Paper prepared for the

7th Euroacademia International Conference

The European Union and the Politicization of Eu-

rope

25 – 26 January 2019

Bruges, Belgium

This paper is a draft

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"Visability".
Visual research on abilities during the Jubilee of Mercy "

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Nowadays pictures and video have become more and more popular in capturing, communicating and sharing social happenings with a massive impact on social practices and representation of reality. The research job aims to investigate the spreading of digital devices in a religious event when combined with a consistent presence of sickness and disability. In order to analyse this topic, a visual qualitative research study has been developed during the special Jubilee of Mercy that Pope Francesco dedicated to people affected by sickness and disability − Rome, 10-12 of June 2016 − in a perspective of observant participation.

More than 2000 pictures from the researcher and the pilgrims from Catholic countries, note fields and about 70 interviews with pilgrims have been collected and then treated and analysed, in two ways. The first kind of analysis leads to an ethnographic reconstruction of those three days with in-depth views on pictures and life stories; the second one leads to define conceptual, thematic areas (as the use of photography in religious event and a sociological research; direct and virtual relationship; organization tools and roles of the special event; sickness and disabilities as care).

The results are about a new convergent perspective: that one of "visability", a neologism born from the research, that links together the word "visibility" and "ability". In the substance, the research points out how different identity languages can pretend to be as visible as accepted. In that case, the image use seems reducing the difference perceived by disables and sick people about their condition, giving them a chance to participate and express themselves similarly to all the others, adding a welcome claim for their identity, in the past taken in the dark.

Introduction

This paper focuses on "visability", a neologism that links together the word "visibility" and "ability" pointing out how different identity languages can pretend to be as visible as accepted mainly thanks to active roles of people involved and supportive context. In order to clarify this idea, the paper will focus on visual sociological research from which it came out[i], presented in three central part.

The first part considers the recent and rapid transformation of nowadays scenario where pictures and video have become more and more popular as a premise of the study. The paper then will go on by laying out the theoretical dimension of the design of the research developed for the special Jubilee of Mercy with the aim to investigate social impact of images in a religious event when combined with a consistent presence of sickness and disability. It will then go on explaining the visual approach structured into two different perspectives both collecting the shots in a participant observation strategy.

A second part will examine some methodological steps of the research, firstly describing the way of treating qualitative material along with pictures, interviews and notes taken on the ground by firstly focusing the attention on the polysemic of images. As a subsequence, a second paragraph deals with the ethnographic reconstruction of those three days by adopting an in-depth view on pictures because of life stories; while a third paragraph leads on ways for describing the same material throughout the inductive construction of conceptual areas. Finally, a third part of the article deals with the synthesis of empirical results of the study combined in a more theoretical dimension. While it may be true that the particular and favourable context could have given a tone of unicity and thus of rhetoric to the emerging topics, they may be otherwise considered along with recent suggestions from Disability Studies as a possible example of a move in metaphors of illness and disabilities to a new representation with regard with identity. The paper comes then to its conclusion, clearing the title of the job as one of its clue element.

Part 1 – The design of the research

1. Image first

This work is the result of a research project specifically designed for "the days of people with sickness and disabilities" as one of the special events of the Jubilee of Mercy called by Pope Francis. The choice for the visual study has been strategical since theoretical and epistemological premises[ii], ordered as follows.

Firstly, the image is currently a central element of social representation. This affirmation, established in the literature[iii] and now in common sense, welcomes the iconic code − photos and videos, therefore static or moving images − as one of the freeways in which people and institutions more or less consciously

choose to narrate themselves and events of interest with apparent simplicity and immediacy Already announced at the beginning of the last century by an author like Gisele Freund in her doctoral thesis − unique at the time[iv]− , photography and the very act of photographing have transformed the representations of the world up to its final evolution given by the transition from analogue to digital[v]. On the one side, the fact that the image does not seem to require an elaborate code for immediate access for encoding and decoding makes it particularly usable and shareable. On the other side, the enormous availability and diffusion of devices (i.e. smartphones, tablets, digital cameras) with increasingly automated performances, involves more and more people of age, sex, ethnicity, disparate cultures that are experienced first hand in the direct "capture" of events in digital format. Finally, the increasing participation of people in social networks, and therefore the net, has probably facilitated and stimulated their diffusion and popularity, identifying the subjective production of digital images as a way of common and massive use, involving a more and more relevant number of people. In these terms, a "technological moment" has been consolidated[vi] where that makes images significant elements of impact on individual behaviour and social processes.

