

# Performing Tourist Photography & Social Life

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*An Examination of the Photographic Events of International Students in Florida*

Gwenda van der Vaart  
Master thesis Master Regional Studies, Spaces & Places, Analysis & Interventions  
Faculty of Spatial Sciences,  
University of Groningen  
The Netherlands

Supervisor: dr. Bettina van Hoven

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Gwenda van der Vaart  
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Grootegast

## **Abstract**

Tourism is part of the global economy and is one of the major forces shaping meaning in the lives of people. An important and indispensable component of tourism is photography, which is of central importance for people's memories, identity and social relations. This research focuses on international students in Gainesville, Florida, the United States of America, and explores how performing tourist photography influences their social life, both with regard to their self-presentation and identity, and in interacting and bonding with others.

On-site observation during a day trip from the UF NaviGators (a student organization from The University of Florida for both American and international students) and ten in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation were conducted in order to gather data.

Findings show the role that tourist photography plays in the international students' identity construction and communication, and revealed that the participants deliberately construct and handle their photographs in certain ways by deploying certain strategic impression management strategies, in this way managing their identity. Here, they are influenced by societal and group pressures, which are – following Actor-Network-Theory – part of the hybridity of tourist photography, and thus, influence the participants' performances. It became evident that tourist photography not only has an influence on one's social life, but that one's social life also has an influence on one's photographic performances.

With regard to interacting and bonding with others, the findings indicate that tourist photography plays a role, though the participants may not always consciously realize this themselves. It became clear that photography contributes to a group identity among the UF NaviGators. Here, group photographs play a crucial role, being a medium through which people articulate their connections to groups, and which can re-confirm social bonds. Furthermore, thanks to the digitalization of the past decades, more collective photographic performances and social interactions around photography are allowed. This affects the way people socialize and interact, and therefore, their relations, nowadays this, for example, often involves 'face-to-screen' sociality. In today's society, the touristic and the everyday become increasingly linked, making photographs more and more important as mediums to communicate and have social interaction.

# Table of contents

Acknowledgement.....	1
Abstract .....	2
Table of contents.....	3
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Theoretical framework.....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Conceptualizing tourist photography .....	8
2.1.1 Tourists as passive consumers .....	8
2.1.2 Tourists as active cultural producers.....	9
2.2 Photography .....	10
2.2.1 Power to the people?.....	10
2.2.2 The use and function of tourist photography .....	11
2.2.2.1 Tourist photography as a memory tool.....	12
2.2.2.2 Tourist photography as a tool for identity construction and communication....	13
2.2.2.3 Shifts in use and function of photography .....	15
2.2.3 The hybridity of tourist photography .....	16
2.2.4 Digitalization .....	11
2.2.4.1 Quantity of photographs.....	12
2.2.4.2 Making and sharing photographs.....	13
2.2.4.3 Creativity, playfulness and experimentation.....	15
2.2.4.4 Possibilities of editing .....	13
2.2.4.5 Degree of collectiveness .....	15
2.2.4.6 Role of digitalization in shifts in the balance between photography's uses .....	15
2.3 Performances.....	23
2.3.1 Approaching tourist photography – using a performance approach.....	23
2.3.2 Performances to influence the result of the shutter button release.....	27
2.3.3 Performing sociality through the photographic act.....	28
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>31</b>
3.1 Qualitative research .....	31
3.2 Data collection techniques.....	31
3.2.1 On-site observation.....	32
3.2.2 In-depth interviews with photo-elicitation .....	33

3.3 The research participants.....	35
3.4 Research ethics.....	37
3.4.1 Informed consent.....	37
3.4.2 Confidentiality & Anonymity .....	38
3.4.3 Copyright.....	39
3.4.4 Reflexivity.....	39
3.5 The analysis .....	40
<b>4. Findings .....</b>	<b>41</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	41
4.2 Memories and self-identity .....	41
4.3 Strategic impression management.....	45
4.3.1 Presenting the self during the photographic act .....	46
4.3.1.1 Framing the holiday picture .....	46
4.3.1.2 Posing performances .....	47
4.3.2 Handling the result: the holiday photograph.....	53
4.4 Photography and interacting with others.....	58
4.4.1 Establishing and reinforcing social relations.....	58
4.4.2 Group identity.....	62
<b>5. Conclusion and discussion.....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>6. References .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>7. Appendix .....</b>	<b>75</b>
7.1 Appendix 1: Interview guideline.....	75
7.2 Appendix 2 .....	81
7.3 Appendix 3: Consent form .....	81

## 1. Introduction

Tourism has risen to the top of the global economy, and has worked its way into everyone's imaginations and realities (Delfin, 2009). An important and indispensable component of tourism is photography. As Markwell (1997, p. 131) argued "to be a tourist is to be, almost by necessity, a photographer". Photography is not only crucial because of its role in the promotion of tourism destinations, but also because tourists themselves engage on a large scale in snapping holiday pictures. In today's (Western) society, almost everyone has a camera, and as Robinson & Picard (2009, p. 1) note, "we are almost perpetually primed to click".

In the past, the photographic act was often portrayed as a rapid, visual practice, involving just a 'press on the button', and tourist photographers were seen as passive consumers (see Carpenter, 1972 in: Chalfen, 1979; Albers & James, 1988, Urry, 2002; Jenkins, 2003; Larsen, 2004; Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). Tourists were seen as being framed by the tourism industry's economy of signs, being part of a disembodied 'hermeneutic circle of reproduction', rather than framing their photographs themselves. They were believed to, with their own photographs, replicate already existing images of promotional materials such as postcards and brochures (see Sontag (1978); Albers & James (1988); Carpenter (1972) in: Chalfen (1979); Urry (2002); Jenkins (2003); Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). The concept of the hermeneutic circle of reproduction portrays the 'performed nature' of actual photographic-sightseeing. Larsen (2004, p. 5) points to Osborne (2000) when stating that this concept essentially portrays commercial/professional photography as an "all-powerful machinery that turns the photographic performances of tourists into a ritual of 'quotation' where they [the tourist photographers] are framed and fixed rather than framing and exploring". The tourist experience is seen as superficial and the photographs produced as cliché and trivial (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). This conceptualization of tourist photography renders an image of tourist photography as an over-determined stage that permits no space for self-expression, creativity and the unexpected (Larsen, 2004; Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). It views the tourist as a passive sightseer, "'all eyes, no bodies' - consuming sights in prescribed fashions and places become lifeless, predetermined and purely cultural" (Larsen, 2004, p. 6). It produces 'lifeless tourists', 'boring photographs' and 'dead geographies' (ibid.). The concept of the hermeneutic circle of reproduction erases the activity and knowledge of tourists themselves (Cragg, 1999), and in this 'productionist' view to consumption people are rendered standardized and passive, with little role for human agency (Finnegan, 1989, 1997, in: Crouch, 1999). Larsen (2004) even states that it essentially effaces tourists.

However, recently a shift in the literature on tourist photography has occurred, thanks to a 'performance turn', which can be traced to the late 1990s in tourism theory (see Larsen, 2008a). Where the old conceptualization of tourist photography makes invisible that photographic gazing is in fact an active practice that partly transforms the places where they take place (Cragg, 1999, in: Larsen, 2004), and conceals that tourists are busy producing *personal* and precious photo-narratives with significant others (Larsen, 2004), this new conceptualization of tourist photography sees tourists with cameras as active cultural producers who, through unique experiences, playfully re-create the spaces and people they photograph (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). Increasingly, more attention is paid to the social practices and performances that are connected to tourist photography (see Cragg (1999), Markwell (1997), Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Scarles (2009), Yeh (2009),

Larsen (2004, 2005), Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). The photographic act is, for example, seen as strengthening bonds among fellow tourists, and cameras as bringing a shared identity into a group's space and establishing a web of relations within the group (Yeh, 2009). It is acknowledged that the making of photographs is significantly bound up with and revolves around social relations, and both photography and tourism are regarded as major social practices through which modern people produce storied biographies and memories that provide sense to their selves and their social relations (Larsen, 2004; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Opposite the scholars who regarded tourist photographers as passive consumers, there are scholars who regard tourist photographers as active performers, actively involved in the construction of identities and visualities (see Stylianou-Lambert (2012)).

Tourism is one of the major forces shaping meaning in the lives of people, with tourist photography being of central importance for their memories, identity and social relations (see, for instance, Markwell (1997), Larsen (2005), Yeh (2009), Haldrup & Larsen (2003; 2010)). The visual medium is central to how most people navigate their daily life, and plays an inescapable part in the way the world is experienced, and how people come to know and interact with their social worlds (Hodgetts et al., 2007; Garlick, 2002). Despite the fact that photographing is such an emblematic tourism performance, little research has explored *why* and *how* tourists do photography (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), and more research on this topic is needed. Larsen (2004, p. 7) argues that in order to research topics such as photography and tourism, which are “notoriously ‘light’ yet normative-ridden phenomenon [...] one needs to be curious and seek grounded understandings, rather than waving (often) pre-emptive, normative denunciation that has plagued tourist studies for such a long time (Crang, 1999, p. 247)”. So far, studies have mostly overlooked the extent to which tourism is concerned with (re)producing social relations and neglected issues of sociality (Larsen et al., 2007) and there have been few explorations of tourism as a set of performances (Edensor, 2000), which would help to conceptualize the diverse nature of the tourist experience. In addition, the digitalization of the past decades has far reaching consequences for people's (social) lives and performances, and as Larsen (2013, personal communication) states, the fact that photography has gone digital/virtual makes it even more necessary to research what happens to photography and the way in people picture themselves, their social relations and places. Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009) also stress the need for more research into the implications of the current ongoing changes, as it, for instance, entails a reconfiguration of the public and private realms.

This research aims to assess the role that performing tourist photography can play in one's social life, both with regard to self-identity and the way one presents oneself, and in interacting and bonding with others. In order to investigate this topic, the research specifically focuses on international students in Gainesville, Florida, the United States of America as tourist photographers, aiming to generate a better understanding of their photographic events performed in context of a day trip<sup>1</sup>. Hereby, it is aimed to contribute to the existing literature, responding to the gaps that are distinguished above.

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<sup>1</sup> See 3.3 ‘The research participants’ for a reflection on this focus.

To explore the international students' photographic events performed in the context of a day trip, and the way this influences their social life, the following main question will be answered in this research:

*“What role does performing tourist photography play in international students' social life, both with regard to their self-presentation and identity, and in interacting and bonding with others?”*

The topic is explored in line of the new tourist photography conceptualization described above. It is approached by making use of a performance approach, which is concerned with “how photography takes place and the embodied, social and hybridized work involved in doing photography here and now, at the ‘scene’ or at a distance” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 152). Furthermore, by drawing on Actor-Network-Theory, the hybridity of tourist photography is acknowledged, regarding photographic performances as resulting from relations between social, natural and technological actors (see Michael (2000)), and acknowledging the link between the everyday and the tourist performance (Larsen et al., 2007). In order to answer the research question, a case study in Gainesville, Florida, the United States of America was conducted. On-site observation and in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation were used as data collection methods. The on-site observation was done during a day trip organized by the UF NaviGators, a student organization from The University of Florida (UF) for both American and international students<sup>2</sup>. The on-site observation served as a way to recruit participants for the in-depth interviews, and the photographs made during the day trip, served as input for the interviews which were conducted with photo-elicitation. Furthermore, together with the observations, they functioned as examples to draw on during the interviews and analysis.

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of this research. Chapter 3 discusses the choices made concerning the research methodology. Chapter 4 focuses on the findings of the research, and lastly, chapter 5 presents the conclusions.

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<sup>2</sup> See <http://navigatorsintl.com/>: “We are a group of students at The University of Florida whose goal is to ensure that international students studying at UF grow to love Gainesville and UF as much as we do. We work to make the international students' experience in this country as fun and exciting as possible, and give them an insider's glimpse into American culture through excursions, socials, and cultural events. Along with teaching about American culture and learning about others, we strive to match each student with an American mentor. We seek to create lasting friendships and great memories. The Gator Nation is everywhere; come join us!”.



## **2. Theoretical framework**

This research examines photographic events that international students in Florida engage in, and the role that performing tourist photography plays in their social life, both with regard to their identity and self-presentation, and in interacting and bonding with others. To examine this complex topic, an exploration of the literature in the field of tourist photography is needed. This chapter presents the theoretical framework for the research and focuses on the following topics: first, tourist photography is conceptualized, making a distinction between the old view in which tourists are seen as passive consumers and the new view in which they are seen as active cultural producers. Second, more background on photography is provided. Attention is paid to the apparent increase in power of the general public by the advent of the camera, and two main uses and functions of tourist photography are discussed (i.e. photography's use as a tool for remembering and as a tool for identity construction and communication). Furthermore, elaboration is given, through drawing on Actor-Network-Theory, on the hybridity of tourist photography. Finally, and indispensable in the current times, this section discusses the digitalization of the past decades by focusing on the consequences of the advent of digital photography. Third, by drawing on a performance approach and theatre metaphors, background on how to approach tourist photography is given, and attention is paid to performances to influence the result of the shutter button release and performances of sociality through the photographic act.

### ***2.1 Conceptualizing tourist photography***

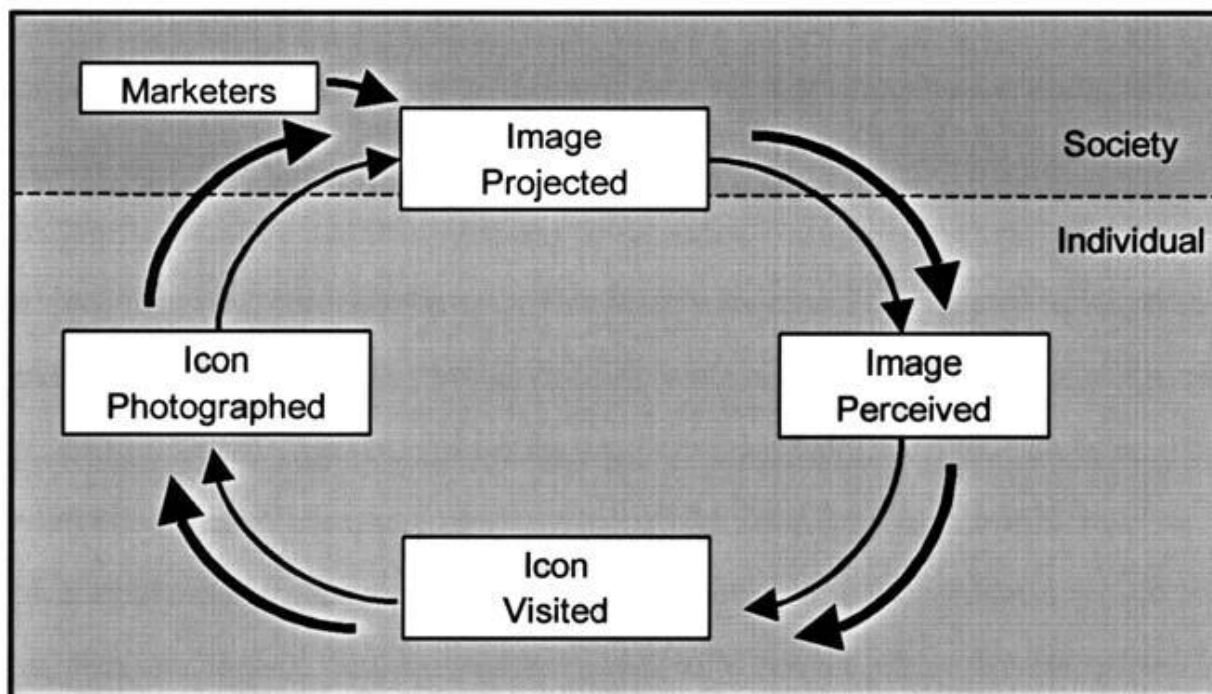
#### **2.2.1 Tourists as passive consumers**

In the past, the conventional way of portraying tourist photography entailed seeing tourists with cameras as passive consumers of places who, with their own photographs, reproduce images that they have encountered in promotional material such as postcards, websites, etcetera. This is referred to as the *hermeneutic circle of reproduction* or *circle of representation* (see Carpenter (1972) in: Chalfen (1979); Albers & James (1988); Urry (2002); Jenkins (2003); Larsen (2004); Stylianou-Lambert (2012)); and can be visually represented as in Figure 1.

