

Francesco Della Puppa, Veronica Moretti

Understanding comics-based ethnographies and ethno-graphic novels in qualitative research: An introduction

(doi: 10.3240/115355)

Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa (ISSN 1973-3194)

Fascicolo 3, settembre-dicembre 2024

Ente di afferenza:

Università degli studi di Milano Bicocca (unibicocca)

Copyright © by Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna. Tutti i diritti sono riservati.

Per altre informazioni si veda <https://www.rivisteweb.it>

Licenza d'uso

L'articolo è messo a disposizione dell'utente in licenza per uso esclusivamente privato e personale, senza scopo di lucro e senza fini direttamente o indirettamente commerciali. Salvo quanto espressamente previsto dalla licenza d'uso Rivisteweb, è fatto divieto di riprodurre, trasmettere, distribuire o altrimenti utilizzare l'articolo, per qualsiasi scopo o fine. Tutti i diritti sono riservati.

Ethnography and comics-based research

An introduction

Abstract

In recent years, there has been a growing debate in the social sciences about the use of «alternative scripts» such as comics and graphic novels. This introduction to the special issue considers the use of comics in ethnographic research and the contributions and challenges posed by this method. It discusses the evolution of comics-based research methods and situates them within the broader context of the social sciences, reflecting on how comics can be used at different stages of the research process, including data collection, analysis and dissemination. The introduction also reflects on the advantages and limitations of comics compared to other established visual methodologies, focusing on the practical and ethical challenges of comics in ethnography and highlighting areas where comics offer unique opportunities.

Keywords: comics, alternative scripts, comics-based research, ethno-graphic novel, visual methods

1. The rise of comics-based research

In recent years, there has been a growing debate in the social sciences about the use of «alternative scripts» such as comics and graphic novels. This attention is exemplified by events such as the roundtable held at l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) and the Palgrave Studies in Comics and Graphic Novels book series, which view these media as part of an emerging interdisciplinary field. Growing interest in this area has also led to the publication of special

Francesco Della Puppa, Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Dorsoduro 3484/D, 30123, Venice - Italy (IT). francesco.dellapuppa@unive.it, OrCID: 0000-0003-1437-4719.

Veronica Moretti, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna, Strada Maggiore 45, Bologna - Italy (IT). veronica.moretti4@unibo.it, OrCID: 0000-0002-6506-0501.

Although this article is the result of numerous discussions between the authors, Veronica Moretti wrote sections 1 and 2, while Francesco Della Puppa wrote sections 3 and 4.

issues focusing on the role of comics in academic research, such as the 2017 issue of *Visual Anthropology Review*.

Comics and graphic novels are increasingly recognised as valuable tools not only for exploring complex theoretical frameworks such as postmodernism, poststructuralism and decoloniality (Ball, Gilligan, 2010; Bartlett, 2013), but also within ethnography. Recent debates on comics have built on earlier reflections on the use of visual and narrative methods in qualitative research. What distinguishes comics is their greater potential for co-production and a deeper collaboration with participants. This participatory dimension is one key aspect that allows comics to complement traditional ethnographic methods by offering a more inclusive means of capturing and representing lived experiences. In addition to a focus on the co-production of comics, this special issue aims to critically examine the role of comics in ethnographic research, acknowledging both their potential and limitations in supporting the research process, from fieldwork to participant engagement.

2. Beyond dissemination: The use of comics in different stages of research

The ever-increasing integration of comics into social research in recent years has given rise to a set of theoretical and methodological collectively referred to as «comics-based research» (hereafter CBR) (Kuttner *et al.*, 2021) and «ethnographic novels» (Della Puppa *et al.*, 2021). These approaches combine text and images to collect, analyse, and disseminate research data (Barberis, Grüning, 2021; Kuttner *et al.*, 2017) within the framework of «graphic social science» (Kuipers, Ghedini, 2021).

Initially, the development of CBR was limited to a group of scholars and artists united by a shared passion for science and graphic talent, often working in relative isolation. The growing interest in visual storytelling in qualitative research contexts, as evidenced by the growing body of literature on the topic (Atalay *et al.*, 2019; Dix, Kaur, 2019), as well as the increasing recognition of creative methods in social research (Kara, 2015; Levy, 2017), has led to a shift in the perception of these techniques, from an ancillary role to a more integral part of qualitative research (Prosser, 1998). This shift reflects a wider acceptance among academics and researchers, who have begun to see creative methods as valuable tools for both data collection and analysis. It is now increasingly common to refer to comics as valid instruments for data collection and analysis, particularly in terms of their ability to produce «rich images» that visually convey complex information (Rose, 2016). This reflects a broader trend towards integrating visual methodologies in social research, challenging but complementing more traditional approaches. CBR, like all approaches to social research, involves the formulation of an argument from the outset, with the aim of convincing the scientific community of the plausibility of the conclusions reached (Cardano, 2020), and incorporates the use of comics from the beginning of the research process.