Secondly, that technological moment becomes such also because of its transversality to contexts or frames. In the many levels to be considered, there is, in fact, the same media update manifested by the Catholic Church through the increasingly performative recourse to images. On the one hand, the religious institutions have been involving images more and more to communicate with the faithful, on the other hand, the possible use of technological support among the faithful in participating in religious events is widespread. Religious processions, as well as secular parades, religious functions as well as concerts, can be equally worthy of being filmed with smartphones or other devices. In that sense, common sense or opportunity that crossed the eye of cameras as indiscreet and poorly accepted, warning for a modest standard of behaviour at the entrance of places, like churches, marked by sacred rituals seems changed. For that reason, we could speak of meta-technology[vii] to allude to shared meadows that structure the very use of technologies in individual and social terms.

Given this frame, on the occasion of the Jubilee of Mercy and the particular occasion of an initiative dedicated to sick and disabled people, what happens? What about social practice and what role do images play? Is there a special sensitivity, a closure, a particular declination in the possibility of capturing and disseminating these moments with digital technologies in the participation of people and by the institutions themselves?

1.2 The visually oriented approach for the Jubilee
Central to the research is the aim to investigate the spreading of digital devices in a religious event when combined with a consistent presence of sickness and disability. In order to analyse this topic, a visual qualitative study has been developed in a perspective of observant participation. Equally relevant to the issue, the project by vocation is placed within the perspective of study more

commonly known as Grounded theory[viii] that considers the specific contest (technically "the ground") the place where to address and trace the hypothesis of work. Saying this does not mean, however, that there were no starting points that guided the project in the early stages. Therefore, there is a substantial debt to the paths of investigation of visual sociology that is a specific branch of sociology dedicated by vocation to study the impact of pictures on social practice and considering pictures as qualitative information that can characterise research uniquely, or even enrich or integrate more conventional tools of research[ix].

As several authors bring into focus, a contemporary sociologist can use images as relevant information in his work, in several ways[x]. However, there is an essential assumption, after Malinowski[xi], and thanks to authors like Geertz[xii] that cannot be overlooked. Images, in fact, photographs, are not mirrors of reality. Unlike the pretensions of a journalistic approach, which seeks in pictures demonstrations of truth theses, the work of the scholar who moves with these aids proposes in the first instance a clarification[xiii]: they are "representation"[xiv] of events, not their evidence. What is more, it is a representation in which scholar is present, not neutral although visible[xv]. For those reasons subjectivity, albeit unavoidable, must be taken into account and probably thematised.

Presuming that, what to photograph, and how to do it, has been set within an ethnographic and phenomenological approach. That one abandoned the very claims of homogeneous truth to immerse in the social context of interest populated not so much by data or objects to be captured, but by people and the meaning, they give to events. What was legitimate and sensible to photograph was to discover progressively and so defining those aspects was one of the very themes of the investigation. To this end, rather just than taking pictures or filming, the objective was mainly to understand the situation with the additional help of some technological instrumentation[xvi]. The observation "on the ground" is, therefore, the basis of the project itself: being there and so participating was intended as the privileged way to understand. We would even go so far as to say that moving from "seeing" to observing[xvii] required immersion in the situation made with the tools of research and with our body, mind, eyes, during the three days dedicated to the event and then even with targeted discussions in order to the questioning of our previous cultural patterns. Sara Pink calls this way of doing "sensory ethnographic research" because it requires the sensory involvement of the researcher and considers it as the very element of investigation[xviii].

However, a background steps has been carried out at first to facilitate access: search of information from social media, from printed and online journals and newspapers in general and about the schedule of the event[xix], then even through direct and formal contacts with the diocese in order to obtain passes to legitimize our presence as researchers. Crucial to that, the legal department of the University of Bologna has assured support in the drafting the release or privacy sheet. Then in some other advice, for instance not taking pictures of faces, unless explicit consent, specify their presence as researchers and then the probably taken for granted, so not formally themed, of not taking photographs during the

Eucharistic moments, generally within the churches. Yes, to public events, in respect of common sense.

Then, in order to avoid presuming common sense and so to "see" a dense and complex event because of the several appointments and multiple actors foreseen and mindful for phenomenological research attentive to different points of view and meanings, the work has been modulated along two operative perspectives, as follow.

The first one is *from the researcher's point of view*. The attempt is indeed to follow the ethnographic dictates, with the itinerant aim of collecting both photographs and notes on the ground during the three days. That approach is built through access to the ground to highlight by the interaction with the subjects, then by observing, talking and eventually taking pictures according to a line of lawfulness that the participation itself would have better delineate.

The second one is *from the pilgrim point of view* and of other participants. In this case, the aim is appropriating introduce to people clearly as a scholar, giving the sheet, and then trying to collect pictures taken by the pilgrims themselves who attended the event, in order to analyse their images as an expression of the internal and subjective point of view. The core of that perspective is that visual information is produced by beyond research so, for this reason, it is called "native perspective" or "native image making", in the literature[xx].