Jenkins (2003) explains the hermeneutic circle of reproduction as follows: the mass media projects certain images of tourist destinations, which are perceived by individuals who subsequently may become inspired to travel to the destination. When at the destination, the individual will likely visit the main tourist icons and attractions seen in the projected images, and, using a camera, record his/her experience. Back home, these personal photographs are displayed to friends and family, partly as proof of the visit. This latter can be seen as another form of image projection, which begins the cycle again by influencing the perceived images held by other individuals.

One of the advocates of the concept of the hermeneutic circle of reproduction is Urry (2002). He developed the paradigm of the 'tourist gaze' as a means of understanding how tourism is produced and reproduced as a socially constructed phenomenon. The tourist gaze is a particular way of seeing the world, and is enforced on tourists and conditioned by the imagery of the tourism industry (Garrod, 2009). Commercial images, for example, indicate what is extraordinary, important and worth seeing and in so doing, structure the tourist gaze. Urry (2002) uses the

concept of the hermeneutic circle to illustrate the choreographed nature of photographic sightseeing. He argues that the fundamental motivation of tourists to travel to destinations is to gaze on the buildings, landscapes, etcetera they have been led to expect to find there by the visual representations in tourism promotional materials; i.e. to consume places visually (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Related to this, although several decades earlier, Sontag (1978) even argues that tourism has become a strategy for the accumulation of photographs; “to collect photographs is to collect the world” (Sontag, 2002, p. 174).



**Figure 1:** The 'circle of representation' for tourist destination images (after Hall, 1997) (source: Jenkins, 2003).

In this conceptualization of tourist photography, an image of tourist photography as an over-determined stage that permits no space for self-expression, creativity and the unexpected is rendered (Larsen, 2004; Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). It produces 'lifeless tourists', 'boring photographs' and 'dead geographies' (Larsen, 2004, p. 6), and people are rendered as standardized and passive, with little role for human agency (Finnegan, 1989, 1997, in: Crouch, 1999).

### 2.1.2 Tourists as active cultural producers

Recently, a shift in the conceptualization of tourist photography has occurred, thanks to a 'performance turn', which can be traced to the late 1990s in tourism theory (see Larsen (2008a)). This turn is formed in opposition to representational approaches privileging the eye and discourses such as the 'tourist gaze', by arguing that "tourism demands new metaphors based more on being, touching and seeing rather than just 'seeing'" (Clope & Perkins, 1998, p. 189). Increasingly, scholars are pointing to the social and performed acts connected to tourism photography. This new conceptualization of tourist photography sees tourists with cameras as active cultural producers who, through unique experiences, playfully re-create the spaces and people they photograph

(Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). Here, the focus is more on the social practices and performances that are involved in the 'doing' of photography (see Crang (1999), Markwell (1997), Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Larsen (2004, 2005), Scarles (2009), Yeh (2009), Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). In this conceptualization, tourists are empowered and viewed as performers who are actively involved in the construction of identities and visualities. Furthermore, the everyday and the tourist performance are linked (see Larsen (2005)). Tourists never just travel *to* places, but their social relations, routines and mindsets travel *with* them (Larsen, 2008a). A tourist brings his/her body to the tourist stage and therefore, issues as race, gender and age are also at stage (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012). Moreover, most tourism performances are performed collectively; many tourists experience the world in the company of family members or friends and thus, do not only bring their own body, but travel and perform with other bodies too (Larsen, 2008a). Therefore, complex personal and group relationships are also at play (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012).

Two scholars particularly stressing the sociality, reflexivity and embodied performances of tourist photography are Haldrup & Larsen (2003). In contrast to the desire to consume places, they suggest a different motivational basis to tourist photography, which focuses more on social activities. In this view, the tourist destination is, for example, the setting for the 'family gaze', which uses tourism merely as a stage for framing personal stories revolving around social relations (in particular the family). Haldrup & Larsen (2003) describe both photography and tourism as major social practices through which modern people produce storied biographies and memories that provide sense to their selves and their social relations. Crang (1999) also points to these social practices, arguing that people practice tourism/leisure using the activity of photographing and objects like photographs to articulate friendship, sociality and embodiment. Instead of seeing 'snapping a picture' as another example of the detached gaze, he sees it as an embodied and social event in itself.

## ***2.2 Photography***

### **2.2.1 Power to the people?**

Thanks to current technological developments in the form of affordable and easily manageable cameras, tourists are enabled to capture the world themselves. Robinson & Picard (2009) state that cameras enable tourists to playfully create their own narratives of being elsewhere, of being on a tourist destination. According to them, the dependency upon the 'professional eye' has come to an end with the widespread ownership of cameras. By 1899, the hand-held Kodak camera was already marketed, and the 'Box Brownie', the camera that – as George Eastman (founder of the Kodak company) claimed – everyone could afford and was easy enough for children to use, was about to be launched (Holland, 2009), which practically marked the advent of amateur photography. This also entailed an *apparent* liberation from an 'expert' framing of the world: "the camera as a personal object enhanced (in theory at least), not only the individualization of 'seeing the world' and situating ourselves in images of it (Berger 1972), but also allowed us to participate in the very construction of these images" (Robinson & Picard, 2009, p. 6). Taking a photograph necessarily involves a 'framing' of the world, and tourists now have the power to frame their own photographs

and thus decide themselves what will be the subject of the photograph. In this way, they can decide upon what subjects to include and therefore, also which other subjects – such as people or parts of the landscape – to exclude. This leads Robinson & Picard (2009) to argue that the act of taking a holiday picture is an ambiguous process, as framing a photograph removes a sense of context. Photographs can be seen as the result of an active signifying practice, in which the photographer selects, structures, and shapes what is going to be photographed, and in addition, can further edit and alter what is eventually printed (Hall, 1982, in: Albers & James, 1988). Since photographing involves a framing of the world, a photograph in itself both fractures space and fragments time. When taking a photograph, a moment of time is frozen and a sense of context is removed; the resultant image is disconnected from the wider landscape (Robinson & Picard, 2009; Yeh, 2009). Thus, inherent to the act of photography is the act of power, the power to frame a photograph as one wants. Unwanted objects are excluded and desirable ones included. Through the act of photography, a photographer can exercise his or her power to control *how* to see and *what* to see; the photographer frames the view. A photograph is thus never just merely an objective representation of reality, but a subjectively constituted 'way of seeing' (Sontag, 1978; Berger, 1972, Barthes, 1977, in: Albers & James, 1983).

In addition, with regard to the digitalization of the past two decades, and the related, more public character of photographs in case they are uploaded online, people also have power over who knows what about them (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009)<sup>3</sup>. People develop strategies of 'control' over their images not only by framing the way in which they are taken and staged, but also by deciding which ones they will display online, and manipulating their pictures<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, as Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009) note, this is a relative control, since once the images are shared online, the owner can hardly control what happens to them. Fortunately, Internet users are quite aware of the limited control they hold about their personal data, according to them.

## **2.2.2 The use and function of tourist photography**

The ways in which cameras are used are a fundamental issue in understanding the role of photography and its relation with tourism (Yeh, 2009). In a general view, Urry (1990, p. 139) argues that photography gives shape to travel: "it is the reason for stopping, to take (snap) a photograph, and then to move on". Here, the camera as a tool can be a burden too, as tourists can fear to miss certain sites/sights that the guidebooks inform them they need to 'see', and hence miss photo-opportunities (Yeh, 2009; Urry, 1990). In order to understand the role that photography plays in international students' social life, two main uses and functions of tourist photography are discussed below: first, the role that photography plays in 'recording' a trip and triggering memory; and second, photography's role in identity construction and communication, both of the own identity and of collective identities. Finally, the shift in use and function of photography are discussed.

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<sup>3</sup> See also 2.2.4.2 'Making and sharing photographs'.

<sup>4</sup> See also 2.2.4.4 'Possibilities of editing'

### 2.2.2.1 Tourist photography as a memory tool

A major function of photography is its role in accumulating memories. Larsen (2004) points out that, although it is often argued that tourism is essentially about having pleasurable experiences while being away from home, tourism is fuelled as much by the desire to accumulate memories for future pleasures. In order to safeguard one's memories, people almost always turn to a camera (see Yeh (2009), Markwell (1997), Larsen (2004), Jenkins (2003), Haldrup & Larsen, (2003)). Photographs are seen as a powerful medium of memories and are used to reconstruct them (Yeh, 2009). In addition to other forms of souvenir making, photographs seem to play an important role in relating the specific time-space of tourism to the everyday life back home (Robinson & Picard, 2009). Photographs that are brought home after a holiday help to shape memories of the trip in the post-travel stage (Markwell, 1997). As becomes clear from Haldrup & Larsen's (2003) work, few tourists have faith in unmediated memory, in their "own mental and embodied 'pictures'" (Larsen, 2004, p. 174). To have been there, having seen the scene with one's own eyes and sensed it with the whole of one's body, is apparently no guarantee for remembering, and because of the fear of forgetting one's 'summer delights', tourists reach for their cameras (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Larsen, 2004). Garlick (2002) explains that there is the thought that in 'capturing' people on photographs, tourists are converting them into resources. The resulting pictures later 'stand by', ready for (re)presentation to anyone viewing the pictures as evidence of the holiday.

Clearly, tourists use camera's in order to have a record of their holiday, but there is more to this: as Haldrup & Larsen (2003, p. 27) argue, the social significance of performing photography during one's holiday far exceeds that of the holiday itself: "Through picturing practices tourists strive for accumulating idealized memory-stories that make the fleeting tourist experience a lasting part of their personal and familial narrative". Peoples' photography work is animated by deep-felt desires for capturing delightful experiences – which are otherwise destined to exist only for a single moment – in an image-form, into eternal images (Larsen, 2004). Haldrup & Larsen (2003, p. 27) state that this explains the attraction of the camera, and why picturing an event "has become an essential part, if not the most important part, of an event". They point to Ivin (cited in Chalfen, 1987, p. 29) who even argued that: "at any given moment the accepted report of an event is of greater importance than the event, for what we think about and act upon is the symbolic report and not the concrete event itself". In this sense, tourist events are not so much experienced in itself but for its future memory (Crang, 1997). The desire to stop time is tourist photography's magical goal, and by taking pictures, tourists long to immortalize their shared experiences for future pleasures (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Photographs halt time and enable people to travel back in time, "to connect with, and revive memories of, events and people through 'imaginative travel'" (Larsen, 2004, p. 174).

However, although photographs can play such a strong role in remembering, holiday photographs are not receptacles for memories. They are never in any simple sense 'containers of fixed memory-stories', stored there for good and waiting to be consumed (Larsen, 2004, p. 176; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 40). As Haldrup & Larsen (2003) explain, it is an active – and often communal – process that makes photographic memories possible. It is in people's actual use of the photographs that they are enlivened and become full of life. As much as they are recalled from photographs, memories are created; and these recollections never remain the same (Dijck, 2008). Photographic memory is a complex of relational interactions between the photographs and humans and here,

links to Actor-Network-Theory can be drawn. By pointing to Pocock (1982), Larsen (2004, p. 176) states that “memory moves and lives in the body, and is much richer than our images, but in order to be activated the ‘dead accuracy’ of photographs perform wonders”.

Furthermore, a photograph does not capture just one memory, but instead, can better be seen as providing visual prompts and locations for memories and stories, and functioning as a starting point on which to hang personal stories (Crang, 1997). A photograph can set off a train of memories and memory-talk that moves far beyond what the image actually depicts. Photographs can trigger memories about what happened before and after the shooting event, or as Haldrup & Larsen (2003, p. 40) said: “the memories and meanings articulated through, and attached to, the image’s fixed moment have spatial and temporal flexibility”. This also extends to memories other than the visual, such as the taste of the food, the heat of the sun, the smell of the landscape and so on (Larsen, 2004).

Since a photograph’s story (or better, stories) is surrounded by so much flexibility and as it is not a bearer of a fixed memory, new meanings can be constantly produced around it; the meanings (and values) of photographs are seldom static. As Larsen (2004) explains, photographic memories and narratives travel in time, just as people move through life. Although a picture is an image of the past and shows us that past, the photograph is in fact always about today: what do we do with them and how do we use them? (see Kuhn (1995)). As Kuhn (1995, p. 19) said: “these traces of our former lives are pressed into service in a never-ending process of making, remaking, making sense of, our selves – now”. This is where another important use of photography comes in, and to this attention is turned in the next sub-section.

### **2.2.2.2 Tourist photography as a tool for identity construction and communication**

Williams (2009) states that tourism is an influential area of consumption in today’s society and constitutes an important medium through which people express their identity, both through the styles of tourism that they embrace and the performances that they deliver as tourists. With regard to tourist photography this latter is of greatest importance, since it also involves the photographic acts that tourists perform. As explained earlier, by performing photography tourists strive to make the fleeting tourist experiences a lasting part of their life-narrative. Narratives play an important role in the ways people make sense of themselves and their relationships, and tourist photography is part of this, being an integral component in the production of identity and social relations (Larsen, 2004). Tourist experiences in the form of photographs have an enduring after-life; they become a vital part of people’s life-stories and spaces of everyday life (Larsen, 2004) and are thus an inseparable part of people’s identity (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Here, in the construction of self-identity, memory plays a crucial role. Dijck (2008) points to Barthes (1981[1980]) who already emphasized this close interconnection in the late 1970s, arguing that photographs are visible reminders of former appearances, “inviting us to reflect on ‘what has been’ but, by the same token, they tell us how we *should* remember our selves as younger persons. We remodel our self-image to the pictures taken at previous moments in time” (ibid., p. 63). The construction of self-identity involves a relation to the past, whereby events located in another time and space bring their force to bear on the present (Garlick, 2002). Photographs enable people to relate their present situation

both to other times and to other spaces or places in particular ways. According to Garlick (2002), these connections affect both our sense of stability in our identities and our sense of change.

Crang (1997) explains that the role that photographs play in one's identity works in two ways: 1) serving as 'landmarks of what is significant' to the individual, being a material link with the time and events captured in them; and 2) as functioning as starting-points whereby the viewer and owner can weave further stories. With regard to this latter, holiday photographs can have a strong social validatory role in that they allow for the communication and projection of the self (Robinson & Picard, 2009). The narration of touristic experiences to others through the showing of photographs of the destination<sup>5</sup> is an integral component in affirming the assumed status derived from the holiday – which is a powerful signifier of identity, status and social aspiration (Williams, 2009). The possibilities that tourist photography presents for communicating one's experiences can be seen as an integral part of tourist photography (Dijck, 2008). Pictures can be used as a narrative device, used to talk through a holiday and to share one's personal experiences. They can, for example, be uploaded online or directly shown to others, such as friends and family. As Yeh (2009, p. 212) states, "every photograph is in a sense a document of one segment of a tourist's life", and they can provide others with a frame of reference for understanding a person's travel stories. For both the story tellers as the listeners, photographs can offer a vivid sense of 'being there' (Yeh, 2009).