The concept of affordances is useful in explaining how comics can be fully integrated into ethnographic research and its various stages. First used in ecological psychology, this concept provides a useful theoretical lens for understanding social and organisational life by explaining how actors perceive the properties of situations or objects in their environment that enable them to perform certain actions (Gibson, 1966). However, as many have noted (Norman, 1999; Orlikowski, 2007), affordances are not simply inherent properties of objects or artefacts, but are relational to the actors and must be perceived in specific situations to produce the intended actions. Sathyaraj Venkatesan and Sweetha Saji (2016, p. 221) write that «affordances, in the context of comics, connote the general attributes of the medium such as temporality, spatiality, gestures, tone/handwriting, and comics format». Through these affordances, drawings serve as graphic illustrations of the situation, including the setting, the distance between actors, their clothing, gestures, and expressed emotions (Snyder, 1997).

The affordances of comics, as perceived in specific situations, highlight their role not only as static visual representations, but also as dynamic tools for communicating social and cultural contexts through a unique blend of image and text. From this perspective, comics are not just graphic objects, but are part of the many forms that iconic texts take in contemporary times, reflecting an increasing permeability between languages and artistic forms in a constant «semiotic interchange» (Benvenuti, 2019).

Unlike other visual research techniques such as photography or video, comics, with their graphic configurations, enable the researcher to make the invisible visible, transforming abstract data into comprehensible visuals (Morretti, 2023) – recurring thoughts, flashbacks or leaps forward, distant parallels in time and space, imagined scenarios, and so on. In fact, compared to other visual methods, comics allow for a greater and easier reconciliation between the practice and representation of ethnography and the ethical aspects of qualitative empirical research. At the same time, comics could also be a useful tool in the supervision and revision of participatory research and social work based on ethnographic research. For this reason, ethical considerations need to permeate the whole research process. Furthermore, when using comics as part of the photovoice method, in (photo)graphic walking tours, or as a tool to enrich methodologies based on «photo-stimuli», it is worth bearing in mind that not all subjects involved in the research may feel comfortable being asked to draw than, for example, being asked to take a photograph.

Comics can also collapse or mash together different moments in time (Barnes, 2009), for example panels can span entire centuries. Moreover, comics allow for the depiction of scenarios that would be inaccessible by other means, enabling representations of hostile or hard-to-reach environments (e.g., conflict zones or dangerous field sites). In this context, comics can enrich the ethnographic process in multiple ways. For instance, they can serve as a tool for capturing visual and gestural data in the field, such as proxemics and other non-verbal cues, effectively complementing traditional field notes. In addition, comics can be used to visually explore and elaborate on emerging ideas and interpretations, much like creating a mind map or writing a theoretical

memo. This dual role is particularly important in ethnographic research, where immersive fieldwork seeks to understand practices and situations in their specific contexts. By incorporating comics, researchers can engage with social interactions and complexities in ways that traditional methods may not fully capture.

Drawing has the potential to capture the embodied and emotional aspects of the ethnographic encounter, offering insights into the intersubjective dimensions of these experiences in ways that differ from traditional text-based ethnographies. By focusing on the body as a primary site of interaction, drawing can explore the «ragged emotions, and complicated, personal, sensuous and embodied experiences of fieldwork» (Grimshaw, 2015, p. 217), highlighting the shared yet subjective nature of the researcher-participant relationship. One of the most well-known forms of ethnographic journaling is Michael Taussig's *I swear I saw this* (2011). This contribution brings together the visionary anthropologist's reflections on the fieldwork notebooks he kept during forty years of travels in Colombia. Starting with a drawing made in Medellín in 2006 and its caption «I swear I saw this», Taussig considers the fieldwork notebook as a kind of modernist literature and the place where writers first elaborate the imaginative logic of discovery.