Part 2. The Methodological approach to the qualitative material

2.1. Image potential meaning
This second part will examine some methodological steps of the research, mostly describing the way of treating and analysing the qualitative material obtained along with pictures, interviews and notes taken on the ground. To better understand the question, a focus on the polysemic of images must be traced.

So coming to the beginning, the overall photographic material − equal to 2600 photos and 128 videos − represents the informative visual heart we obtained from the investigation. Besides that, we had other qualitative information or declared data, given directly by researchers or by interviewing the pilgrims and from note fields.

As first, the whole material was treated. The participating observations and the captions on the shots allowed the "cleaning" of the visual materials from not clear shots, shaken shots, double shots, or improperly filed. Then a second aspect to point out goes to multiple connotations of the same shot that is, in fact, a typical characteristic of the language of images which can be read along different openings to interpretative meanings, and therefore referenced to a non-univocity, as otherwise happens with the verbal language. As regarding polysemic, the work takes up the indications of Barthes[xxi], in his clarification between "studium" and "punctum" and then many of the reflections of Harper[xxii] suggesting that sociological photography is so to the extent that it is guided by sociological concepts, which are elaborated inductively and progressively and

are useful for revising fundamental theories or for elaborating on them. Central to the effectiveness of those acquaintants, it was essential to equip pictures with the most notions provided both by people and directly by researchers. Given that the exegesis of the shot was oriented by the experience of things concerning their history and meanings, which also refers to the definition of the same rules and practices on the ground that the researcher must somehow try to grasp and deepen.

Finally, the whole material was methodologically elaborated and interpreted along two main roads. In the next paragraph, the methodology by which the information has been processed is clarified even though an aspect to be mention is relative to the present exposition of the results on a paper. By contrast, visual ambit takes advantage more of the audiovisual presentation and according to a multidisciplinary approach not always easy for feasibility in the academic contexts (referring to costs and most of all to criteria of edibleness).

2.2. Sequential sorting

Construction of sequences and themes were the two ways of analysing the treated material and were carried out by observing the photographs included in the archive refocusing the meanings progressively.

The first way of interpreting the material consists in the complete grouping of the visual information carried out by all researchers involved, in a single archive where it was ordered chronologically and divided into narrative sequences or a subsequent sorting.

According to that, photos and videos, with automatic recording properties (time and day for each shot), plus captions added by the researcher (author name, place), participating observations reports and related interviews are therefore the starting material that allows to reconstruct the three days in chronological order, with grafts to multiple voices/eyes and in relation to our unique research experience. Furthermore, we have also studied pictures taken by some pilgrims during the experience or even post it online and also contacted later, if still available for their contribution.

As a consequence, the order of the narrative sequences mutually reinforced images with other qualitative information that was useful to go through the meaning of the shots. On the ethnographic nature of the shots, Pink[xxiii] points out that no photograph in itself is "naturally", but instead this happens to the extent that a sociologist or an anthropologist can trace visual information loaded with meaning. So it is not the subject of the shot itself, but the ranking itself of the knowledge of reality that can be grasped with a given image. It is for this reason that we have considered, both a perspective from the researcher, both from the pilgrims and we have still considered and carried out the work of qualitative research as a field observation, multisensory.

The result is, therefore, a sort of narrative and in-cross reference reconstruction, relating to several paths and personal memories, and according to a sequential scan only partially corresponding to the exact time of the clocks. By contrast, the disposition of time is relative to those who observe and those who observe

what has been observed, reviewing the photographs and again, giving the chance of reviewing them in the light of meaning and importance people gave to them.

It is noticeable that what has been considered as "ground" was partially different the specific scope of the jubilee event as denoted in the official schedule and for which we have requested and obtained access passes. However, we have moved taking care to bring with us the short trace for the liberatory, which was also useful to create a bridge with the many people with whom we have interfaced. In general, we denounced our presence and our role where it was necessary and tried to use the camera lens in a discreet and less as possible intrusive manner, following the rules supported from the field. In ads, the mere fact of having the camera with us has made us more visible, and in some way easily approachable. In reality, many of them thought we were journalists, from whom we have taken care to distinguish ourselves. Besides, the use of the camera, in the different churches or places of worship, has been activated only having noticed the great diffusion and use of tools by all bystanders, whether they are journalists, subjects of associations, believers or volunteers. As regards the photos in public and the open air, we have taken trying not to capture the face of people, except for public figures or with manifest function.

