contradiction - the contrast between the candid and intrusive styles of photography is an obvious instance - does not invalidate any of these descriptions.

As I have already noted, these approaches are in effect descriptions of the objectives, practices and techniques of street photographers themselves. This has had two consequences. First, the definition of street photography as a distinct genre through identification with the practice of (certain) street photographers has removed from consideration those not generally seen as street photographers. As a result, important photographic work has been omitted from the debate around street photography. My comments above on the pictorialist tradition fall into this category.

The second effect has been a form of decontextualisation. It should be clear that none of these accounts offers a comprehensive explanation of street photography as a practice in historical context. The diversity of the street photographic tradition is such that attempts to specify the practice at a descriptive level will always be partial. As I have tried to suggest elsewhere, a more fruitful approach could be to situate street photography in its context: the site of street photography's production and the particular historical forces which shaped the response.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Ainsworth is a professional freelance photographer and writer based in London.

<sup>2</sup> See 'A Return to the Street: Expression and Determinism in Street Photography', unpublished article available at <http://www.alanainsworthphotography.com/return-to-the-street-v-3.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz, *Bystander: a history of street photography* (1994), 34

<sup>4</sup> Along with among other sources, these accounts are drawn from Badger, *The Genius of Photography*; Kerry Brougher and Russell Ferguson, *Open City: Street Photography since 1950* (2001); Patrick Deedes-Vincke, *Paris: the City and its Photographers* (1992); Helen Delaney and Simon Baker, *Another London: International Photographers Capture City Life 1930-1980* (2012); Ute Eskildsen (ed.), *Street & Studio: An Urban History of Photography* (2008); Sophie Howarth and Stephen McLaren, *Street Photography Now* (2010); Roger Mayne, *The Street Photographs of Roger Mayne* (V&A, 1986); Clive Scott, *Street Photography: from Atget to Cartier-Bresson* (2007); Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz, *Bystander* and Westerbeck's own book, *The Sidewalk Never Ends: Street Photography Since the 1970s* (2001); Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (2008); Mike Seaborne (ed.), *London Street Photography 1860-2010* (2011).

<sup>5</sup> Gary Samson, "Histories, Theories, Criticism" in Michael R. Peres (ed.), *The Focal Encyclopaedia of Photography* (2007), 231-32.

<sup>6</sup> A quotation from a short film in which Bruce Gilden demonstrates his street photography method: available at <http://erickimphotography.com/blog/2010/11/inspirational-street-photography-quote-of-the-day-bruce-gilden/>

<sup>7</sup> Charles Baudelaire description of great art centres on its ability to synthesise and summarise experience, virtues which came in time to be transferred to the street photographer: see "The Painter of Modern Life" in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (1964); Keith Tester (ed.), *The Flâneur* (1994) is a useful summary of different aspects of the concept. For the notion of the *flâneur* as applied to street photography see Westerbeck, 39-41; Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, 55. Fournel quoted by Westerbeck, 42

<sup>8</sup> Walker Evans quoted in "An Introduction to Walker Evans' Work and his Recollections", *New Republic* 175 (1976) 27-29 and reprinted in Peter C. Bunnell, *Inside the Photograph*, 138-146

<sup>9</sup> Killip accepts that the images say more about his views than any kind of objective account: "I remember the editor of ...the Sunday Telegraph asking me to photograph the miners' strike. I didn't want to do the story for them because it is such a right-wing newspaper. He asked me which side was I on? I was quite shocked by the question. It had never occurred to me that I could be on anything other than the side I was on!...no matter what you did, you inevitably had a political position. How declared it was was up to you, but it was going to be inherent in the work..." Chris Killip in conversation with Michael Almereyda, *Aperture Magazine* (New York, Fall 2012), 208 at <http://www.chriskillip.com/interviews.html>. Susan Sontag speaks of "...one of art photography's most vigorous enterprises - concentrating on victims, on the unfortunate.": see *On Photography*, 33

<sup>10</sup> Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (1980), 162

<sup>11</sup> On Ronis' humanistic socialism, see Scott, *Street Photography*, 103; Ronis quoted in Jean-Claud Gautrand, *Willy Ronis 1910-2009: Stolen Moments* (2005), 44

<sup>12</sup> From Nick Turpin's blog at <http://nickturpin.com/category/street-photography-theory/>

<sup>13</sup> Franck Dalmas, "Lived Images/Imagined Existences: A Phenomenology of Image Creation in the works of Michel Tournier and Photography" in *Analecta Husserliana*, Vol. 1C (2009)

<sup>14</sup> Note, for example, guidance to entrants to the 2012 London Street Photography competition: "*street photography is perhaps more easily defined as a method than a genre.*"

<sup>15</sup> Truman Capote gave the following account of Cartier-Bresson at work: "...in a street in New Orleans, dancing along the pavement like a frantic dragonfly, three big Leicas swinging on their straps round his neck, the fourth glued to his eye, click-click-click (the camera seemed to be part of his body...with a joyous intensity and religious fervor that filled his whole being. Nervous and high-spirited... Cartier-Bresson is a 'man alone' on the level of art, a kind of fanatic": quoted by Pierre Assouline, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: a Biography* (2005), 147

<sup>16</sup> See note 8 above

<sup>17</sup> *Street & Studio: An Urban History of Photography*. Tate Modern: Exhibition 22 May – 31 September 2008

<sup>18</sup> Gilles Mora, *Photo Speak: A Guide to the Ideas, Movements and Techniques of Photography 1939 to the Present* (1998), 186. The idea goes back a long way. Even Steiglitz embraced the term 'snapshot' and was a proponent of new lightweight cameras against the trend of many if the pictorialist movement.

<sup>19</sup> Harry Callaghan quoted by Melissa Shook, "Callaghan", *Photograph I (Summer 1977)*, 4

<sup>20</sup> See 'Expression and Determinism' (note 2)