The sequencing of images and the potential addition of text and other symbols to those images is a unique mode of representation (Barry, 2008; McCloud, 1994; Sousanis, 2015; Williams, 2012). As Stacy Leigh Pigg (2013) points out, ethnographers work in a messy and complex simultaneity that comics as a medium can both contribute to and represent. The process of assembling comic panels and creating a page reflects the restitution of collected observations, field notes and narratives. While these may be co-constructed with participants, what sets comics apart is their ability to engage participants in the design of visual representation itself, offering a more collaborative way of co-creating the final research artefact.

The practice of drawing provides ethnographic research with a dialogic and open approach (Taussig, 2011). As Forde (2021, p. 654) notes, «A drawing is not meant to capture an objective representation of reality. Instead, it represents the process of observing». Ingold (2011) explains that as we move through the world we leave traces, lines of movement and gestures. These lines, similar to those drawn on paper, are intertwined with the traces and lines of the past.

As well as representing the personal and emotional responses of the researcher, comics can play a role in data collection processes. In particular, they can engage participants in drawing, which can reveal their interpretations of a situation and enhance the researcher's understanding of their expressiveness. This method provides valuable qualitative data, but while comics can effectively convey information, this aspect is generally more relevant during post-data collection analysis. It is important to remember that the use of comics in research may not always yield the desired insights, depending on the context and participants involved. Martikainen and Hakoköngäs (2022) point out that drawing is not as commonly used in visual communication as photography, and therefore provides an unusual lens through which to view everyday life, encour-

aging reflection on and greater awareness of daily routines. Muna Al-Jawad and MK Czerwicz (2019) argue that the symbols and figures used in drawing comic strips can reveal deeply held beliefs or values. While asking participants to draw someone's story can create a «safe space» for emotional expression, it is important to acknowledge that this approach can also lead to anxiety for some people who are concerned about their creative abilities. However, when effective, this method can yield richer data, capturing the nuances of participants' experiences and emotions in a way that verbal communication may not fully convey. By allowing individuals to express themselves visually, drawing can help to reduce feelings of vulnerability, making it easier for them to address sensitive issues compared to more direct verbal discussions.

In her article «Using Drawing in Visual Research: Materializing the Invisible», Philippa Lyon (2020) identifies three types of drawing that can be used in qualitative ethnographic research: sketching, objective drawing and subjective drawing. Sketching is a relatively simple means of visually expressing certain ideas, experiences and emotions, in which participants engage in an unarticulated and unrestricted production of what they feel. Objective drawing by the researcher, on the other hand, favours a more rational approach aimed at recording visible and empirically observable objects. Finally, subjective drawing fosters self-exploration and personal reflexivity that emerges through dialogue with oneself or communication with others. In addition, participants' drawings can be used to elicit further verbal data by asking them to reflect on what they have drawn. The discussions that arise from these drawings can then generate new visions of storytelling.

The analysis of the material produced in comics involves consideration of: the way participants use their bodies; their interaction with objects; the agency of these objects; and the verbal and non-verbal communication that occurs within the researcher-participant-comic framework. Muna Al-Jawad and MK Czerwicz (2019) point out that the images produced include channels, colours, panel sequences and the expression of thoughts, all of which contribute to the unique visual language of comics.

Comics can also be used to communicate research findings. The integration of text and images in comics creates a cohesive narrative that enhances the communication and contextualisation of scientific information. The graphic representation of physical, social and cultural spaces allows the reader to immediately visualise meeting places, the diversity of bodily hexis and their interactions. As Cuthbert points out, the analysis of graphic artefacts and drawings may be particularly good at «getting at» embodiment and may have a clear epistemological value in facilitating the expression of complexity, contradiction and ambiguity (2022). Something that might require multiple footnotes and long and detailed explanations when using text could be communicated at a glance through the use of images. Comics can also show, juxtapose and connect different moments in time and different phenomena in their evolution from the past to the present and into the future, illustrating the global impact of certain processes and how they manifest in different socio-cultural contexts and in different areas of the world system. The language of comics seems particularly suited to narrating

multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), which aims to understand social phenomena that have a global scope or involve huge temporal leaps. Similarly, comics can access contexts that are often «inaccessible» to other visual methods, such as the prison environment, where photographic, audio or video equipment cannot be used.

3. Challenges, limits, and opportunities

Using comics as a research method can present several practical challenges. First, analysing comics requires a significant degree of reader participation. Furthermore, the method requires a great deal of both the researcher and the participant (Pigg, 2013; Moretti, 2023). At the same time, the process of constructing a comic creates a common ground between researchers and participants, fostering a slightly more egalitarian relationship in which they can collaborate more effectively.