At the same time that pictures are used as a narrative device, they can also validate the fact that one has visited a particular destination. Scholars, such as Lemelin (2006) and Jenkins (2003), point to the proof that photographs provide. The holiday photographs provide a point of validation, are a proof of that the trip was made to show to friends and family.

With regard to the first role that photographs play in one's identity that Crang (1997) mentions, the function of photography discussed previously – accumulating and triggering memory – is relevant. By taking pictures, tourists can exercise considerable power over the way they construct their memories of the holiday (Markwell, 1997). As mentioned before, photographs are the result of an active signifying practice and never an objective representation of reality. Both what is within the frame of a photograph and what is left out are important elements of the process by which tourists go about shaping their notion of the self (Garlick, 2002). As Haldrup & Larsen (2003, p. 38) state, tourists enact certain performances to eradicate ambivalent memories and to produce a 'calculated memory': "the way one would like to be remembered and to remember places. They [photographs] conceal even as they reveal". Following from Markwell's (1997) study, tourists, for example barely capture images of the mundane, the domestic or the unattractive in their holiday shots, hereby reinforcing the myth of the perfect holiday and giving a false impression of the holiday experience as one devoid of aspects of everyday life (which many people after all, often try to escape when being on a holiday). "The collection of only happy and positive images will serve to reinforce a memory which is selective at best" (ibid, p. 153). With their photographs, tourists represent a reality that is a projection of their desires. They frame their pictures according to the particular

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<sup>5</sup> But, for example, also through the sending of postcards and the giving of souvenir-presents (Williams, 2009).

narrative that they wish to construct about their holiday, their life and, in the end, their 'world' (Garlick, 2002). "Our photographs tell us who we want to be and how we want to remember" (Dijck, 2008, p. 70-1).

In addition to the role that photography plays in the construction and communicating of one's own identity, it can also help to shape collective identities among tourists (see Markwell (1997), Dijck (2008), Yeh (2009), Williams (2009)). Chalfen (1979), for example, names a camera as a tourist's primary 'identity badge'. Yeh (2009) follows up on this by stating that a camera is a necessary visual tool for tourists to demonstrate their cultural and collective identities in their touristic performing acts. A camera functions as an universal communicator and in addition, it contributes to the creation of a connection between the self and others, both within and outside the group (Yeh, 2009)<sup>6</sup>. In this sense, using the camera is important for social interaction and can be regarded as a social practice too (Markwell, 1997; Yeh, 2009). It can generate social interaction and help to build up relationships with others. For instance, a camera can trigger social interaction between strangers and tourists: "it is the camera that generates the interaction between the tourists and strangers. The act of taking photographs of someone, or offering to take a photo of a group, may serve as a signal to initiate a conversation and bring about a personal encounter with others" (ibid., p. 202). Through the act of taking photographs, individuals articulate their connections to groups (Dijck, 2008), and articulate friendship (Crang, 1999). Group photographs are of significance here, as they, according to Markwell (1997), appear to serve as a way to construct an overall group identity. Furthermore, reviewing pictures together can confirm social bonds between friends (see Dijck (2008)).

### **2.2.2.3 Shifts in use and function of photography**

With regard to the two uses and functions of tourist photography discussed above (i.e. photography's use as a tool for remembering and as a tool for identity construction and communication), Dijck (2008, p. 60) notes profound shifts in the balance between photography's uses: "from family to individual use, from memory tools to communication devices and from sharing (memory) objects to sharing experiences"<sup>7</sup>. She explains that, in the past, in the analogue age, personal photography was first and foremost a means for autobiographical remembering, where pictures usually ended up as keepsakes in an (family) album or shoebox. In this time, photography's functions as a tool for identity formation and as a means for communication were acknowledged, but were always rated secondary to its prime purpose of memory (Barthes, 1981, Sontag 1973, in: Dijck, 2008). However, as Lasén & Gómez-Cruz note, with the digitalization, photography seems to have shifted away from a way to support memories of public and private events towards a performance of everyday life. Dijck (2008) supports this notion and points to Garry & Gerrie (2005), Harrison (2002) and Schiano et al. (2002) when arguing that recent research indeed seems to suggest that, thanks to the digitalization, the functions of communication

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<sup>6</sup> See 2.2.3 'The hybridity of tourist photography' for more background on the influence of non-human actants, such as the camera, on human performances.

<sup>7</sup> See 2.2.4.6 'Role of digitalization in shifts in the balance between photography's uses' for a discussion on the role of the digitalization in this.



and identity formation (the affirmation of personhood and personal bonds) are favored at the expense of photography's use as a tool for remembering. Especially among the younger generation, a shift can be noted towards using photography as an instrument for peer-bonding and interaction. Dijck (2008) herself argues that despite the growing importance of the functions of photography as identity formation and communication, photography's function as a memory tool is not eradicated, but instead, is still vibrant – although its manifestation is changing in the current digital era: “the function of memory reappears in the networked, distributed nature of digital photographs as most images are sent over the wires and end up somewhere in virtual space” (ibid, p. 58). In today's society, “in the networked reality of people's everyday life”, the default mode of personal photography becomes sharing, and memory takes on a different form; gravitating towards distributed presence (ibid., p. 68).

### **2.2.3 The hybridity of tourist photography**

“Modern tourism is full of hybrids and nonhumans are crucial for producing the agency of tourists and performances of tourist life” (Larsen, 2004, p. 22).

Entities such as nature, culture, and the human body were once regarded as discrete and unitary. However, Michael (2000) states that, nowadays, it is commonly held that technologies are shot through with social relations, and vice versa. They are seen as interconnected and ‘tied up’ with each other. “Nature and culture, corporeality and agency are not distinct, they contribute, in complex ways, to each other's constitution” (ibid, p. 2). The social and the technological cannot be easily disentangled or distinguished. Michael (2000) explains that a technology emerges out of the relations between social, natural and technological actors. It only ‘works’ because certain configurations of the social, the natural and the technological are in place. Likewise, human societies are heterogeneously made up of humans, technologies, cultures and natures; and so, human practices or performances are never purely social (Larsen, 2004). They are always tied up with tangible nonhumans (technologies, buildings, nature, pictures etcetera) and cultural scripts that restrict and afford certain expressions and actions. “Human practices are thus hybrids, and the technological and the natural are always coupled with the cultural and social” (ibid., p. 15)

Following this line of thought, the photographic act is also far from purely a human accomplishment and can also be seen as a hybrid practice. Larsen (2004) theorizes tourist photography as a hybrid practice by relying on performance theory, non-representational theory and Actor-Network-Theory (ANT). According to him, the production of photographic images comprises many ‘actants’, such as social practices, images, texts, technologies, and chemicals. This ‘network’ of performing entities together produces photographs. He visualizes tourist photography as a complex set of mobile performances bridging the social, the cultural, and the material, the human and nonhuman. Photographs should be understood as both material *and* social, objective *and* subjective, i.e. heterogeneous (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). “Instead of focusing attention upon the photograph as the product of a specific mechanical and chemical technology, we need to consider its technological, semiotic and social hybrid-ness; the way in which its meanings and powers are the result of a mixture and compound of forces and not a singular, essential and inherent quality” (Lister, 1995, p. 11). Larsen (2004) concludes that it is thus the intimate relation between tourists and cameras that we must study, the hybrid. This follows Michael's (2000) notion that for Actor-Network-Theory, the

intermixing of the human and non-human is intrinsic to human society; and therefore, that one of its central interests is to develop accounts of how this intermixing proceeds.

As explained, human performances are always tied up with tangible nonhumans, cultural scripts and social norms. Likewise, tourism patterns are relational and embedded within social networks and their obligations (Larsen et al., 2007). They are not unrelated to everyday patterns of social life, family and friendship, but in contrast, the everyday and the tourist performance are linked. A tourist brings his/her body to the tourist stage and mostly travel in the company of others, bringing issues as race, gender and age, but also complex personal and group relationships at stage (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012; Larsen, 2005, 2008a).

Part of Actor-Network-Theory is the acknowledgement of the influence of non-human *actants* – acting entities within networks that, in turn, make actions and things ‘happen’. A tourist performance is made possible by and involves objects, machines and technologies, such as visa-cards, cameras, trains, and walking boots. Most bodily performances in tourism would be unperformable without such nonhuman components (Larsen, 2004).

When looking at cameras and photographs in particular, it can be argued that photography permits humans to take ownership of nature as graspable objects: a photograph is something we can hold in our hands and memories (Wilson, 1992, in: Larsen, 2004). With the camera we have some control over the visual environments of our culture (ibid.). In this sense, nonhumans empower humans (which can also work vice versa), and they enable *agency* – the capacity to act or to affect. An example from Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009) illustrates the influence, the *agency*, of non-human actants. They give an example of how the kind of device used to take pictures seems to play a role in photographic performances. Taking pictures with a camera phone instead of with a ‘professional’ device such as single-lens reflex camera, is for instance less intrusive.

By pointing to Parrinello (2001), Larsen (2004, p. 20) argues that things and technologies can be understood as “‘orthopaedic prostheses’ that enhance the physicality of the body and enables it to do things and sense realities that would otherwise be beyond its accomplishment”. According to Larsen (2004), humans increasingly derive agency from their use of and connections with machines and technologies. From Yeh’s (2009) work it, for example, becomes clear that the camera (a non-human agency) alters group dynamics and can generate social interaction. She sees the camera as a tourist’s performing tool and as a universal communicator. It contributes to the creation of a connection between the self and others, both within and outside the (travelling) group. For instance, with the act of taking photographs of someone, or offering to take a picture of a group, a camera can generate social interaction between strangers and tourists (see Yeh (2009)). However, it is important to realize that technologies’ specific affordances only shape, and do not determine, if and how they can be used and made sense of in practice (Norman, 1999).

In addition to non-human ‘objects’, also nature has to be taken into account with regard to the tourist performance or activity (Perkins & Thorns, 2001). Nature itself is not passive but active, influencing the tourist performance, for example, by warm, sunny days or an impenetrable forest (see Jeuring & Peters (2013) on the influence of weather on tourist experiences specifically).

One way to illustrate what it means to think of photography as a hybrid is through Latour's hybrid of the 'citizen-gun' (Larsen, 2004; Michael, 2000; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). For Latour, it is neither the gun nor the person that kills, but the 'citizen-gun', the hybrid. In a similar way, Haldrup & Larsen (2010) argue that neither photography technologies (such as cameras, mobile phones and printers) nor the photographer makes photographs; it is the hybrid of what might be termed the 'networked camera-tourist'. "Photographs are simultaneously 'man-made' and 'machine-made'" (Larsen, 2004, p. 25). A camera, for example, acts in specific fashions and affords certain actions and viewing-positions and not others (ibid.).

#### **2.2.4 Digitalization**

In 2009, Lister wrote that two decades have passed since it became possible to make photographs by digital rather than chemical means. Since then, 'digital photography' and 'digital imaging' have become a taken-for-granted part of the media landscape, and have developed as major creative industries. For many, digital technologies have replaced analogue processes: "traditional cameras are replaced by digital and even virtual kinds, films by memory cards and hard drives, 'wet' physical darkrooms and optical enlargers by computers and software" (ibid., p. 315). Photographic film itself has become an expensive niche commodity, with digital cameras of all kinds now far outselling those that use film.

All visual images are made in one way or another, and Rose (2012) states that the circumstances of their production may contribute towards the effect that the images have. Kittler (1999) even argues that the technologies used in the making of an image determine the image's form, meaning and effect. While there are many differences between analogue and digital cameras (see, for example, Lister (2009), Sturken & Cartwright (2009)). Haldrup & Larsen (2010) state that this does not necessarily lead so much to changes in *what* tourists picture, but it does to *how* they picture, e.g. how photography is performed. This is mainly related to the material affordances of these new technologies that are different from those of traditional photography (Larsen, 2006). Larsen (2008b) argues that it is crucial to have a basic understanding of digital photography's affordances. He points to Gibson (1979, p. 127) who coined the term 'affordances' to discuss 'action possibilities', defining it as "what it (the environment) offers the animal [including humans], what it provides or furnishes". Larsen (2008b, p. 146) explains that affordances are relational: "it is a product of a given material make-up and the physical capacities of a given animal's body". However, a Gibsonian affordance is independent of culture, prior knowledge, and the actor's ability to perceive it; and thus, neglects tourists' prior experiences with cameras. Therefore, Larsen (2008b) turns to Norman's (1999) understanding of affordance, who speaks of affordances as 'perceived affordances', and thus, depending upon intentions, cultural knowledge and past experiences. The material affordances of the new technologies, however, only shape, and do not determine, how they can be used and made sense of in practice (Norman, 1999). In this line of thought, Haldrup & Larsen (2010, p. 122-3) argue that "digital photography can be many different things according to how camera technologies are assembled, made meaningful and performed in specific contexts, by humans and non-humans".

The advent of digital photography has several consequences, of which the major ones are discussed below. First, consequences on the quantity of pictures taken; second, on the enthusiasm for making

and sharing photographs; third, on the degree of creativity and playfulness involved in photography; fourth, on the possibility of editing one's pictures; and fifth, on the degree to which the performances and uses of photography are collective. Finally, a reflection on the role of digitalization in the changing balance of the uses of photography is presented, on which 2.2.2.3 'Shifts in the use and function of photography' already touched upon.

#### **2.2.4.1 Quantity of photographs**

As Haldrup & Larsen's (2010) study revealed, tourists take far more photographs with digital cameras than they used to do with analogue cameras. This can be linked to several reasons, one being that with digital cameras every click on the shutter-button is cost free and furthermore, that if the produced image does not charm instantly on the camera screen, it can be erased and a new one can be made at no extra cost (Larsen, 2006). This is in contrast to analogue photography, where each click irreversible materializes as a material object when the film is handed in for development (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

Moreover, photography increasingly blends in with the everyday, as the mobile camera phone is for instance always at-hand and part of everyday practices (Larsen 2008b). The camera phone causes a blurring of traditional distinctions between the touristic and the everyday (Foster, 2009).