Then, from experience carried out and following the treatment, elaboration of the matters, some paths can be distinguished, partially differentiated in the route and partly in the purposes. These paths have intersected, having in the eyes of the visual research as a whole a prospective synthesis. Going with that briefly, the attendance at these three days was large and continuous as far as the "ad hoc" route of the sick and disabled pilgrims with families and volunteers is concerned. Mobile structures were prepared and moved conveniently by volunteers and law enforcement, with a coordinated direction of the spaces upstream and also through the constant exchange of communication between people in charge and the use of technological tools (radios, headsets, smartphones). Spaces were designed to allow broad protection of bystanders, ensuring access and movement with the least number of hindrances, although the city itself provides barriers of architecture and mobility during the journey that we have detected (stairs, steps, holes and no special attention from public transport in general).

In that case, the simplicity of the exchange, helped by the gestures, allows all nationalities or linguistic territories to approach, to share and even to smile. An enormous atmosphere of joy and positive energy fulfilled the experience.

2.3. Inductive categories
The second way of processing the visual information has been defined by a subsequent interpretation of the photographic matter along emerging items or categories of analysis with regard to the use of photography in the event (technology item); direct and virtual relationship (interaction item); management tools and roles (organisation item); disability and illness in the contest of faith (care item). In order to define them the different photographs have been grouped

along paces allowed gradually. Thus, a reflection on the polysemic quality of the image has characterised the work of analysis of the material. As said, the photographs can be read according to different trajectories on meanings, and for this reason, if analysed in a category, it is normal that they could trace simultaneously several thematic areas in which the punctum is shifted.

To illustrate the inductive construction of visual analysis categories an example could help to clarify. The item "organisation", therefore not predefined before the research, is thus formed from scratch by following subcategories that can be conceptualised, with images. Given that, water (in bottles, stacked, delivered, exchanged between people, exceptionally) appears consistently in quantity and frequency through visual testimony. Therefore, a shot that shows a bottle of water can be redirected to the gesture of the donation/relationality, to the collaboration between different roles, to the tactical organisation, as well as highlight the spatial arrangement between people with different possibilities of walking. The possibilities of knowing details on the phenomenon has been obtained by the interaction in the field and the reinforcement of other shots. Given that, the water could be intended as a welcome to the pilgrims in symbolic term but even as support in practical ones. As a consequence, that consideration allows to identify a direction of the distribution of the bottles involving the volunteer's management and deepened with the main presence of the Civil Protection for the distribution, but also with the call to collateral market players who have supported the initiative by a policy of social promotion activated for the whole Jubilee experience[xxiv]. Linking in a sensible way different photographs, taken in different times and contexts, provides the first basis for this "water" that can be so flanked by other sub-themes (such as the presence of mobile barriers) and therefore included in the largest category of the organisation, co-built with this inductive method.

As well as the thematic organisation equipped firstly with sub-themes and possible in-crosses with other topics, analytical categories were worked on. The shots which show moments of contacts between people could thus be collected both in the organization category − here the exchange of water as a gift can be part of it −, or even and in a new subcategory called "spontaneous relationality" − here the exchange of water as a reliefs can again be part of it −, while many of these could also be present in the theme of care as a specific way to consider health support when the photos highlight the relational closeness, in various forms. So all that.

Concluding, the most interesting to report is about image impact on social practice. In fact, if one of the premises of the work was a certain modesty with respect to the very act of photographing in the religious sphere and still in the context of disability and disease that marked the event, this notion was soon replaced with new rules that our presence on the ground allowed us to understand progressively. On the first hand, the use of the camera, in the different churches or places of worship, has been activated only having noticed the great diffusion and use of tools by all bystanders, whether they are journalists, subjects of associations, believers or volunteers. As regards the photos in public and the open

air, we have usually avoided capturing the face of people, except for public figures or with manifest function.

On the other hand, the arguments we have presented suggest that visibility of alternative languages, fixed in images even by those same protagonists, would have broken down the modesty of those who − like the same researcher before the experience − were afraid of offending or being inappropriate with his presence.

Of these feelings and attitudes − of which Goffman[xxv] explains to us with mastery, but while reasoning in a historical period in which disability and disease are still almost unnamed − the field experience provides a different perspective. Are these results uniquely referable to those three days? For which reasons?

Parte 3. Identity languages

3.1. A contest *sui generis*

The third part deals with the many empirical results of the study combined in a more theoretical dimension. Giving qualitative sociological research a privileged moment to produce in-depth information does not mean forgiving possible contribution from a more general debate. According to that proposal, there is at least some aspect to highlight.