The use of drawing can be particularly effective when dealing with sensitive issues. Interviewees may have defensive barriers that limit the disclosure of their true thoughts or feelings, so talking alone is sometimes not enough. Drawing can help to overcome these barriers, allowing participants to express themselves more freely and revealing deeper insights into their experiences and emotions. Particularly in sensitive contexts, the use of comics can trigger traumatic memories, potentially leading to mental health concerns. Moreover, the backgrounds of marginality and vulnerability that participants may bring to the research do not simply dissolve through the act of storytelling or participation. Thus, while comics are a unique medium through which to explore and express complex issues, they also require sensitive handling to mitigate the risks associated with revisiting potentially distressing experiences.

On the other hand, it should be noted that there is generally little reflection in discussions of comics on the asymmetrical power dynamics between the ethnographer and the subjects at the centre of the research. For example, there do not seem to be any cases of qualitative research where the researcher has been pushed by the fieldwork or by the subjects at the centre of the research to change his or her approach and therefore adopt the tool of comics. That is, it seems that the decision is always made by the researcher and this suggests the limited innovation of comics in overcoming power asymmetries within the field in ethnographic research (Cuthbert, 2022; Rainford, 2021; Wiles *et al.*, 2011).

The creation of graphic images raises questions that ethnographers and social scientists have already explored and developed responses to in relation to the practice of writing. If all ethnography is an operation of cultural politics, so too is the choice of language with which it is reported or disclosed. How can a social class be represented without eliminating it or reproducing its stereotypes? Is it possible to deconstruct the «colour line» or cultural differences without naturalising gender corporality or reinforcing the processes of racialisation? In this sense, the language of comics can sometimes carry «important implications that are potentially detrimental to qualitative social science» (Wiles *et al.*, 2011, p. 597).

Particularly in research with subaltern subjects, and especially when using visual tools and languages, and even more so in the case of comics, we should always ask ourselves who can speak for, represent and draw these subjects, which of their aesthetic features can be emphasised, which aspects of their identity, which biographical and everyday experiences, and with which «representative habitus» and «aesthetic» sensibilities and perspectives. It would also be worth exploring the different ways in which ethnographic practice can be translated into images, and the implications this has for the discourse produced (Gusmeroli, 2022; see also Rainford, 2021). And we should also consider how academics engage in censorship, both in their representation and in their selection of particular texts and images. These are certainly not new questions, but should now be applied to this new discursive context.

4. The special issue

The following theoretical and empirical contributions aim to stimulate reflection on how comics can be used and what they can do as multimodal and sequential methods of data elicitation, collection, analysis, and dissemination.

The special issue opens with Monica Sassatelli's reflections on the less explored aspects of using narrative drawing in the early stages of research, highlighting its role as an integral part of the process rather than as an element to be integrated afterwards. Her theoretical discussion is accompanied by examples that combine photo-tracing, drawing and narrative, and considers how drawing, as an alternative way of note-taking and a different way of interacting with participants, helps us to see more deeply and think differently.

Adriano Cancellieri critically examines the use of comics in urban ethnography by reflecting on the graphic anthology *Quartieri: Viaggio al centro delle periferie italiane* (Neighbourhoods: A Journey to the Centre of Italian Suburbs), an experimental initiative that uses comics to portray five marginalised neighbourhoods. The analysis begins by reflecting on the potential of using the language of comics as a tool both for ethnographic research and for broadening the target audience of academic research, but also on the challenges and difficulties in achieving this goal. He shows how the language of comics can be particularly useful for urban research, especially on stigmatised spaces and places. Drawing on his experience with *Quartieri*, he identifies three key tensions within the comic form that are particularly relevant to this type of research, addressing both the strengths and the often-overlooked limitations of the medium: the dialectic between textual and visual elements, the multiscalarity of this visual perspective, and its «intrinsic chronotopic dimension».

Fernando Garlin Politis's comic article explores how Venezuelan migrants use humour during their migratory journeys as a way of coping with exclusion and contesting humanitarian and governmental representations. Through his drawings of anecdotes and jokes made in exile, he seeks to analyse humour and laughter on migration routes after conducting a 16-month ethnography on the Colombian-Venezuelan border. He points out that on migration routes, at clandestine crossings, and in humanitarian camps and squats, exiles use a wide

range of humour to cope with the difficulties they encounter. Migration is rarely understood in terms of humour, because humour does not seem to suit people in exile. Dramatic and tragic images of migratory journeys leave little room for the comic dimension, which coexists with the drama. Laughter is a burst of voices, an impulse that finds its strength in the echo of acquiescence; it is one of the ways in which exiled people can enact resistance without articulating a message that could disturb the official discourse. Garlin Politis's comic article has a twofold purpose: on the one hand, it aims to reveal the fundamental role of humour in the context of mass migration, recognising it as a key element that shapes both institutional and humanitarian discourses; on the other hand, it attempts to portray migrants' experiences through an experimental format.