#### **2.2.4.2 Making and sharing photographs**

The advent of digital photography has stoked an intense revival of the public's enthusiasm for making and sharing photographs according to Snow (2012). She partly attributes this to a desire to observe and participate in technological novelties. Holland (2009, p. 120) describes how digital technology has created a sort of revolution in personal imagery: "more interactive, more interventionist, and even more inclusive". Domestic photography has flowed beyond the limits of the home, "linking friends and relatives through e-mails and mobile phones, and displaying itself proudly to the public at large in websites such as Facebook and Flickr" (ibid., p. 120). This is in contrast to much analogue photography, where the result of the shutter-button release was mostly consumed in solitude or face-to-face with family members and friends (Larsen, 2008b). According to Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009), solitary pleasures become collective and shared as a result of the convergence of digital images and Internet connection. Cameras in the form of camera-phones are readily connected to the Internet, allowing an almost instantaneous transmission of images (often with related text and data) by e-mail and social network sites (Lister, 2009). It allows one to share one's life as it happens; an image with text attached can be posted on a website within seconds of the image being taken. Dijck (2008) notes how the younger generation seems to increasingly use digital cameras for 'live' communication, promoted by the easy distribution of images over the Internet and quick dissemination via personal devices, making pictures the preferred idiom in mediated communication practices. The pictures circulated via a camera phone are used to show affect or to convey a brief message, and Dijck (2008, p. 61-2) notes how 'getting in touch' or 'connecting', instead of 'memory preservation' and 'reality capturing' are the social meanings transferred onto this type of photography. According to her, the camera phone in this way merges oral and visual modalities, with pictures turning into the new currency for social interaction, becoming more like spoken language. Sontag (2004) also notes this recent shift in the usage of

pictures, which are becoming less objects to be saved, and more messages to be circulated. "Pixellated images, like spoken words, circulate between individuals and groups to establish and reconfirm bonds" (Dijck, 2008, p. 62). With this 'live' communication, a shift from a focus on future audiences towards a focus on immediate audiences can be observed (see Larsen (2008b)). In addition, personal photographs now often reach a much wider audience, which oftentimes also includes 'weak' and 'old' ties (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

The afore-mentioned changes also cause digital photography to contribute to the transformation of privacy and intimacy and the renegotiation of the public and private divide (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009). Online and offline practices, experiences and meanings that challenge the traditional concept of the public and the private are intertwined. Distributing personal photographs over the Internet intrinsically turns private pictures into public property (Dijck, 2008). It is important to note that this online sharing of photographs is still a performance, a way of experimenting with the possibilities of the presentation of the self (see Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009)). Another important remark is the danger that is inherent in the manipulability and the ease of distributing images in today's society that Dijck (2008) noted. Few people realize that the sharing of experiences by means of exchanging digital images almost by definition implies a 'distributed storage': "personal 'live' pictures distributed via the Internet may remain there for life, turning up in unforeseen contexts, reframed and repurposed" (ibid, p. 68). With this new use of (digital) photography, personal photographs can hardly be confined to private 'grounds'. Instead, the pictures are embedded in networked systems, causing pictorial memory to be forever distributed, as Dijck (2008, p. 70) articulated: "perpetually stored in the endless maze of virtual life". Which in addition, also entails a loss of control over a picture's framed meaning, as pictures are both vulnerable to unauthorized distribution and to unintended repurposing by anyone. Fortunately, according to Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009), Internet users are quite aware of the limited control they hold about their (online) personal data.

The possibilities that tourist photography presents for communicating one's experiences can be seen as an integral part of tourist photography (Dijck, 2008). Pictures can be used as a narrative device, and this can be done face-to-face but, thanks to modern technologies, also 'face-to-screen'. Moreover, thanks to the digitalization, this can now even be done while still being on a holiday. One example of a way in which this can be done are 'travel blogs'. According to Molz (2006, in: Larsen, 2008b) such blogs are stable addresses in 'round-the-world' travelers' mobile worlds. Travel blogs are not only about travel tales but also "places where people carve out moments of connection and sociality within mobility" (Molz, 2004, p. 179, in: Larsen, 2008b), they allow family members and friends to keep track of the traveler's adventures, whereabouts and wellbeing in more or less real-time (Larsen, 2008b)<sup>8</sup>. Larsen (2008b) argues that this illustrates how digital tourist photography's 'time-space compression' entails that people now increasingly may consume other person's holiday photographs without necessarily being face-to-face with them. Though, Haldrup & Larsen (2010) suggest that it are primarily those who travel for long periods that 'connect photographically' with absent family members and friends from back home, as some people, while

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<sup>8</sup> Larsen (2008b) notes how surveillance can also be an issue here, for example, when parents virtually 'travel along' with their children.

they are on a holiday, even have the desire and deliberately deploy strategies to be temporarily 'disconnected', for example, by choosing to switch their mobile phone on only at particular times (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Nevertheless, they name digital photographs as a crucial component in today's mobile networked societies in which much socializing takes on the form of 'face-to-screen' and in which a person's ties often are at a distance. Sharing one's photographs (on the Internet) is a component of home-making, as it serves to connect with friends and family members from back home (Haldrup & Larsen); it can help to bridge distances. The study tourists in Yeh's (2009) research, for instance, said that they enjoyed taking pictures because it allowed them to share their touristic experiences with their friends and families once they return home. Moreover, after the study trip, they used their photographs as an essential method to cultivate and maintain contacts with their fellow tour group members, and also with other international friends, such as the host families where they stayed during the trip. Photographs were shared, for example, by sending them to friends, sometimes being transformed into a greeting card.

#### **2.2.4.3 Creativity, playfulness and experimentation**

In the use of camera phones and digital cameras, playfulness and experimentation become common features (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009). The freedom to 'shoot around' – as Haldrup & Larsen (2010) name it – is made possible by certain features of digital cameras, such as the camera's screen, and the possibilities for deletion of the just taken photographs. With these new features, consuming and deleting photographs have become part of *producing* photographs. Haldrup & Larsen (2010) argue that these affordances of 'instantaneousness' and flexibility afford experimentation, creativity and play, are conceived of as pleasurable and that they bring about a more casual, experimental and lavish way of photographing, pushing photography in a more playful direction. These affordances are related to the fact that with digital cameras there are no concerns about the cost of films and development, and about taking bad photographs, as these can always be erased (Larsen, 2008b). As one of Haldrup & Larsen's (2010, p. 141) research participants said: "You can experiment much more [with a digital camera] ... and this is partly because most of them will not be developed [or printed]. Most of it is rubbish – you are not very critical of the motifs. Of course you try to do a good job and make interesting compositions, otherwise you won't get good photos, but you experiment much more".

#### **2.2.4.4 Possibilities of editing**

Fourthly, as already explained, one way in which tourists can manipulate their identities and memories is by editing their pictures. Though, as Dijck (2008) argues, retouching and manipulations have always been inherent in the dynamics of photography, it has become increasingly the standard since the emergence of digital photography. With the digitalization an increased number of possibilities for reviewing and retouching one's own pictures emerged, both on the camera's screen and on the screen of the computer (ibid.). This allows people some measures of control over their photographed appearance, "inviting them to tweak and reshape their public and private identities" (Dijck, 2008, p. 70). It can satisfy people's desire to be able to *control* how they are presented photographically and suits well to people's need for continuous self-remodeling (Larsen, 2008b; Dijck, 2008). The increased command over the outcome of pictures seems like a treat to today's modern consumer society, in which the flexible digital camera makes it

easier to produce images that live up to the postcards, the ideals or desired self-images (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010), and it perhaps partly explains the digital camera's popularity (Dijck, 2008).

#### **2.2.4.5 Degree of collectiveness**

Last but not least (with regard to the focus of this research), is the fact that the digitalization allows the performances and uses of photography to be more collective (sometimes called co-performances). By pointing to several scholars, Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009) argue that especially – but not only – with the convergence of digital cameras and mobile phones, contemporary social practices related to digital photography are taking part in the constitution of new sociability practices. The new emerging digital tools substantially affect the way people socialize and interact, and thus, by extension, the way they maintain and consolidate relationships (Dijck, 2008). The new hardware, such as the camera phone, permit entirely new performative rituals, but changes can also be observed in terms of software, with, for example, the rise of photo blogs, which elicits entirely different presentational uses of photographs (see Dijck (2008)). With regard to tourist photography, photographing is now – in addition to directing and posing – also often performed through collective work, permitted by the features of the digital camera. Nowadays, it is common for co-travelers to participate in the shooting by looking over the photographer's shoulder<sup>9</sup>, and thus, “the eye of the camera multiplies” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010, p. 142). Here, the camera's screen plays a significant role, which, as Haldrup & Larsen (2010) argue, fundamentally changes the nature of tourist photography in terms of time, style and sociality, since it affords new sociabilities for producing and consuming photographs. Their study shows that it has become a ritual to examine the camera's screen in the same movement as the shutter-button is released. The screen of the digital camera allows a 'sneak preview' of the just taken picture (Dijck, 2008), and this monitoring of the camera's screen can be done together with co-travelers, hereby turning photographing into a collaborative and social event, and furthermore, converging the spaces of picturing, posing and consuming. The result of a click on the shutter-button is immediately available for inspection and thus, for comments from both 'onlookers' and 'posing actors', who might demand deletion and retake(s) (in this way, the 'onlookers' might even turn into 'co-producers'). This is in great contrast to analogue photography, where vision is single-eyed and individualized, and onlookers cannot participate in the picturing. According to Haldrup & Larsen (2010), these new co-performances are a source of much playful face-to-face talk and sociality.

As mentioned, the digitalization has opened up new possibilities for interacting, which nowadays, thanks to modern technologies, can also be done from a distance, involving face-to-screen sociality. Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009) argue that due to the convergence of digital images and Internet connection, solitary pleasures become collective and shared. The new online performances can stimulate more social interaction, as, for instance, the design of Facebook and Flickr encourages public viewing and 'photography talk' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). On these websites, a comment box

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<sup>9</sup> This is made possible by another difference between analogue and digital cameras: whereas this first most often involves a placing of the camera in front of the eye, the latter most often involves the holding of the camera at half-arm's length from the face and 'photographic seeing' through the screen with both eyes (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

accompanies each photograph in order to give others the possibility to write a public comment about any of the photographs.

#### **2.2.4.6 Role of digitalization in shifts in the balance between photography's uses**

As discussed in 2.2.2.3 'Shifts in use and function of photography', shifts with regard to the various social uses of photography can be observed. However, Dijck (2008) argues that today's tendency to fuse photography with communication and daily experience is part of a broader technological, social and cultural transformation. According to her, photographs have always been "twitched and tweaked in the process of recollection" (ibid., p. 59), and the camera has never been a dependable aid for storing memories. Moreover, also editing one's pictures is not regarded as a new phenomenon by Dijck (2008). She states that since the late 1840s<sup>10</sup>, commercial photographers satisfied their patron's desire for idealized self-images by adopting flattering perspectives and applying chemical magic. This leads her to conclude that the digitalization has never caused manipulability or artificiality, as retouching and manipulation have always been inherent in the dynamics of photography. Instead of linking the shift in use and function of the camera to digital technologies, Dijck (2008, p. 70) points to broader societal changes, to a cultural transformation that involves individualization and intensification of experience, and a "more general cultural condition that may be characterized by terms such as manipulability, individuality, communicability, versatility and ease of distribution". In a culture in which manipulability and morphing are commonly accepted conditions for shaping personhood, these properties do not apply exclusively to photographs as shaping tools for personal memory, but more generally to bodies and things (Dijck, 2008). Just like bodies and photographs, memory can now also made 'picture perfect' (ibid). The new tools that arose thanks to new digital technologies are just in tune with the current 'mental flexibility' for refashioning self-identity and morphing corporeality, and can be seen as part of this larger transformation in which the self becomes the centre of a virtual universe (ibid.).

### ***2.3 Performances***

#### **2.3.1 Approaching tourist photography – using a performance approach**

Despite the fact that tourist studies have privileged visual imagery and seeing, they have not studied and theorized practices of seeing and picturing thoroughly and seriously enough according to Larsen (2004). He identifies a profound need for ethnographic and qualitative research that explores how 'photography makes tourism' and how photography is practiced. Hitherto, the 'lively' social practices producing tourism images have been excluded from analysis. In order to achieve the fulfillment of this need, Larsen (2004) argues that tourist studies must 'move on'. In order to research a "notoriously 'light' yet normative-ridden phenomenon such as photography and tourism, one needs to be curious and seek grounded understandings, rather than waving (often) pre-

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<sup>10</sup> Generally accepted, photography is invented in 1839 (Garlick, 2002).



emptive, normative denunciation that has plagued tourist studies for such a long time (Crang, 1999: 247)” (ibid., p. 7). Instead of viewing tourists as passive, replicating consumers, consumption in itself should already be viewed as a meaningful and productive practice, according to Larsen (2004). Through such an approach, one will potentially “grasp the weightiness of the light, the meaningfulness of the banal, the extraordinariness of the ordinary and take pleasures and emotions seriously and accept them as pleasurable and significant for social life respectively” (ibid., p. 7). Furthermore, tourist studies should move away from the ‘monolithic’ cultural paradigm of the ‘visual’ and representation, towards an understanding of tourism through a ‘non-representational’ inspired performance ontology of “doing and acting, of mobile objects, places and people” (ibid., p. 7).

In the tourism literature, several scholars use the concept of ‘performance’ as a way of approaching tourism and tourist photographers (see Edensor (1998), Perkins & Thorns (2001), Chaney (2002), Coleman & Crang (2002), Larsen (2004, 2005), Scarles (2009), Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010)). Perkins & Thorns (2001) argue that it is a better metaphorical approach to tourism than that of the gaze, since gazing is only one component of the tourist experience and thus, is too passive to encapsulate the full range of the tourist experience. In contrast, the notion of tourist performance incorporates ideas of both gazing and active bodily involvement, and also helps in conceptualizing the diverse nature of the tourist experience, and would therefore be a better concept to use. The notion of performance is seen as being useful as a way of theorizing the diverse acts which people accomplish in particular spaces (Edensor, 1998). As Haldrup & Larsen (2010, p. 130) state, “there is more to photography than photographing”. It is not only a means of visual consumption, but for example, also an embodied practice of sociality (Yeh, 2009), since the object of tourist photography is not just some ‘static’ scenery but also involves corporal ‘actors’. In addition to looking at landscapes, tourists enact them corporeally; they step into the ‘landscape picture’ and engage bodily, sensuously, and expressively with their materiality and ‘affordances’ (Larsen, 2005).

Löfgren (1999) views vacationing as a ‘cultural laboratory’ where people are able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relationships, and their interaction with nature, and furthermore, to use the skills of daydreaming and mind travelling. Larsen (2004) is inspired by this notion and, in a similar way, sees tourist photography as a ‘theatre of life’. In his work, he makes use of metaphors of performance and theatre, because this enables a grasping of photography as a lived and expressive practice. “Humans do and enact photography bodily, creatively and multi-sensually in the company of significant others (one’s family, partner, friends and so on) and with a (future) audience at hand or in the mind” (ibid., p. 8). These metaphors of performance and theatre bring to attention that “places, as sites of production, not only afford distanced spectatorship (as sights do), but also directing, and acting upon, stages. Tourists are not only subjects of the ‘tourist gaze’, but also objects of it” (ibid., p. 9)

The dramaturgical metaphor in social theory – the idea that social life is best understood as a form of dramatic performance – is having been persistently dominant in tourist studies (Chaney, 2002). Being-in-the-world and the whole of social life can be considered as fundamentally performative and put on a stage for an audience (Edensor, 2000; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010; Larsen, 2005), and likewise, performance (and theatre) metaphors suggest that *all* ‘social worlds’ and ‘material worlds’

are continually performed, staged and produced through flows of hybrid practices in present time (Larsen, 2004). However, in certain activities, this performed nature of personal and social life is accentuated. According to Larsen (2004), this is more than clear in relation to photography. For example, when people are faced by a camera, immediately start posing to present themselves in a certain way.

Work from the scholar Goffman (1959; 1963) is of importance with regard to performance. In his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, he outlines a dramaturgical framework to describe everyday social encounters and interactions. He argues that tourist photography is intricately bound up with 'strategic impression management', the presentation of the self and monitoring bodies (see Larsen (2005)). For Goffman, the self is a performed character, a public performer who carefully manages his/her impressions. He holds that when people meet in public stages, each individual will immediately seek to control the impressions of him/herself that the others will inevitably read off (Goffman, 1963). They try to present themselves in accordance with approved cultural norms and expectations. In this setting of bodies in public stages, Goffman makes a distinction between to 'give' and 'give off' bodily information. The first involves intentional communication, whereas the latter refers to the fact that people always, willy-nilly, emit signs when they are in the presence of others. Performances strive to avoid this 'giving off' uncontrollable signs and to 'give' particular signs. However, as Crouch et al. (2001) note, performance is not necessarily self-conscious or intended to achieve particular results. Furthermore, Goffman (1959) makes a distinction between front stage and back stage regions. In front stage regions, out in public, people attempt to convey particular meanings and values, which involves this strategic 'stage management' of impressions, whereas in the latter, in the domestic safety of these so-called backstage regions, people are allowed to lift their actor's mask temporally. However, with regard to tourist photography, today's validity of this distinction can be questioned. Thanks to the digitalization, photography seems to have shifted towards a performance of everyday life and to be far more public (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009). People display their photographs proudly to the public at large in websites such as Flickr and Facebook (Holland, 2009), and as Lasén & Gómez-Cruz noted, this also involves strategic impression management. As Larsen (2005) already argued with regard to the 'family gaze', even during picturing practices in backstage regions, such as the private holiday house, body management and social disciplining takes place, and thus Goffman's (1959) distinction between front stage and back stage regions seem to blur (at least in the case of tourist photography).