At first, it is important to declare a limit of generality in combining different pathologies and multiple disabilities, without further specifications. However, it reflects the setting of the three days dedicated to sick and disabled people in that generalistic way and beyond the multiple reflections, theoretical and empirical, that the organisation of the event has well considered in its efforts but well supported by people contribution as well. Said that the general message was for a declarative while common challenge "beyond the limits". That challenge even though difficult, hard, is not rhetorical but existing even today this Jubilee has just highlighted in its almost unbelievable joy and force and possibility of existence. In other words: to adapt to the language of others or rather to start from oneself, to formulate one's paths, marking them with different and equally valid languages and therefore referring to different and equally valid "oneself. Equally important, that message was made available also thanks to images, enhancing without hierarchical order "multiple" languages and attitudes as places of communication, therefore practical. The visibility of actions "done in my way" is shown and shared naturally: understanding the Bible like you, but being me, and also dancing, singing, painting, praying like you, but like me, through own code language.

Assuming that the three days dedicated to the sick and disabled could be considered as a kind of T.a.z, or temporarily autonomous area, adapting to the situation the welcome definition offered by Akim Bay in 1991[xxvi]. On this edge, the experience observed provides to a "temporary" and "mobile" environment, protected from the outside or separated from it and moved in its path by portable barriers. There was always an obvious signal of separation from the rest, an in-

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ternal and an external were sanctioned with each movement made, although not indelibly. In this circumscribed place and on the way, an event with enormous communicative power and strongly characterised by interpersonal relationships took place. The T.a.z. of which we have been participating is also so for this separation with respect to what we can usually find and so where the concept of normality is marked in favour of the so-called abled people or "healthy" people that probably our society identifies as a primary reference parameter for the symbolic and concrete construction of its spaces.

As a consequence, the term of the temporary autonomous zone it is preferable also because of its exceptionality. The interior of the emerged T.a.z., although not characterised concerning homogeneity − as no representation of culture can aspire to do − is instead emerging for a convergence in the compact manifestation of many identity dignities, related mainly to specific linguistic codes. It was from these heterogeneous codes that the translations were done in the language more usual but for that surprising experience which seemed to be a bit alien, less "normal", less useful. The evidence suggests, therefore, that this situation, in its emerging characterisations, has not appeared again during other jubilee situations nor does it appear in routine daily life.

Then, go inside the contest, it could be argued that the rules of legitimate and well-liked photographic gaze have been defined with relative serenity throughout the experience when conceived within friendly, solidarity, and even, and last but not least, faith contexts, with some caution that the interviewees and the context clarified from the inside. Photographs and filming were done to be shared, to celebrate together and also to make oneself visible and proudly bear witness. In other words, one could say this operation requires a preliminary acceptance of oneself, that the institutional religious message in the three days has undoubtedly reiterated, inserting it in a value perspective of unfathomable understanding in its ultimate motivations (faith). That message was strongly appealing to a humanity that is not just rhetorical because it was demonstrated in its possibility to take place, even with possible devices that have been visibly themed to all. As a consequence one of the most exciting aspects I want to highlight is, therefore, the multilingual and multisensory perspective, which has characterised the central content of this "mobile" area. Different languages were at the heart of the experience. Therefore, in this context, the so-called people with disabilities or illness were not definable in a passive way, but rather subjects who were being building moments of collaboration and communicative sharing in an active way and together with other subjects. In other words, people who actively participated in the initiatives were not distinguishable as "disabled" or "sick" according to common sense nor by people's reactions, but rather, just as visible carriers of different languages, mixed. In particular, that was evident on Saturday in its entirety, when a rare and incomparable experience for all three days took shape. Finally, the concept of T. a. z. to indicates a real creative and innovative mental territory that has been concentrated in a composite and strongly vital way in those days, but which still has a real and social network of reference and stories that have not evaporated after the experience.

Given that, it is possible to trace some reasoning to take advantage of this Taz. Our analysis proposals, revive several more or less real aspects and some converging points of reflection about the importance of the contest close to the research and study experiences promoted by the Disability Studies. These, in a nutshell, are approaches aimed at considering in the first instance a criticism of the institutionalised social language of disability, and also of practices that consolidate exclusion. Having said that, the so-called "model" within which they are born − starting from what has been done by the movements and associations of disabled people −, elaborates proposals and observations aimed at enhancing the sociality and liveability of people, and providing what was, initially, a breakthrough approach: these are the barriers that society poses to create disability. The academic approach that was born in England to be taken up again at an international level[xxvii] has been controversial subject therefore based far from the medicalised edge of the disease, in order to integrate rather towards narrative definitions[xxviii], and carried out by scholars with different skills from the medical one, such as sociology[xxix], pedagogy, philosophy, law. It is, therefore, a break because they shift the attention from the biological factors of diversity to the social ones. One should, nevertheless, consider the problem from another angle. Authors of great importance in the debate, such as Shakespeare[xxx], have in fact in recent times demolished false myths and "inconsistency of many statements" to the materialistic social model and compared to the more cultural variant that has emerged since then. In the words of the author "an accessible environment minimises the discomforts of disability but does not make disabled people equal to nondisabled people"[xxxi]. The enhancement of this author is regarding critical and multifactorial realism and therefore aimed at promoting or suggesting new research and operational implementations that also reintroduce the biological component.