The article by Carmen Grimm, Julia Kela, and Henry-Paul Ontto-Panula discusses the co-creation of an ethno-graphic novel in the field of criminalisation. An intimate conversation between the three authors reflects on the collaboration between anthropologists, artists and activists; a collaboration that has multifaceted implications. Their dialogue covers many topics: from the ethno-graphic novel as a methodological tool to theory; from the anthropology of criminalisation to the politics of emotion and representation. They describe the process and results of transforming anthropological data into an ethno-graphic novel, arguing that this approach altered the whole research process as well as their relationships with correspondents and actors in the field. Highlighting tensions in the process, they look critically at the choices made in their «translations» and ask: is it possible to effectively challenge «criminal» tropes and locate the potentialities of «figuring» images of criminality, making visible genealogies of crime and shaping the way we think about these fields?

Sarah Walker and Antonio Mirizzi's contribution critically assesses the extent to which the graphic medium challenges dominant narratives of migration, particularly in relation to young black men, and is able to provide alternative representations of youth mobility. Drawing on «slow» ethnographic research, their article examines the transition to adulthood of young African men hosted in a reception centre for unaccompanied male minors in Northern Italy. The young men are presented both as wrestlers – capable of taking care of themselves and others – and in need of support. They reflect on the possibilities that the spatial grammar of the comic form offers for opening up these multiple narratives and how it allows potentially decolonising imaginaries to emerge. They thus interrogate the graphic form as a means of challenging binary logics and allowing the complexities of young migrant identities and the ways in which they are racialised to come to the fore.

While Garlin Politis's article is the only one expressed through the language of comics, all the contributions to this special issue are accompanied by drawings, cartoons and speech balloons, demonstrating the synergy and mutual enrichment of ethnography and comics.

References

- Al-Jawad, Muna, MK Czerwicz
 2019 «Comics», in C. M. Klugman, E. G. Lamb (Eds.), *Research Methods in Health Humanities*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 78-99.
- Atalay, Sonia, Letizia Bonanno, Sally Campbell Galman, Sarah Jacqz, Ryan Rybka Rybka, Jen Shannon, Cary Speck, John Swogger, Erica Wolenceck
 2019 «Ethno/Graphic Storytelling: Communicating Research and Exploring Pedagogical Approaches through Graphic Narratives Drawings, and Zines», in *American Anthropologist*, 121, 3, pp. 769-772.
- Ball, Susan, Chris Gilligan
 2010 «Visualising Migration and Social Division: Insights from Social Sciences and the Visual Arts», in *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11, 2, pp. 1-33.
- Barberis, Eduardo, Barbara Grüning
 2021 «Doing Social Sciences via Comics and Graphic Novels. An Introduction», in *Sociologica*, 15, 1, pp. 125-142.
- Barnes, David
 2009 «Time in the Gutter: Temporal Structures in Watchmen», in *KronoScope*, 9, 1-2, pp. 51-60.
- Bartlett, Ruth Louise
 2013 «Playing with Meaning: Using Cartoons to Disseminate Research Findings», in *Qualitative Research*, 13, pp. 214-227.
- Barry, Linda
 2008 *What It Is, Montreal*, Drawn & Quarterly.
- Benvenuti, Giuliana
 2019 «Il Graphic Novel: una quaestio de centauris?», in R. Gasperina Geroni, F. Milani (Eds.), *La modernità letteraria e le declinazioni del visivo: Arti, cinema, fotografia e nuove tecnologie*, Pisa, ETS, pp. 83-102.
- Cardano, Mario
 2020 *Defending Qualitative Research: Design, Analysis, and Textualization*, London, Routledge.
- Cuthbert, Karen
 2022 «Researching “Non-Sexualities” via Creative Notebooks: Epistemology, Embodiment and Empowerment», in *Qualitative Research*, 22, 6, pp. 897-915.
- Della Puppa, Francesco, Francesco Matteuzzi, Francesco Saresin
 2021 *La Linea dell’Orizzonte: Un Ethnographic Novel sulla Migrazione tra Bangladesh, Italia e Londra*, Padova, BeccoGiallo.
- Dix, Benjamin, Raminder Kaur; with illustrations by Lindsay Pollock
 2019 «Drawing-Writing Culture: The Truth-Fiction Spectrum of an Ethno-Graphic Novel on the Sri Lankan Civil War and Migration», in *Visual Anthropology Review*, 35, 1, pp. 76-111.