Haldrup & Larsen (2010, p. 127) state that Goffman's performing self is "simultaneously creative, strategic and calculating and yet embedded within a morally constraining universe of appropriate cultural norms". As explained with regard to Actor-Network-Theory, human practices are hybrids and always tied up with cultural scripts and social norms that restrict and afford certain expressions and actions. Tourists' performances can be envisioned as "improvisations on changing stages with loose social and visual scripts that typically guide their activity" (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012, p. 1835). Photographic enactments are *choreographed*, as in a theatre, the 'stages' upon which photography takes place are inscribed (although to varying degrees) with cultural scripts and social regulations, which can be crucial in choreographing tourists' performances and cameras (Edensor, 1998).

Tourist performances are also influenced by the characteristics of the space and places (the stages) upon which performances can be enacted (Edensor, 2000). The form of space, its organization, materiality, and sensual and aesthetic qualities can influence the kinds of performances that tourists undertake (ibid.)<sup>11</sup>, it is part of the hybrid practice of photographic performances. Tourist spaces are differently regulated; carefully managed stages can constrain certain types of performance, whereas other, less overtly controlled stages, permit wider scope for 'improvisation' (see Edensor (1998)). For instance, during a bus tour the tour guide can impose certain restrictions on performance ("be back in 10 minutes") or stimulate certain types of performance ("do not run", "take a picture here"). To grasp tourist landscapes through a theatre metaphor brings forth the crucial roles of objects in tourism. It underscores that photography and the production of photographs is a hybrid practice, far from purely a human accomplishment (Larsen, 2004) (see section 2.2.3 'The hybridity of tourist photography').

Being embedded within a universe of appropriate cultural norms and expectations, performances involve a form of playful ritualized behavior, which is partly constrained and partly innovative (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). In practicing tourism, a person is a social subject as well as a socialized one. One's photography performances are not enacted for the camera in a 'socially non-discursive vacuum' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 27). According to Crouch (2002), this requires a consideration of both the social contexts in which practices are made and of "how, at any particular moment, practices in specific spaces relate and are related by the subject's life, and are socially constructed through practice, friendships and other human relations" (ibid., p. 210).

Theatre and performance metaphors allow an enlivening of the study of tourist photography by writing complex and dynamic accounts of it as a multifaceted, 'eventful space' *producing* – besides images – memories, social relations, places etcetera (Larsen, 2004). It enables a grasping of photography as a lived and expressive practice. Scarles (2009) argues that it is necessary to embrace tourism as a series of *active doings* through performative engagement; by pointing to Crang (1997), she states that photography allows tourists to take part *in* rather than reflect *upon* the world, and furthermore, to facilitate the enlivening and creation of place and experience.

Haldrup & Larsen (2010) explain that they do not claim that photography necessarily *is* a performance, but they do look at photography through a performance lens. They hope that this lens is one of the more illuminating ways to understand the hybridized doings of (digital) photography in practice. "A performance approach is concerned with how photography takes place and the embodied, social and hybridized work involved in doing photography here and now, at the 'scene' or at a distance" (ibid., p. 152). They take inspiration from Actor-Network-Theory and non-representational theory, and see photography as a technological complex with specific affordances and a set of embodied social practices or performances. A performance approach is to conceptualize photographing as a process over time and explores *how* people, as hybridized beings, do photography and present places and themselves photographically. It represents a shift from studying functions of photography to actions of photography, from *why* to *how* (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

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<sup>11</sup> Although, as Edensor (2000) notes, not in any predictable and deterministic fashion.

### **2.3.2 Performances to influence the result of the shutter button release**

As discussed, tourists have the power to frame their own photographs in certain ways and thus decide themselves which image they convey for the future. There are also other ways in which tourists can convey a certain image for the future, both for one's memories of the holiday and identity. Scholars point, for example, to 1) tourists' own bodies and related, to their posing performances, and 2) the possibilities that editing pictures offers. Both are discussed in turn in the following.

First, the way in which tourists can create a photograph that matches the particular narrative that they wish to construct about themselves and their holiday: through their bodies – and related, through certain posing performances. Williams (2009) refers to Giddens (1991) who points out that an important aspect of the reflexivity of the self is its extension onto the body. The body is an essential medium through which identity is formed and projected, since it is inscribed with an array of encoded 'messages' that other people may 'read' (Williams, 2009). It is arguably the primary medium through which people express their identities, as identity does not exist outside its performance and performance is intimately linked to the bodily practices through which people make sense of their world (and their position within it) (see Nash (2000)). By embodied performances that convey certain messages people strive to project their self-identities onto others, and by doing this, they make powerful statements about who they believe they are and the values they subscribe to (Williams, 2009). With regard to tourism, these efforts are perhaps most evident in tourists' posing performances. As explained, tourist photography is intricately bound up with 'strategic impression management', and by posing, a person seeks to control the impressions of him/herself that others will inevitably read off (Goffman, 1963). The 'giving off' uncontrollable signs is strived to be avoided and instead the 'giving' of particular signs is pursued. When faced by the 'camera eye', most people automatically face the camera; something which can be seen as a pattern of on-camera social behavior (see Chalfen (1987)). In addition, when people are faced by the camera lens they become acutely and extraordinarily aware of their bodies and their appearance, and they pose by reflex to 'give' an appropriate façade (Larsen, 2005; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Posing is integral to photography; it seems to be a 'law' of photography that we pose when 'camera faces' gaze at us. In these performances of posing, the body is brought into play as a culturally coded sign – of attractiveness, happiness, intimacy, etcetera (Larsen, 2006). "When faced by the camera eye, people inhabit another body. Activities and walking are put on hold, and in posing people present themselves as an idealized future memory" (Larsen, 2004, p. 135). Haldrup & Larsen (2010) explain that one cannot avoid 'giving off' information when being photographed, but that through posing, one can try to convey a specific image for the future. They state that, through picturing practices, "tourists strive for accumulating idealized memory-stories that make the fleeting tourist experience a lasting part of their personal and familial narrative" (2003, p. 27). People want a picture that is taken to match their idealized self-image, and attempt to influence the photographic result by posing, smiling, or giving instructions to the photographer during the photographic act, or at a later stage, influence the result by editing the print or destroying it (see also Dijck (2008)). Properly staged images ensure that the desired atmosphere is projected into the future. "When people sit for portraits they already imagine themselves as an idealized memory before the button [of the camera] has ever been pressed: they present themselves as a future

image” (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 35). In this sense, photographic performances are never simple records of life, but, as mentioned before, are shot through, consciously and unconsciously, with desires, fantasies and ideals (see Larsen (2005)). The various stages on which touristic and photographic performances are acted out are, according to Larsen (2005, p. 426), not only visited for their immanent attributes, but also – and more centrally – “woven into the webs of stories and narratives people produce when they sustain and construct their social identities”. In his study at the castle Hammershus on the Danish island Bornholm, he, for example, found that some tourist families do not take photographs of the castle as such, but that many bring it into play as a backdrop for family staging. They used the castle as a stage upon which they played-out embodied family stories for the camera. As a result, Hammershus’ ancient and official ‘place myth’ of romantic gazing was destabilized, and instead, a new one of cozy and pleasant family life was induced.

Second, the way in which tourists can manipulate their memories and their identities by editing their pictures. Dijck (2008) argues that the endless potential of digital photography to manipulate one's photographs and thus, one's self image, seems to make it the ultimate tool for identity formation. Although, as she argues, retouching and manipulations have always been inherent in the dynamics of photography (also during the 'analogue age'), the digitalization has led to an increased number of possibilities for editing one's pictures<sup>12</sup>. Through photographs, the human mind actively produces visual autobiographical evidence, but also modifies it through editing, for instance, by throwing away depressing images of oneself when seriously overweight or cutting off estranged spouses (Dijck, 2008).

### **2.3.3 Performing sociality through the photographic act**

The photographic act is seen as an important social activity by several scholars (see, for example, Markwell (1997), Yeh (2009), Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Larsen (2004, 2005)). By pointing to Bærenholdt et al. (2004) and Larsen (2005), Haldrup & Larsen (2010) argue that much tourist photographing are enacted, lengthy embodied visions involving body language, talking, touch, and ‘face work’. Much photography is, for example, performed through turn-taking: with people shifting between being posers and being photographers during the same photo session. The making of photographs is significantly bound up with, and revolves around, social relations (Larsen, 2004). It often involves ‘teamwork’ and audiences, and therefore, is typified by complex social relations. The way people display their bodies is for instance, not solely in their own hands, as they are often subjected to efforts at choreography (ibid.). It is for example common that posers are instructed by photographers or co-travelers to bring into being certain appropriate fronts (one of the most well-known is ‘smile!’ or, put differently, ‘say cheese!’) or break off certain inappropriate fronts or activities (e.g. ‘don’t fool around’ or ‘don’t make faces’). These attempts at choreographing could lead to conflicts between people about what poses are appropriate. Think for example of a conflict between an ‘instructing’ mother and her posing teenager daughter, about whether the impression captured by the photograph should signify coolness or pleasantness.

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<sup>12</sup> See also 2.2.4.4 ‘Possibilities of editing’.

Furthermore, much posing is performed in teams; with touch – body-to-body – being an essential dramaturgical practice in relation to especially family photography (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Families are often seen acting out tenderness and intimacy in front of the camera and one another. These ‘intimate geographies’ are produced by codified performances of corporeal and visual proximity, for example by eye contact and embraces. Putting arms around each other’s shoulders is the common way of bonding friends and family members as one social body (ibid.). “When cameras appear, almost as a reflex people assume tender, desexualized postures, holding hands, hugging and embracing” (ibid., p. 130). Larsen (2004) argues that families act out these ‘intimate geographies’ in order to be in accordance with the late modern cultural code that intimacy and tenderness epitomize blissful family life. These performances even go so far as that where the ‘family gaze<sup>13</sup>’ holds sway, nothing appears more natural than producing these moments of intimacy and tenderness (Larsen, 2004)<sup>14</sup>. Although, as Haldrup & Larsen (2010) argue, these moments of intimate co-presence that tourist photography produces, are rare outside the ‘limelight of the camera eye’.

Markwell (1997) describes and examines the role of photography in the social interactions of participants (students) of a nature-based tour to East Malaysia. He argues that when exploring the dynamics of photography in tourism experiences, it is important to recognize both the role that the photographic collection plays as a form of tangible pictorial record of the experience<sup>15</sup>, as well as the significance of the photographic act itself as a social act. As a kind of hypothesis for his study, Markwell (1997) argues that the act of taking a photograph is itself an important social activity for tourists, and serves to strengthen bonds among fellow tourists. In the end, his study has indeed shown, that for the participants, photography constituted a very important activity, particularly in the earlier stages of the tour. Hereby, Markwell (1997) among others points to *group photographs*, something that, according to him, appears to serve as a way to construct an overall group identity. Although he also remarks that taking a group photograph might have been a socially expected thing to do as well: “one is expected to return from a group tour with at least some photographs of the participants deliberately posed to reflect the importance of the group; Bourdieu (1990) would call this the “consecration” of the group by the camera” (ibid., p. 153). Markwell (1997) concludes by stating that the social significance of photography was clearly evident during the tour. For almost half the tour participants, photographic discourse appeared to be a way of strengthening bonds between them: “cameras, lenses, and shutter speeds became conversation starters” (ibid., p. 152).

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<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the tourist gaze, the family gaze focuses more on social activities than the desire to consume places; it uses tourism merely as a stage for framing personal stories revolving around social relations (in particular the family) (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> However, as Chalfen (1987) explains, it is impossible to completely escape codes; the ‘natural viewpoint’ is itself a way of seeing, a visual code.

<sup>15</sup> Note: the taking of photographs does not always result in tangible evidence. Lister (2009, p. 315) notes that it is probable that the majority of photographs now made seldom take a hardcopy form: “The snapshots once pasted into the traditional family photo-album are now stored in electronic ‘shoe-boxes’, [...] to be displayed instead on the screens of televisions, personal computers, or the LCD screens of the very cameras with which they are taken”.

This 'camera talk' appeared to establish and/or reinforce social relationships. Moreover, although there were exceptions, the majority of the participants felt that taking photographs during the tour was important to them. Reasons that were offered for this were that the photographs prompted the participants' memories and that it provided them with a 'record' of their tour.

Another scholar extensively describing the photographic act as an important social activity for tourists is Yeh (2009), who examined Taiwanese students' photographic acts during a 4-week tour to Britain, and how they used the camera and photography to engage and perform sociality, both while they were travelling and when they returned home. Yeh (2009) argues that photography can strengthen bonds among fellow participants of the trip; and sees the camera as bringing a shared identity into a group's space and as establishing the web of relations within the group. In the case of a group of unrelated individuals, the camera can serve as a channel for breaking the personal and social boundaries, and legitimize the immediacy of body contact. Yeh (2009), for instance, observed her respondents offering and asking for help from each other to take individual pictures of themselves. The resulting process of negotiation of how the picture was to be taken broke the social barrier between the respondents. These processes of negotiation (or photographic conversations as they are named elsewhere) are furthermore of importance since they shape the way photographs are taken (ibid.). On a similar note, Edensor (2000) remarks how tourists, as performers, are subject to the disciplinary gaze of both co-participants (co-travelers) and onlookers. This gaze may restrict the scope of performances and furthermore, may help to underscore communal conventions about appropriate ways of acting as tourists. Practices concerning how to gaze, what to photograph, what to wear, and how to modulate the voice are, for example, often subject to the disciplinary gaze of the group (ibid.). In the case of the tourist travelling together with others, this 'external surveillance' is often particularly stringent in the form of peer pressures. When the tourist travels alone, individual performances may be more improvisational (ibid.).

### **3. Methodology**

This chapter provides an outline of the research methodology adopted for this research on international students and their performances of tourist photography. To start, section 3.1 gives background on the qualitative nature of this research. Then, the different methods which were used in order to collect data are discussed in 3.2. Section 3.3 pays attention to the research participants and how they were recruited, 3.4 to the ethical considerations involved in this research, and to conclude, 3.5 examines the method of analysis.

#### ***3.1 Qualitative research***

For this research, a qualitative research strategy was adopted, relying on on-site observation and in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation as methods of data-gathering. Phillimore & Goodson (2004) argue that a qualitative research strategy should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants, and should view social life as being the result of interactions and interpretations. In their view, a qualitative approach offers a great deal of potential for helping to understand the human dimensions of society, which in tourism include its social and cultural implications. A qualitative approach places the emphasis upon studying things in their natural settings, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, and gaining an insider's (or 'emic') perspective (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). By adopting a qualitative research strategy, gaining a good and thorough understanding of the photographic events and performances of the international students as tourist photographers, and the role of this in their identity and social life, was pursued.