So coming back to the research what's more interesting is the observation was favourable contest beside a declared willingness not to ignore differences, but rather to value them as a component of identity and relationship with the other. For those reasons, the "cure" is rather dear focused as "care" mostly like reciprocity, as the force of the relationship with the other, of which both poles of the dyad can benefit, as it could happen when an exchange of perspective is the core.

3.2. "Visability" as a metaphor of a change in attitude

According to Susan Sontag, the social representation of pathologies becomes central to understand something more about them. For the author, whom we follow in her reasoning, it is almost impossible to "take up residence" in the places of being sick without being in some way influenced by the metaphors that are correlated there. The metaphorical object, therefore the pathology in the imaginary or social representation, is so better known through a second code, which is not the strictly biomedical one. They are, therefore "representations" that have a course and an implicit social sharing as mental images, or patterns that condition the observation. Sontag deals with this in particular by deepening the

social representations of disease as metaphors in two works[xxxii]. Both lead to consider that behind the social consideration of the different diseases, and their metaphors are therefore encrusted factors and elements not properly medical, that the author helps us to consider in their profound influence and impact.

Coming to the point, what is today the social scene in which disability is inserted/represented? Also, which one is emerging from our research? As said, the qualitative study has no claim to general truth or to be able to describe unrealistically a culture as a whole, as compact and devoid of stretch marks, but it can give some insight. All these points to the conclusion that if Susan Sontag, when analyzing the disease, do so by going into an in-depth analysis of the social metaphors to which some pathologies have lent themselves in order to understand their social sense over time, we could also try to consider the events observed, to formulate the metaphor that emerges. The summary is in the title of the volume: "Visability", a sort of neologism, a crasis between the words visibility and ability, created ad hoc by the outcome of the research, willing to refer simultaneously to several aspects:

−A reflection on illness and disability, as moments in the past from hidden black-teas, which emerge instead with force thanks to the same people who call for their expressive territory and identity in a non-abstract way. This reflection is still, therefore, a desire to be "seen" and it even refers to a revolution into the Catholic sphere as observed in the Jubilee experience starting to other various "revolutions" operated and still in progress among the vast community of the faithful, of concrete, relational and visibly innovative impact;

− The use of multiple languages (dance, singing, mime, sign language, but also the different national idioms) placed as parallel moments and aimed at the enhancement and celebration of the self-identity, in its multiple and possible ontological forms which call for linguistic representation. They are the same subjects that, in addition to being seen, are seen firstly by themselves and who have been wanting to emphasise their active role and their languages as a starting point to communicate, not more accepting the reverse.

− The use of digital technology for images, and of social networks, as a choice for "visual" moments used for one's advantage, to expose oneself and to share with others. The presence and use of photographs appear, in fact, completely transversal in the course of the investigation so that posing, shooting, posting, sharing were common actions to different people as pilgrims, tourists, religious, lay, researchers, volunteers. Visual technology, in its imposition, neglects different bodies or minds (but also ages and gender or sexual orientation) because it seems to propose them on image level where movements and forms are completely similar in being useful for communication and identity expression. The medium invites to a transverse-salt and open relationship. Visible moments, such as dancing, praying, singing that people shared with the tools of technology. This last is a point of contact between what frequently happens today: the active and deliberate use of image language. A use that here, unlike our expectations, has been well present. The photos and the shots are taken here, as elsewhere; therefore they will be moved from here, from the present moment to the

ether, among chunks of friends, in their network of virtual relationships. However, they will also be available, because usually placed in public profiles, to those who want to change perspective and see, in addition to their own, other worlds that already express themselves without forcibly passing from the language imposed more widely by the society.

− Related to the previous point but from a different perspective, the use of the image shows the social evolution of the consideration of the "things" that can be exhibited and the subjects that can do it. This transversality is, therefore, also a potentially "skill" equally shared by all, where barriers placed at another level. On one is more or less good at taking photographs, more or less able to grasp a significant moment, but this has nothing to do with references to health/disease in the medical sense, but with social skills and minimally technical ones, that the increasingly widespread and automated devices, as well as the network sharing, can strengthen. In this sense, the term takes up the concept of capability coined by Amartya Sen and taken up to describe disability without the preconceptions of the biomedical model[xxxiii], and thus reformulating the way of understanding annual distinctions and classifications (in which the paper by choice does not deal with), starting from abilities visually manifested by the subjects.