- Forde, Shawn
2021 «Drawing Your Way into Ethnographic Research: Comics and Drawing as Arts-Based Methodology», in *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 14, 4, pp. 648-667.
- Gibson, James J.
1966 *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
- Grimshaw, Anna
2015 «Undisciplined Practices: Experimenting with Anthropological Form», in A. Bammer, R. Boetcher Joeres (Eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Writing: Critical Interventions*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 157-189.
- Gusmeroli, Paolo
2022 «Francesco Della Puppa, Francesco Matteuzzi e Francesco Saresin (2021). La Linea dell'Orizzonte: Un Ethnographic Novel sulla Migrazione tra Bangladesh, Italia e Londra», in *Mondi Migranti*, 2, pp. 233-235.
- Ingold, Tim
2011 *Redrawing Anthropology Materials, Movements, Lines*, Routledge, London.
- Kara, Helen
2015 *Creative Research Methods in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*, Bristol, Policy Press.
- Kuipers, Giselinde, Federico Ghedini
2021 «Beauty: Triggering the Sociological Imagination with a Webcomic», in *Sociologica*, 15, 1, pp. 143-162.
- Kuttner, Paul J., Nick Sousanis, Mark B. Weaver-Hightower
2017 «How to Draw Comics the Scholarly Way: Creating Comics-Based Research in the Academy», in P. Leavy (Ed.), *Handbook of Arts-Based Research*, New York, Guilford Press, pp. 396-424.
- Kuttner, Paul J., Marcus B. Weaver-Hightower, Nick Sousanis
2021 «Comics-Based Research: The Affordances of Comics for Research across Disciplines», in *Qualitative Research*, 21, 2, pp. 195-214.
- Leavy, Patricia (Ed.)
2017 *Handbook of Arts-Based Research*, New York, Guilford Press.
- Lyon, Philippa
2020 «Using Drawing in Visual Research: Materializing the Invisible», in *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, Sage, pp. 297-308.
- Marcus, George E.
1995 «Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography», in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, pp. 95-117.
- Martikainen, Jari, Eemeli Hakoköngäs
2022 «Drawing as a Method of Researching Social Representations», in *Qualitative Research*, 23, 4, pp. 1-19.
- McCloud, Scott
1994 *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, New York, Harper Perennial.

- Moretti, Veronica
2023 *Understanding Comics-Based Research: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*, Bingley, Emerald.
- Norman, Donald A.
1999 «Affordance, Conventions, and Design», in *Interactions*, 6, 3, pp. 38-43.
- Orlikowski, Wanda
2007 «Sociomaterial Practices: Exploring Technology at Work», in *Organization Studies*, 28, 9, pp. 1435-1448.
- Pigg, Stacy Leigh
2013 «On Sitting and Doing: Ethnography as Action in Global Health», in *Social Science & Medicine*, 99, pp. 127-134.
- Prosser, Jon
2007 «Visual Methods and the Visual Culture of Schools», in *Visual Studies*, 22, 1, pp. 13-30.
- Rainford, Jon
2021 «Stripping Back the Novelty: A Critical Reflection on the Dual Use of a Comic-Based Approach to Engage Participants and Publics», in *Methodological Innovations*, 14, 3.
- Rose, Gillian
2016 *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, London, Sage.
- Sousanis, Nick
2015 *Unflattening*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Snyder, Eldon E.
1997 «Teaching the Sociology of Sport: Using a Comic Strip in the Classroom», in *Teaching Sociology*, 25, 3, pp. 239-243.
- Taussig, Michael
2011 *I Swear I Saw This: Drawings in Fieldwork Notebooks, Namely My Own*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Venkatesan, Satharaj, Sweetha Saji
2016 «Rhetorics of the Visual: Graphic Medicine, Comics and its Affordances», in *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, VIII, 3, 0975-2935.
- Wiles, Rose, Graham Crow, Helen Pain
2011 «Innovation in Qualitative Research Methods: A Narrative Review», in *Qualitative Research*, 11, 5, pp. 587-604.
- Williams, Ian
2012 «Graphic Medicine: Comics as Medical Narrative», in *Medical Humanities*, 38, 1, pp. 21-27.