#### ***3.2 Data collection techniques***

On-site observation and in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation were used as methods of data collection. The on-site observation took place during a trip from the UF NaviGators, a student organization from The University of Florida consisting of both American and international students<sup>16</sup>. On March 16th 2013, they organized a day trip to St. Augustine (a city on Florida's east coast) consisting of a visit to the beach and a visit to the city centre of St. Augustine, including the fort Castillo de San Marcos, a national monument. The in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation were conducted after the trip to St. Augustine took place, and were held between 19 March and 19 April 2013. The participants of the interviews were asked to bring the photographs that they took

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<sup>16</sup> See <http://navigatorsintl.com/>: "We are a group of students at The University of Florida whose goal is to ensure that international students studying at UF grow to love Gainesville and UF as much as we do. We work to make the international students' experience in this country as fun and exciting as possible, and give them an insider's glimpse into American culture through excursions, socials, and cultural events. Along with teaching about American culture and learning about others, we strive to match each student with an American mentor. We seek to create lasting friendships and great memories. The Gator Nation is everywhere; come join us!".



during the UF NaviGators day trip to the interview, which were used as visual input for the interviews. These two methods of data collection aimed to capture the 'social meanings and ordinary activities' of people in the 'naturally occurring setting' (see Brewer (2000)) and to gain an understanding of the photographic events and performances of the international students. Furthermore, in contemporary sociology and geography, much qualitative work relies more or less solely on interviews (Crang, 2002), while doing on-site observation allowed to examine what and how the international students do things, corporeally, socially and in conjunction with non-humans. This is of importance since there can be significant differences between what people say they do in interviews and what they do in practice (see Larsen (2008b)). This is partly because most everyday practices take the form of habit and much social life is conducted unintentionally and habitually as well (Larsen, 2008b). As is explained below, this is also often the case with photography and therefore, on-site observation was seen as a valuable method for this research, since "compared to qualitative interviews, observations better capture the bodily, enacted, technologised and 'here-and-now' quality of practices because they focus on immediate physical doings and interactions rather than retrospective and reflexive talk about how and why such performances take place, and what they mean" (ibid, p. 153). However, in this research, the on-site observation method served as a supplement to the in-depth interviews, as using complementary research methods can help to deepen and/or broaden your understanding of the people under study (Cook, 2005). Through the interviews, the participants' account of their photographic events could also be obtained. In addition, as Hurworth (2004) states, to *triangulate* – using multiple methods – is a common way to avoid criticism. By using in-depth interviews in conjunction with the on-site observation, collaborative evidence was assembled. Making use of several research methods allows the researcher to collect 'rich' data and to gain intimate familiarity with the subject(s).

### **3.2.1 On-site observation**

"[...] The only way to find out what people do is to go out and watch them. Not in the laboratories, not in the usability testing rooms, but in their normal environment" (Norman, 1999, p. 41). Marshall & Rossman (2006, p. 98) define observation as "the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study". They name it a highly important and fundamental method in all qualitative inquiry. Via the use of the five human senses, observations allow the researcher to discover the here-and-now interworkings of the environment, providing a 'written photograph' of the situation under study (Erlandson et al., 1993). Chalfen (1987) names ethnographic methods of observation as a research strategy that emphasizes the first hand observation of behavior as it occurs in 'natural contexts' of social life.

Kawulich (2005) provides some reasons why observation methods are useful data collection methods to researchers. First, by pointing to Schmuck (1997), she argues that observation methods provide researchers with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, grasp how participants communicate with each other, check for how much time is spent on various activities, and determine who interacts with whom. Furthermore, observation can lead to discovering issues that participants might not be willingly to share or forget to mention through other research methods, such as interviews and surveys. Clark et al. (2009) point to Madge & Harrison (1998) who, among others, named the following points as benefits of observation methods: it enables

researchers to understand and document the context within which activities occur (see below); and the firsthand experience of events and behaviors in their setting/context enables an inductive enquiry, instead of reliance on prior conceptualizations.

The on-site observation conducted for this research was aimed to reveal the processes in which the international students engaged when making a holiday photograph within the real setting. By doing on-site observations, I tried to get closer to 'what really happens' when they frame and shoot their day trip photographs. It allowed lively observations of how photography takes place *as performances* (see Haldrup & Larsen (2010)). The photographs that the participants of the UF NaviGators trip took served as input for the in-depth interviews (see below), and together with the observations, functioned as examples to draw on during the interviews and the analysis. Furthermore, by doing on-site observations, the (social) context in which the international students take their photographs was known – something which otherwise could have been an issue with respect to the capacity of visual representations (i.e. the participants' pictures) to provide useful information about aspects of social life without reference to other sources of information (Becker, 1974, in: Pole, 2004; Pole, 2004). During the observation I adopted a covert role, concealing my purpose and identity, instead of an overt role, providing full explanation of my role (see Fyfe, 1992). This was chosen for as to influence the international students' performances as little as possible, and to ensure that no one would treat me or behave differently (see also Cook (2005) and Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). Permission for conducting the observation during the day trip to St. Augustine was obtained from the board of UF NaviGators though.

During the day trip, I took field notes, which I worked out directly after the day trip. I structured my field notes by paying attention to 1) 'planning events', any actions that took place before a picture was taken, 2) 'shooting events', all actions related to the production of a photograph, and 3) actions that took place after the 'shooting event' but still involved photography (e.g. examining the picture together); which is all loosely based on Chalfen's (1987) framework for participant observation. Furthermore, I paid attention to issues such as the participants, the setting/context and posing performances. Kawulich (2005) names field notes as the primary way of capturing data that is collected from participant observations. Field notes are both data and analysis, as they are the product of the observation process and provide an accurate description of what is observed. Furthermore, during the day trip to St. Augustine some pictures were taken by myself as a part of the field notes and as a form of photo documentation, to also have visual 'notes' from the day trip. Ball & Smith (2001, p. 309, in: Haldrup & Larsen, 2010) argue that: "the camera's value as an ethnographic tool is similar to the audio tape recorder: it provides an accurate trace of events that still leaves an enormous scope for analytical interpretation". The field notes and the photographs served as a way to store the input from the observation.

### **3.2.2 In-depth interviews with photo-elicitation**

After the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine took place, in-depth interviews with photo-elicitation were conducted with ten of the international students that joined the trip. They were recruited by sending Facebook messages and by asking them face-to-face (see 3.3 'The research participants' for more elaboration on this). I tried to conduct the in-depth interviews as soon as possible after the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine took place, in order to ensure that the international students still

had the trip (and their photographic acts) fresh in their minds. Each interview participant was asked to bring the photographs that he/she took during the day trip to the interview. These photographs were used as a stimulus for the interview, and should be regarded as a way of photo-elicitation (see below). The interviews all lasted around 1 hour and focused on topics such as the participants' usage of and experiences with tourist photography, the UF NaviGators day trip to St. Augustine, the participants' usage of the photographs of the day trip, and social issues involved in tourist photography (see Appendix 1 for the interview guideline). Though the research intended to focus on tourist photography, it became clear during the interviews that the nature of the topic generated responses that also addressed some issues of photography more broadly. During the interviews, the participants also talked about issues of photography that were not directly linked to a tourism context, the phenomenon of 'photobombing' (discussed on p. 61) is an example of this. Keeping in mind that the traditional distinctions between the touristic and the everyday blur, the research did not neglect these issues in the analysis, but incorporated them where they supported the findings with regard to tourist photography.

Seven of the interviews were conducted in English; which is for both the participants and me not the native language. A consequence of this is that it was sometimes more difficult for the participants (and me) to express themselves (see also O'Leary (2010)). The following quote can illustrate this:

*Homer:* "Always, always like... I do not know how to say it in English..."

*Interviewer:* "Do you mean embracing?"

*Homer:* "Yeah".

The three interviews with the participants from The Netherlands were held in Dutch. As Dutch is the native language for both the Dutch participants and me, these participants were asked which language they preferred to use during their interview. They all chose to use Dutch.

Valentine (2005, p. 111) names as an advantage of interviews "that it is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words". The in-depth interviews were intended to discuss the international students' photographic acts and performances of sociality with the international students themselves. The in-depth interviews ensured that, in addition to the data obtained from the on-site observation, the participants' side of the story and their experiences – with the photographic acts and performances of sociality – were also heard.

Photo-elicitation is a mode of research in which participants are presented with images that intend to elicit their verbal responses, which are captured in an interview. In their study on the practices and working environments of 'mobile workers', Felstead et al. (2004) found that the photographs (taken by the participants and used in the interviews) revealed aspects of the participants' lives that they were unlikely to have spoken about in a conventional interview, because they took them for granted or were unaware of their significance. With regard to photographic practices specifically, Harrison (2004) describes how some of her interviewees were surprised that they could talk at length about issues such as their photographic practice, the images they produce and what they do with them. For many of her interviewees these issues had a 'taken for granted'

character. Rose (2012, p. 305) distinguishes as one of the key strengths of photo-elicitation as a method that it prompts an interviewee to talk about 'different things in different ways', hereby evoking different kinds of knowledge from participants, leading to a richness of interview material. Moreover, she regards the method as particularly helpful in exploring everyday, taking-for-granted things in participants' lives. Keeping photography's conventional character in mind, it was aimed, by using photo-elicitation during the in-depth interviews, to raise the participants' awareness of the photographic acts and performances that are involved in 'snapping a picture'. Moreover, it was hoped that the international students' photographs would serve as proof of their embodied and social acts, and work as a catalyst for the discussion about these issues. Felstead et al. (2004) see photo-elicitation at least as a means for the researcher to press participants for verbal responses, allowing the researcher to delve into the experiences, practices and knowledges that underpin the lifestyles of the participants. In addition, photo-elicitation methods make it possible to delve deeper into people's emotions and memories (Harper, 2002, in: Pink, 2004).

### ***3.3 The research participants***

An advantage of doing on-site observation and thus, participating in the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine, is that it served as a way to recruit participants for the in-depth interviews. After the trip, I sent Facebook messages<sup>17</sup> to the international NaviGators who joined the day trip to St. Augustine, of which the message in Appendix 2 is an example. As mentioned, I adopted a covert role during the observation/day trip, and now, after the trip, I switched to an overt role, being open about my objectives and identity as researcher (see also Fyfe (1992)). This could possibly have influenced people's willingness to participate in an interview, as they might have felt 'betrayed'. However, I did not encounter anything that points in this direction. By sending Facebook messages to recruit participants for the in-depth interviews, the potential participants were provided with the opportunity to get an impression of me before deciding whether or not to participate in the research. This can be of importance, as Hoven & Meijering (2011) noted that it can be important for participants to explore the researcher's social identities before agreeing to participate in a study. By both joining the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine (and also other UF NaviGators events to gain familiarity) and sending the Facebook messages from my personal Facebook page, the potential participants were given the opportunity to get an impression of the researcher. Another way in which research participants were recruited, was by asking them face-to-face.

In the end, eleven international students expressed their interest in participating in an interview. However, eventually one of them withdrew, saying that he was too busy to participate (though deeper underlying reasons might have been involved). In case an international student agreed to participate in the research, a day and time for the in-depth interview was scheduled. As mentioned earlier, I tried to conduct the interviews as soon as possible after the day trip took place, but because some participants needed some time to think about their participation and because of

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<sup>17</sup> Facebook is the main communication channel of the UF NaviGators, who have a special 'Facebook group' for each semester's members.

difficulties with scheduling the interviews, the last interview was finally held on the 19th of April, slightly more than one month after the day trip took place. The location of the interviews was left open to the participants so that they could select a place which would suit them well and in which they would feel free to talk. A laptop was used to both depict the pictures that the participants brought to the interview and to record the interview, so location-wise this gave plenty of possible options. In the end, eight interviews were held in my own room, which was located close to the university campus, midtown and downtown and thus, centrally located. The other two interviews were conducted on the university campus, one in a faculty canteen and one in a library.

The table below provides some more background on the participants of the in-depth interviews:

Name	Gender	Age	Home country	Time spent in Gainesville at time of interview	Total time to spend in Gainesville
Marly	Female	21	The Netherlands	2,5 months	4 months
Homer	Male	23	Spain	Almost 2 months	4 months
Julie	Female	22	Spain	Almost 2 months	3 months
Ralph	Male	22	The Netherlands	2,5 - 3 months	4 months
Elie	Female	23	France	2,5 - 3 months	4,5 months
Roger	Male	21	Peru	3 years and 9 months	4 years
Hannelore	Female	22	Germany	8 months	10 months
Vince	Male	23	France	3 months	4 months
Rose	Female	21	The Netherlands	3 months	5 months
Frederic	Male	21	France	8 months	1 year

**Table 1:** Background research participants.

By focusing on international students specifically, the research has a more narrow focus than most of the literature on tourist photography (exceptions being Markwell (1997) and Yeh (2009), who also specifically focus on students in a tourism context). Furthermore, although the research focuses on the international students' photographic events in the context of a day trip, it is important to keep in mind that the group of participants have two main characteristics: that of being a tourist and that of being an international student. This affects the outcomes of the research. Being away from their home country for a considerable amount of time, for instance, makes it perhaps more important for the research participants to share their experiences while still being 'away' and to maintain their social bonds with people from back home, when compared to 'regular' tourists, who sometimes even deliberately deploy strategies to be temporarily 'disconnected' while they are on a holiday (see Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). However, the traditional distinctions between the everyday and the touristic blur (Foster, 2009), and in the mobile societies of this century much of life is lived in a touristic manner (Urry, 2000, in: Williams, 2009). Therefore, despite the somewhat narrow focus, the research can still constructively contribute to the literature on tourist photography in general.

### **3.4 Research ethics**

Ethics must be actively managed by researchers and be a mainstream consideration in the research process (O'Leary, 2004), as the use of personal data requires ethical considerations (Andersson Cederholm, 2012). Every research project must devise its own ethical practices, considering the particular circumstances it will encounter and create, and then decide what is ethical in those circumstances (Rose, 2012). This section pays attention to the ethical issues involved in this research, subsequently: informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, copyright issues, and reflexivity.

#### **3.4.1 Informed consent**

Rose (2012) names the principle of informed consent as one of the most important in all kinds of research. It emphasizes the importance of researchers accurately informing their participants about the nature of the research (O'Leary, 2004), and entails that the people the researcher is researching should be aware of what the research is about, what the researcher is hoping they will do if they agree to participate, and what the researcher intends to do with the research results; the participants should then explicitly agree to participate (Rose, 2012). According to O'Leary (2004), participants can only give informed consent if they have a full understanding of their requested involvement in the research project, including topics such as time commitment and topics that will be covered. Informed consent implies that the research participants are: competent, autonomous, involved voluntarily, aware of the right to discontinue, not deceived, nor coerced or induced (see O'Leary (2004, p. 53) for more background on this).

As explained, I adopted a covert role during the observation conducted for this research. Li (2008) notes that covert participant observation stirred much controversy and debate on research ethics, in particular in regard to the deception and absence of informed consent from the people being studied. By adopting a covert role, I concealed my purpose and identity as researcher for the participants of the day trip, and they did not give me informed consent. However, as explained, the reasons for adopting a covert role were to influence the international students' performances as little as possible, and to ensure that no one would treat me or behave differently (see also Cook (2005) and Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). As Andersson Cederholm (2012, p. 104) states, "the issue of informed consent is often a question of *in situ* interpretation when the researcher is observing in semi-public/semi-private events". With regard to this specific research I deemed it legitimate to conduct the observation covertly, specifically as I intended to record the photographic events and performances of the international students without identifying the people I observed. Moreover, I kept the photographs that I took as part of the observation to myself. Therefore, the participants of the UF NaviGators day trip were exposed to minimal risks (see also Li (2008)).