− Finally, the use of a visual methodology, such as the one prefixed for this study and usually considered a sort of Sociology's minor sister, finally treated as a study technique with its own heuristic potential and a methodological rigour for scientific information of an iconic nature and aimed to become a place for sociological conceptual reworking, with the considerations already proposed so that it is not a supposed "capture" of reality, similar to assault journalism. The language of images has an open code, with many pitfalls for univocal interpretation or risks of over-interpretation, but this can also consider, if we look closely, its value: it requires and allows the meeting, where there is availability, from comparing multiple perspectives. For this reason, its openness requires an ability to treat it and not manipulate it, otherwise closing its potential and richness. In other words, welcoming the other.

[i] Guarino F. (ed.) (2018), Visabilità. Il giubileo dei malati e disabili, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

[ii] The research took place in collaboration with many italian scholars and in the wake of a sociological research tradition dedicated to the study of the jubilee phenomenon. Among the other see Cipriani R. (2001), *Pellegrinaggio e Giubileo*, La Critica Sociologica, 138-9: 136-45; Cipriani R. (2003), *Giubilanti del 2000. Percorsi di vita,* FrancoAngeli, Milano; Cipriani R. (2007), *Viaggio e pellegrinaggio*, in Spadolini B., Grasselli B., Ansini L. (eds), *La funzione educativa del cammino. Aspetti pedagogici, psicologici e sociologici*, Armando, Roma, 113-24; Cipriani R. (2012), *Sociologia del pellegrinaggio*, FrancoAngeli, Milano. In relation to the study of the jubilee from a visual point of view, we therefore refer to a research carried out for the previous jubilee, Losacco G. (2003), *Godstock. I Papa boys al Giubileo del 2000*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

[iii] Arcagni S. (2016), *Visioni digitali. Video, web e nuove tecnologie*, Einaudi, Tn; Bourdieu P. et al. (1965), *Un art moyen,* Les Editions de Minuit, Paris; Bourdieu P. (2004), *La fotografia. Usi e funzioni sociali di un'arte media,* Guaraldi, Rimini.

[iv] Freund G. (1980), *Fotografia e società. Riflessione teorica ed esperienza pratica di una allieva di Adorno*, Einaudi, Torino.

[v] Barrera G. (2016), *Piccolo manuale di resistenza fotografica*, Edizioni Postcart srl.

[vi] Riva G. (2014), *Nativi Digitali. Crescere e apprendere nel mondo dei nuovi media*, Il Mulino, Bologna.

[vii] Riva G. (2014), *Nativi Digitali. Crescere e apprendere nel mondo dei nuovi media*, Il Mulino, Bologna

[viii] Glaser B. G., Strauss A. L. (2009), *La scoperta della Grounded Theory. Strategie per la ricerca qualitativa*, Armando, Roma.

[ix] Mattioli F. (2007), *La sociologia visuale. Che cosa è, come si fa.* Bonanno, Acireale-Roma; Nigris D. (2003*), Standard e non standard nella ricerca sociale. Riflessioni metodologiche*, FrancoAngeli, Milano; Secondulfo D. (2015), *Lo studio degli stereotipi e delle rappresentazioni sociali attraverso la sociologia visuale. Un esperimento di integrazione tra tecniche visuali e tecniche quantitative*, «Sociologia», 3, pp. 3-9.

[x] Collier J. e Collier M. (1986), *Visual Anthropology. Photography as a Research Method*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque; Curry T.J., Clarke A.C. (1983), *Introducing Visual Sociology*, Kendal/Hunt Publishing Co., Dubuque; Musello C. (1979), *Family Photography*, in Wagner J. (ed.), *Images of Information*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills/ London, pp- 101-118; Pauwels L. (2010), *Visual Sociology Reframed: An Analytical Synthesis and Discussion of Visual Methods in Social and Cultural Research*, «Sociological Methods & Research», 38, 4, pp. 545-581; Prosser J. (ed.) (1998), *Image-based Research. A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, Falmer Press, London; Rose G. (2001), *Visual Methodologies*, Sage, Thousands Oaks.

[xi] Malinowski B. (2011), *Argonauti del Pacifico occidentale. Riti magici e vita quotidiana nella società primitiva*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino.

[xii] Geertz C. (1987), *Interpretazione di culture*, Il Mulino, Bologna.

[xiii] Faccioli P. (1997), *L'immagine sociologica*, FrancoAngeli, Milano; Faccioli P., Losacco G. (2010), *Nuovo Manuale di sociologia visuale. Dall'analogico al digitale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

[xiv] Augé M. (2005), "I contorni delle immagini", in Eco U., Augé M., Didi-Huberman G., *La forza delle immagini*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, pg. 31-54..