After the trip to St. Augustine I switched from a covert role to an overt role, and thus, informing participants about my objectives and identity as researcher (see also Fyfe (1992)). For the in-depth interviews, I made use of a consent form (see Appendix three), which all participants were asked to complete and sign before the in-depth interview was started. Before given the consent form, I gave the participants more background on the research and its aim, the structure of the interview, the estimated duration of the interview, and the possible uses of the data generated by the interview.

Moreover, I raised the 'danger' of being identifiable by other NaviGators to the participants, and informed them about the possibility to withdraw from the research or pose questions about the research at any time (see Appendix three, as these issues were also partly covered in the consent form itself). The consent form was furthermore used to ask for consent to record the interview and to the usage of the photographs that the participants brought to the interview, and whether they, in case they agreed on usage of the photographs by me, wanted to have their face made unrecognizable.

### **3.4.2 Confidentiality & Anonymity**

This research makes use of visual data, in the form of the photographs that the participants made themselves which were used during the in-depth interviews. An issue that is particularly relevant for research working with visual materials is that individuals might be identifiable in the visual images, making it difficult to guarantee the participants the anonymity that ethical research assumes is necessary (Rose, 2012; Rakić 2010, in: Rakić & Chambers, 2012). Therefore, the question of anonymity is one of the most worried about among research working with visual research methods (ibid.)<sup>18</sup>. Confidentiality and anonymity involve protecting the identity of the research participants (O'Leary, 2004). This research attempts to ensure this by using fictional names for the participants – who could give a suggestion for a name on the consent form themselves. Furthermore, before signing the consent form and starting the interview, the possibility of being identifiable by other NaviGators – considering the small size of the NaviGators group – was stressed. This is one of the two cases that O'Leary (2004) mentions as causing the insurance of confidentiality to be problematic. In light of this, I asked the participants at the end of their interview whether they wanted to see a transcript of the interview and whether they felt that certain statements should be made anonymous. None of the participants made use of these possibilities. Other ways in which I protected the confidentiality was by storing the audio recordings on a memory-card only accessible by me, and by only making use of the recordings myself.

As is explained below, I asked the participants permission for the use of their photographs, and thus their portrait. However, the participants also portrayed other persons on their photographs, both other (international) students that joined the day trip and strangers. As Rose (2012) notes, when photographs are made of groups of people in public spaces, it is not feasible to ask every single person if they consent to their image being used as part of a research project. Though strictly speaking the ethical principle of informed consent should apply, in the United States of America anyone is allowed to take photographs in public places, even if the photo depicts a private place, thus, legally, then, consent from people pictured in public places is not required (Rose, 2012). However, with regard to the presentation of data in this research, I decided to make only use of photographs that depict people of whom I received consent to use their image. The only exception being one of the UF NaviGators group photographs (see page 64), which was, however, downloaded

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<sup>18</sup> Although some scholars make the case that it is more ethical to use visual methods that identify specific individuals (and places), than it is to make them anonymous. Holliday (2004, in: Rose, 2012), for example, also sees advantages in using identifiable images of research participants, as it can enhance the participants' power in the research process and have more ethical potential than images that are made anonymous.

from the public UF NaviGators Facebook page, and therefore, it was deemed legitimate to reproduce the photograph without asking every single person permission.

### **3.4.3 Copyright**

"Copyright is a restrictive condition attached to the use of images, which makes their sharing and re-use difficult" (Rose, 2012, p. 340). Generally, the person who made a photograph is the owner of the photograph, as is thus also the case with the photographs used during the in-depth interviews. Publishing photographs of people is a sensitive issue and therefore, most researchers ask for written permission from the persons being portrayed in the photograph (Anderson Cederholm, 2012). The research participants' consent to reproduce their photographs in this master thesis research and in possible other works was sought, by including the issue in the consent form. The possibility of editing the photograph so that the participants' faces would be unrecognizable was also given (with regard to anonymity issues). All participants agreed upon the usage of their photographs and six of the ten participants indicated that they wanted to make use of the 'anonymization option'.

### **3.4.4 Reflexivity**

Reflexivity involves a critical reflection on yourself as a researcher (England, 1994, in: Valentine, 2005). It means a constant, careful and consistent awareness of what you as researcher are doing, why, and with what possible consequences in terms of power relations between researcher and researched, as these can possibly all have an influence on your research (Rose, 2012). A researcher is a subjective entity, possibly biasing the answers of participants and interpreting them in different ways than the participants intended (see Valentine (2005)). Hall (2004) states that reflexivity is regarded as an essential ingredient in qualitative tourism research. An important component of reflexivity is the position you adopt as a researcher, in other words: your positionality. A reflexive approach recognizes the centrality of the subjectivity of the researcher to the production and representation of (ethnographic) knowledge (Pink, 2001). Researchers should maintain an awareness of how different elements of their identities become significant during a research (e.g. gender, age and race). They ought to be self-conscious about how they represent themselves to participants and they ought to consider how their identities are understood by the people with whom they work. These subjective understandings will have implications for the knowledge that is produced from the '(ethnographic) encounter' between researcher and participants (ibid.). With regard to myself I can say that I am a young, white, educated, physically fit women and – during the time of the data collection – an international student myself. As O'Leary (2004) notes, the answer to a question can often depend on the person who is asking the question, and I have the feeling that being a young international student myself helped me to connect to the research participants. Similarities between researcher and participants may be advantageous for the research: Valentine (2005, p. 113) argues that sharing a similar identity or the same background to your participant "can have a positive effect, facilitating the development of a rapport between interviewer and interviewee and thus providing a rich, detailed conversation based on empathy and mutual respect and understanding". This made me in part an 'insider', I was able to empathize with their world because I was in a very similar situation as them: I too had to miss my friends and family from back home, uploaded pictures of my time in the USA on Facebook, kept track of an online blog, engaged



over a thousand times in the photographic act, and the list continues. Furthermore, being familiar with the lifestyles and worlds of today's younger generation, made it easy for me to understand and connect to the research participants. The following part of Ralph's interview, which shows his assumption of my knowledge of mobile phones, can illustrate this:

*Interviewer:* "[...] what kind of mobile phone do you have?"

*Ralph:* "Eh, it is a HTC, a HTC sensation. A smart phone, but quite old, with a camera of 3 megapixel, but yes, you know absolutely, that this kind of camera's just make quite ugly pictures".

### ***3.5 The analysis***

After conducting the in-depth interviews, the audio recordings were used to partly transcribe the interviews. Here, the analysis already started as only the – for this research – valuable information was fully transcribed. The partly transcribed interviews were uploaded in the online analysis program Dedoose, a web-based quantitative and qualitative data analysis software. With the help of this program, the data were analyzed with codes that emerged both from the literature and from the data itself (see also Crang (2005)). Examples of codes that emerged from the theory are 'Self – memories' and 'Self – own identity', relating to the two main uses and functions of tourist photography that are explored in the theoretical framework. A code that emerged from the data itself is, for example, 'Camera usage – preference', as it emerged from the data itself that the participants have a preference for a certain type of photographs (un-posed ones). The analysis program helped to gain an overview of the data, as all coded text of the transcripts per code can be displayed. During the analysis, all coded data is extensively reviewed and linked to the corresponding literature. Furthermore, the field notes and photographs that I took during the on-site observation, and the photographs of the participants that were used during the in-depth interviews, were also re-read and re-viewed during the analysis. They provided examples and visual records of issues that emerged out of the analysis.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1 Introduction

This research explores international students' photographic behavior in line of the new tourist photography conceptualization, which pays more attention to the social practices and performances connected to tourist photography than was previously the case, as discussed in the theoretical framework. It focuses on the role of performing tourist photography in international students' social life, both in interacting with others and in their own identity and way they present themselves. The on-site observation revealed the processes in which the international students engaged when making their day trip photographs, and during the in-depth interviews the participants' usage of and experiences with tourist photography are extensively discussed. The interviews revealed that all research participants regard both the act of taking a picture (the *photographic act*) as well as the events after the photographic act (everything that is subsequently done with the created picture, which together with the photographic act constitutes the entire *photographic event*), as a social practice. This is in line with the new tourist photography conceptualization. The following quotes illustrate the participants' views:

"Definitely now, with all this social media, it [photography] became something very social [...] both the making and the sharing is actually one big social happening, and it, almost always, entails groups of people" (Rose, 21, Dutch).

"[...] pictures, is really about sharing experiences with each other, and yes, that is only possible between several people of course, hence, it is social" (Ralph, 22, Dutch).

"If you take pictures of other people you talk with them, and you share a little bit of your life with them, so I think it is social" (Elie, 23, French).

In this chapter, tourist photography's role in the international students' social life is further explored. First, by discussing the role that tourist photography plays in one's memories and self-identity. Second, by elaborating on the various ways in which strategic impression management, which is inherent to tourist photography, is deployed, and the influence of societal and group pressures on this. Third, by focusing on the role of tourist photography in one's social relations, by establishing and/or reinforcing social relations and the role it plays in group identities. The digitalization of the past decades has had a huge influence on people's (social) lives and performances, on which also is reflected.

### 4.2 Memories and self-identity

In the theoretical framework, two main uses and functions of tourist photography are discussed: the role that it plays in 'recording' a trip and triggering memory, and its role in identity construction and communication. Through cameras, tourists are enabled to capture the world themselves, and to produce lasting memories (Larsen, 2004; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). The very act of taking a holiday picture is an ambiguous process, since framing a picture removes a sense of

context (Robinson & Picard, 2009; Yeh, 2009). Pictures are the result of an active signifying practice, in which the photographer selects, structures, and shapes what is going to be photographed, and in addition, can further edit the result of the shutter-button release (see Hall (1982) in: Albers & James (1988)). Photographers can exercise their power to control *how* to see and *what* to see through the act of photography, and in this way can exercise considerable power over the way they construct their memories of the holiday (see Markwell (1997), Crang (1997), Haldrup & Larsen (2003), Garlick (2002), Dijck (2008)). By enacting certain performances, tourists produce a 'calculated memory', they frame their pictures according to the particular narrative that they wish to construct about their holiday, their life and, in the end, their 'world' (Garlick, 2002; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003).

During the interviews, all participants mentioned photography's functions related to memory, and for some, it is one of the main reasons why they perform photography during trips that they make:

"I like to take pictures, I like to record all my memories, I also write a diary, but I think pictures are like, a better way to record your memories [...] it is like, hard to remember everything that happens when you just write it down or have it in your memory, but if you look at the picture, it is not only the picture, but you remember the whole day and all your friends, and what you did that day, and that is really cool" (Hannelore, 22, German).

"I always want pictures of everything [...] because when I take pictures, then I have better memories [...] then I remember everything I did" (Marly, 21, Dutch).

"[...] I am a little bit nostalgic sometimes, and I like to remember moments of my life [...] I like watching [pictures] by myself too, because it reminds me of a lot of things, and I love it [...] I know that now, sometimes after watching the pictures, the memories come back" (Elie, 23, French).

"I think that in that way [taking pictures] you can really capture the essence of a particular holiday, and if you do not take pictures you can describe it and then you experience it, but then I think that when you later, want to recall the experience, that it is quite different, and then it is easier if you have images" (Rose, 21, Dutch).

These quotes link very well to the notion that photographs can safeguard one's memories (see Yeh (2009), Markwell (1997), Larsen (2004), Jenkins (2003), Haldrup & Larsen (2003)), and that one singly photograph can set off a train of memories and also trigger memories about what happened before and after the photographic act itself (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Others were less full of praise about the memory functions of photography, and noted that the particularly significant or important moments will also remain in one's mind without the help of photographs.

However, the functions of tourist photography extend beyond being a tool to capture one's memories. The social significance of performing photography during a holiday far exceeds that of the holiday itself, as by performing photography, tourists strive to accumulate idealized memory-stories that make the tourist experiences a lasting part of their personal narrative (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Narratives play an important role in the ways people make sense of themselves and their relationships, and tourist photography is part of this, being an integral component in the

production of identity and social relations (Larsen, 2004). In this construction of self-identity, memory plays a crucial role, as the construction involves a relation to the past, whereby events located in another time and space bring their force to bear on the present (Garlick, 2002). Photographs are crucial, as they make one's tourism experiences a vital part of one's life-story and spaces of everyday life (Larsen, 2004), and are thus an inseparable part of one's identity (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). Photographs enable people to relate their present situation both to other times and to other spaces or places in particular ways (Garlick, 2002).

In light of such literature, it was discussed with the participants during the interviews whether they think that photography contributes to their identity. Six participants saw a role of photography in the construction and/or communication of their personal identity, as becomes clear from the following quotes<sup>19</sup>:

"If you have those group pictures, or at least [pictures] with several people, then you are probably most often on the picture with the persons whom you have contact with. So, that determines your identity a bit" (Marly, 21, Dutch).

"Eventually, I do think it contributes. Cause everything that is involved with photography... does depend on how you are, how you take a picture, how you are portrayed. I think that that really depends a lot on your identity, what eventually is the result of a picture" (Ralph, 22, Dutch).

"[...] I think that the pictures I take, they represent me, because I picture things, sights or monuments, that I like" (Elie, 23, French).

Links to the literature can be drawn here, as these quotes link very well to the first way in which photographs can play a role in one's identity that Crang (1997) distinguished, namely, as serving as 'landmarks of what is significant' to the individual. As explained, tourists have considerable power over the way they construct their memories of a holiday, and with their photographs, they represent a reality that is a projection of their desires (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), which, for example, can be done by framing their pictures in certain ways. As the quotes above illustrate, these participants think that the subject(s) of a picture or the way a person is portrayed can say something about the identity of that person. Either by the subject(s) that person is choosing to capture or by the way one is posing (see below), and with whom and where (geographic location) that person is captured in a picture. Marly gave as an example that if a person is portrayed a lot in the nature, that would for instance say that that person probably is a nature lover.

In addition to framing a picture in a certain way to convey a specific image for the future, one can also produce a 'calculated memory' through performances of posing (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Although it appeared from the interviews that the participants in general have a preference for un-posed pictures<sup>20</sup>, it became clear during the on-site observation and interviews that they do

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<sup>19</sup> The other four participants did not recognize photography's role in their own identity.

<sup>20</sup> This preference for un-posed pictures, however, seems to change when it concerns the portrayal of themselves. Marly (21, Dutch), for instance, said: "I myself would rather be on a picture that is more posed

deliberately try to present themselves in certain ways on photographs, and thus to construct their memories in certain ways. The following quotes are illustrative of these attempts:

“I think that then [smiling for a picture], you are portrayed better... than sulky, or say than with a neutral face” (Marly, 21, Dutch).

“Happiness, haha [...] and having fun, that is what I like to reflect in my pictures” (Julie, 22, Spanish).

As these quotes make clear, the participants deliberately try to convey certain images for the future: Marly tries to look good in a picture by smiling (because she thinks she looks better in this way) and Julie tries to capture happiness and moments of having fun in her pictures (which is often achieved by smiling, see 4.3.1.2 ‘Posing performances’). Section 4.3 ‘Strategic impression management’ pays more attention to the several ways in which one can manage the impressions that one emits, and thus, convey a certain image for the future, both for one’s memories and identity. Societal and group pressures can also play a role here, which are also discussed.

Another way in which photography can play a role in a person’s identity came forward during Rose (21, Dutch) her interview:

“[...] on the moment that I have my single-lens reflex camera with me, then people often have something like ‘well, that looks professional’ [...] and sometimes like ‘oh, do you not think it is heavy to wear such a camera with you?’ and ‘what can you do with it?’. I think that a reflex camera is a bit an indication that you are just a bit more seriously involved with photography, than when you pull out a mobile phone or a little compact camera [...] it suggests that you are placed just a little bit more in the corner of a journalist or something, than in that of a tourist”.