[xv] Pink S. (2001), *Doing Visual Etnography. Images, Media and Representation in Research*, Sage Publication, London.

[xvi] Becker suggests "tricks" useful to move effectively in the field of research also using the camera, Becker H. (1981), Exploring society Photographically, University of Chicago press, Chicago.. We can report them as follows, also thanks to the work of Faccioli P., Losacco G. (2010), *Nuovo Manuale di sociologia visuale. Dall'analogico al digitale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, pg.75. "What are the different types of people in the situation (Status); What mutual expectations do people from different social groups have? In what situations do such expectations arise? (Standards, rules and sharing); What are the regular breaks in expectations? What controls and protests do people do? (Deviance); What happens when expectations are violated? What actions can be taken against the perpetrators of such violations? Is there a typical way to solve conflicts? (Penalties)".

[xvii] Losacco G. (2010), *Nuovo Manuale di sociologia visuale. Dall'analogico al digitale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano;

[xviii] Pink S. (2009), *Doing Sensory Ethnograpraphy*, Sage Publication, London.

[xix] www.im.va – Jubilee of Mercy Official website.

[xx] Chalfen R. (1997), *Sorrida prego! La costruzione visuale della vita quotidiana*, FrancoAngeli, Milano; Faccioli P. (1993), *La sociologia visuale: tecniche e campi d'applicazione*, in Cipolla C., Faccioli P. (a cura di), *Introduzione alla sociologia visuale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, pp. 49-71.

[xxi] The studium is the part denoted by the shot, the elements that make up a photo while the punctum is instead what that photo can say, connoting it. Following Barthes, "I am sometimes attracted by a particular […]. This detail is the punctum" that is, what of that shot "stings" those who make the analysis. As the author still makes clear, there is no rule to connect studium and punctum "all you can say is that it is a co-presence, in Barthes R. (1980), *La camera chiara. Nota sulla fotografia*, Piccola biblioteca Einaudi, Torino, pg: 43).

[xxii] Harper D. (1988), *Visual Sociology: Expanding Sociological Vision*, "The American Sociologist", 19, 1, pp. 54-70; Harper D. (1993), *On the authority of the image*, in Denzin N.K., Lincoln Y.S. (eds), Handbook of Qualitative Rresearch, Sage, London.

[xxiii] Pink S. (2001), *Doing Visual Etnography. Images, Media and Representation in Research*, Sage Publication, London.

[xxiv] http://www. italiaatavola. net/bevande/acqua-e-analcolici/2015/11/23/norda-acqua-ufficiale-giubileo-pellegrini-bottiglie-fabia-grazia/42140.

[xxv] Goffman E. (1963), *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Simon & Schuster, New York-London-Toronto.

[xxvi] We refer to the concept treated later by authors such as Maffesoli M. (2004), *Il tempo delle tribù, Il declino dell'individualismo nelle società postmoderne*, Guerini e associati, Milano.

[xxvii] As regards the sociology of health and disabilities studies as developed in Italy, see emerging debates in Fiocco P.M., Mori L. (eds) (2005), *La disabilità tra costruzione dell'identità e cittadinanza*, "Salute e Società", anno IV – 1, FrancoAngeli, Milano., Ferrucci F. (2004), *La disabilità come relazione sociale. Gli approcci sociologici tra natura e cultura*, Rubbettino editore, Catanzaro and, more recently, Di Santo R. (2013), *Sociologia della disabilità. Teorie, modelli, attori e istituzioni*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

[xxviii] Cipriani R., (a cura di) (2010), *Narrative-Based Medicine: una critica*, "Salute e Società", IX, 2: 1-240.

[xxix] Bury M. (1982), *Chronic Illness as Biographical Disruption*, "Sociology of Health and Illness", 4: 167-182; Frank A. (2002), *At the Will of the Body. Reflections on Illness*, Mariner Books, New York; Maturo A. (2007), *Sociologia della malattia. Un'introduzione*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

[xxx] Shakespeare T. (2017), *Disabilità e società. Diritti, falsi miti, percezioni sociali*, Erickson, Trento.

[xxxi] Shakespeare T. (2017), *Disabilità e società. Diritti, falsi miti, percezioni sociali*, Erickson, Trento, p. 69.

[xxxii] Sontag S. (1979), La malattia come metafora. Il cancro e la sua mitologia, Einaudi, Torino; Sontag S. (1989), L'Aids e le sue metafore, Einaudi, Torino.

[xxxiii] For the concept of capability applied to disability see Biggeri M, Bellanca N. (eds) (2010), *Dalla relazione di cura alla relazione di prossimità. L'approccio delle capability alle persone con disabilità*, Liguori Editore, Napoli.