Links to Actor-Network-Theory can be drawn here. ANT acknowledges the influence of non-human actants on photographic acts (see Larsen (2004)). A tourist performance is made possible by and involves many objects, machines and technologies, of which a camera is one example. Non-human actants have agency; Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009), for example, illustrated this by stating that the kind of device used to take a picture plays a role in photographic performances, as taking pictures with a camera phone instead of using a more ‘professional’ device is, for instance, less intrusive. Rose’s quote also illustrates the influence that a non-human component – the camera – can have and demonstrates that the device that is used to take pictures has an influence on one’s identity. In Rose her case, it influences how other people see and approach her; using a single-reflex camera influences the impressions that other people read off her, and thus, what identity they ascribe to her.

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than such a spontaneous picture with two double chins, haha”. This could well be related to the wish to be portrayed nicely, in order to manage their impressions and to convey a certain image for the future (see 4.3.1.2 ‘Posing performances’).

When discussing photography's role in identity construction and communication, there is definitely a role of uploading pictures on the Internet on social network sites such as Facebook. In this research, this is less directly acknowledged by the participants though. As Robinson & Picard (2009) argued, holiday photographs can have a strong social validatory role as they allow for the communication and projection of the self. By uploading holiday photographs online one can narrate one's touristic experiences to others, which is an integral component in affirming the assumed status derived from a holiday – which is a powerful signifier of identity, status and social aspiration (Williams, 2009). See 4.3.2 'Handling the result: the holiday photograph' for a discussion of the participants' online usage of photographs.

### ***4.3 Strategic impression management***

In the tourist photography literature the concept of 'performance' is used as a way of approaching tourism and tourist photographers. Being-in-the-world and the whole of social life can be considered as fundamentally performative and put on a stage for an audience (Edensor, 2000; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). In certain activities this performed nature of personal and social life is accentuated, as is the case with photography (Larsen, 2004). Tourist photography is, for instance, intricately bound up with strategic impression management. Following the work from Goffman (1959; 1963), it is argued that by enacting certain performances, tourists strive to avoid 'giving off' uncontrollable signs and to 'give' particular signs. In this way, each individual seeks to control the impressions of him/herself that other people will inevitably read off; and they do this by presenting themselves in accordance with approved cultural norms and expectations. As elaborated in the theoretical framework, cultural scripts and social norms are inevitably at play during photographic events. It is part of the hybridity of tourist photography and influences human practices or performances, for example, by restricting or affording certain expressions and actions (see Larsen (2004) on Actor-Network-Theory). Furthermore, tourism patterns are relational and embedded within social networks and their obligations (Larsen et al., 2007). They are not unrelated to everyday patterns of social life, family and friendship, but instead, the everyday and the tourist performance are linked. A tourist brings his/her body to the tourist stage and therefore, issues as race, gender and age, and in addition, complex personal and group relationships are also at stage; tourists' social relations, routines and mindsets travel with them (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012; Larsen, 2005, 2008a). Crouch (2002) argues that in practicing tourism, a person is a social subject as well as a socialized one. This requires a consideration of both the social contexts in which practices are made and of "how, at any particular moment, practices in specific spaces relate and are related by the subject's life, and are socially constructed through practice, friendships and other human relations" (ibid., p. 210). This social context can, for example, involve the disciplinary gaze of co-travelers and onlookers of photographic acts, to which tourists are subjected to as Edensor (2000) noted. This disciplinary gaze can underscore communal conventions about appropriate ways of acting as tourists and can possibly restrict the scope of performances acted out for photographic acts. Edensor (2000) holds that in the case of tourists travelling together with others, this 'external surveillance' is often particularly stringent in the form of peer pressures. People are, for example, sometimes subjected to efforts at choreography, when posers are instructed by photographers or co-travelers to bring into being certain appropriate fronts or break off certain inappropriate fronts or activities (Larsen, 2004).

In this section, the focus lies on the various ways of strategic impression management of the research participants, and the societal and group pressures that influence that, as emerged during the on-site observation and the interviews. Both impression management by certain performances during the photographic act, as well as after the photographic act are relevant. The section starts by discussing the ways of 'presenting the self' during the photographic act, in the form of framing a holiday picture in a certain way and enacting certain posing performances, and then moves on to ways in which this is, or could be, done after the photographic act. In this latter it revolves around handling the result of the photographic act: the holiday photograph. By selecting, deleting and editing the pictures it is carefully managed which pictures are shown to others; both offline and online. The societal and group pressures that influence the international students' photographic performances are interwoven in the section.

### **4.3.1 Presenting the self during the photographic act**

#### **4.3.1.1 Framing the holiday picture**

Strategic impression management can be deployed by framing one's pictures in a certain way. Here it revolves around photographs being 'landmarks of what is significant' to the individual, of which Crang (1997) speaks. The participants all have certain ideas around what constitutes a 'good' holiday photograph and deliberately try to frame their pictures in a certain way. During the interviews, it, for example, became clear that the participants have a strong preference for un-posed pictures (as long as it does not concern the portrayal of themselves, see footnote 20), and some participants sometimes take pictures unobtrusively in order to accomplish that. Two quotes that illustrate this preference:

"I prefer pictures without warning them [note researcher: the people he is photographing], that, I think, is more natural [...] When I take a picture I want to catch a moment, so when you pose it is not the same thing I think, not the purpose of my picture" (Vince).

"[...] I always like it when people appear spontaneous on pictures [...] just like how they are in real life, not that posing stuff" (Marly).

As became clear in 4.2 'Memory and self-identity', the participants think that the subject(s) of a picture or the way a person is portrayed can tell something about the identity of that person. However, there are also certain societal and group pressures around how to take a picture or what to depict on a picture, as became clear during the interviews. Marly (21, Dutch), for example, mentioned the existence of expectations (or societal pressures) that pictures should reflect what one does in his/her life. She herself feels this societal pressure around what to depict on her pictures a bit, in the sense that she feels that her pictures should convey more than only parties. Moreover, pressures around how to frame a picture can also arise from co-travelers (see Edensor, (2000)), for example, by giving directions to the photographer. Roger (21, Peruvian), for instance, said something that illustrates the group tensions that can surround a photographic act. A lot of his friends like to be portrayed on pictures from a distance, while Roger himself feels that this is "ridiculous", as subsequently, "you cannot really see them". However, he does comply when friends

want him to take pictures of them from a distance. He will, however, take another picture from a less large distance, in order to compare the pictures.

#### **4.3.1.2 Posing performances**

With their photographs, tourists represent a reality that is a projection of their desires (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). One way in which the desired image can be achieved is through performances of posing. The body is an essential medium through which identity is formed and projected, since it is inscribed with an array of encoded 'messages' that other people may 'read' (Williams, 2009). It is arguably the primary medium through which people express their identities, as identity does not exist outside its performance, and performance is intimately linked to the bodily practices through which people make sense of their world (and their position within it) (see Nash (2000)). Tourists' posing performances are shot through – consciously and unconsciously – with desires, fantasies and ideals; and try to convey a specific image for the future (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Larsen, 2005). When faced by a camera, people become acutely and extraordinarily aware of their bodies and their appearance. They start to inhabit another body and pose by reflex to 'give' an appropriate façade, presenting themselves as an idealized future memory and thus trying to convey a specific image for the future (Larsen, 2004, 2005; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). In these performances of posing, the body is brought into play as a culturally coded sign – of attractiveness, happiness, intimacy, etcetera (Larsen, 2005).

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, the research participants deliberately try to convey a specific image for the future by presenting themselves in certain ways on photographs, and thus, to construct their memories in certain ways. The participants are keenly aware of this property of photographs, and by posing, try to convey a certain image for the photograph for the future, both for themselves as well as for others who might see the picture later. Almost all participants said that they pose for pictures and thus, in this way try to manage their impression, or the signs that they emit. Reasons that were given for their posing performances mainly revolved around trying to look good in the picture:

“You do not want to appear ugly on the picture, in front of your friends” (Frederic, 21, French).

“[...] it [posing] shows that you are aware that a picture is taken of you, and because you also do not want to stand there stiff as a board, you often do lean on something, or put your hand in your waist, that you cooperate a bit [with the photographer, for the picture]” (Rose, 21, Dutch).

“I try to stand straight at the very least and smiling, I almost always smile on a picture [...] I think you look better and then you have, the pictures look better then” (Marly, 21, Dutch).

“[...] I will try to be, as nice as possible, I mean, not as if I were a top model, but I mean, yeah, not, not really forced posed, but naturally and smiling. [In order to] Do not be, do not be ugly or, I do not know how to explain it. But appear to be nice” (Homer, 23, Spanish).



Only Vince (23, French) and Hannelore (22, German) said that they generally try not to pose for pictures. Hannelore because she wants to have natural pictures (although she did say that she always smiles on pictures) and Vince said he does not like to pose and that he therefore tries to stay natural.

During performances of posing, the body is brought into play as a culturally coded sign (Larsen, 2005). One clear example of this came forward during the on-site observation. At the majority of the photographic acts observed during the day trip to St. Augustine, the international (and American) students were observed smiling when they were faced by a camera. This 'smiling for a picture' topic recurred during the interviews, and all participants said that they normally smile when they are photographed. Julie (22, Spanish), Marly (21, Dutch) and Rose (21, Dutch) even named it as an automatic reaction, a reflex, which is illustrative of the agency of a camera (a non-human component), as acknowledged by Actor-Network-Theory. The reasons that the participants gave for smiling for a picture centered on the one hand, on looking good in the picture, and on the other hand, on showing that one had a great time and/or had fun, which is quite equivalent to the reasons that they gave for posing in general. Some sayings of the participants with regard to smiling for a picture:

"Have a good impression on everybody who will see the picture later. So, again the urge to prove like I said earlier [note researcher: prove where one has been, how much fun one has had]" (Ralph, 22, Dutch).

"I am happy, I am happy to be there [...] if someone is taking a picture of you, it is because you are sharing a moment with them, and you cannot be just like this [note interviewer: makes sad face]" (Elie, 23, French).

"I think that a good smile is much better, in a picture. That shows you are having a great time" (Homer, 23, Spanish).

"I smile, I always smile [for a picture] and why? [...] because you wanna be on pictures, like, people, I always think about like, when somebody sees that picture later, they wanna see me happy I guess, it is kind of expected to be happy, like nobody would be like 'hmpff, I hate this all...', even if it is like a horrible trip, if you take a picture, everybody is happy, or at least you pretend you are happy, so that when you look back, the memories, and it is like 'o, we actually had a good time'" (Hannelore, 22, German).

As explained, a person might experience certain forms of societal or group pressure with regard to issues that surround his/her photographic acts. It appears that one of these pressures revolves around smiling for a holiday picture. By performing in a happy, smiling way, the desired atmosphere is projected into the future, no matter how boring, insignificant or disappointing the actual experience was: "see for yourself, it was really a good holiday" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003, p. 27). This smiling in order to create a happy holiday picture is not always 'natural' or 'truth based'. As explained, holiday pictures are never simple records of reality, but are shot through with desires, fantasies and ideals (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Larsen, 2005). One of these ideals is that of the perfect holiday (see also Markwell (1997)). Following the work by Löfgren (1999), Krippendorff

(1987) and Dann (1976), it can be argued that it is a result of a social norm – at least in the Western world – to enjoy oneself when being on a holiday, and this can be perfectly communicated by smiling. These scholars stress the norm of having fun when one is on a holiday. Löfgren (1999, p. 13), for example, starts his book with a list of ‘musts’ derived from a promotion campaign for a chain of summer resorts: “must lie in the sun and feel the rays on my skin [...] must enjoy both life and tranquility”. He argues that it pulls together the results of a long learning process on what vacationing is supposed to be about. On a similar note, Krippendorf (1987) names leisure and travel as possibly being two of the nicest things in the world. He argues that people ‘go away’ because they no longer feel happy where they are and that “they urgently need a temporary refuge from the burdens imposed by the everyday work, home and leisure scene” (ibid., p. xiv). The aim of the holiday is to have a break, to switch off and fill up, feel free and take home some happiness and memories (ibid.). According to Dann (1976), it is no coincidence that the inevitable reply to the question ‘how did you enjoy your holiday?’ is ‘it was simply fantastic’. This norm to enjoy oneself while being on a holiday, and capturing this in one’s pictures by smiling, is also enhanced by group pressures. Vince (23, French), for instance, said that he feels the pressure to comply to this ‘smiling’ norm when he is being photographed, and that this pressure is even bigger when it involves a group picture, because then there are a lot of other people. This is an example of the disciplinary gaze that Edensor (2000) described.

Figure 3 is a good example of such a ‘happy holiday snap’. This picture is one of Rose’s (21, Dutch) day trip photographs, and during her interview she explained that she was busy taking pictures herself when another student offered her to take a picture of her, with as a result this specific picture.



**Figure 3:**  
Example of a happy holiday snap (picture from Rose, provided to researcher).

*Interviewer:* "Why do you pose in this way, with your arms stretched out?"

*Rose:* "Eh, I remember that he [the student taking the picture] said 'oh, this is really eh, like, this is a good shot, which really represents the Florida feeling', something like that. And yes, I think that with your arms stretched, it is a bit eh, yes, a summer feeling, a holiday feeling... almost a kind of symbol for a feeling of freedom".

In addition to the social norm to smile for a holiday picture, other examples of group or societal pressures involving how to pose for a picture emerged from the interviews. These pressures can also be manifested in the receiving of directions when posing for a picture. Though, during the interviews, the participants said that this does not happen very often and that it only involves small directions. Moreover, it appeared that directions are mainly given by people who are close to the person who is posing, such as friends and family, and that the directions are aimed at creating a better picture, in which the poser is portrayed in better or more beautiful way. In addition, seven out of the ten participants said that they had never experienced a conflict on how to behave or pose for a picture. The three who said that they had, said that these were only slight conflicts and did not happen very often, and it was hard for them to come up with examples. Nevertheless, during the interviews, there emerged examples that demonstrate that the group pressures around posing are a bit more present and complex than appeared at first sight. Julie (22, Spanish), for example, explained how her friends sometimes want to make certain faces for a picture, while she herself does not want this:

"[...] a normal picture in a normal place, they [friends] are 'no, no, no, let's make that face', it [she] is like 'o no, here no', in another occasion maybe better, but, in some, I do not like to make faces".

When asked how she responds in situations like this she said that she would refuse to do the pose when it is a close friend who would be asking her, and that she would only comply in case she would be doing the pose together with a group of persons. Clearly, when the photographic act involves several people she feels more pressured to comply.

Group pressures involving how to pose for a picture can also play a role around performing the 'gator chomp', a certain pose made by UF students (see 4.4.2 'Group identity'). Ralph (22, Dutch), for example, talked about the first time he did the gator chomp pose during an event with the UF NaviGators, which in his eyes, then, was "very stupid", perhaps because he did not yet feel completely part of the UF NaviGators.

*Interviewer:* "Did you ever get directions which you thought were silly or stupid?"

*Ralph:* "Eh, o, of which I thought 'well, this is very stupid', eh yes, no doubt, I think so [...] that everybody takes some weird pose and that I think like 'yes, is that necessary?'"

*Interviewer:* "And what did you do then? Did you join or refuse?"

*Ralph:* "You probably just join in, or eh... maybe the first time with NaviGators that everybody is doing this [showed gator-chomp], then I am like, eh, 'do we have to do that, guys?'. I do not know you all so well yet, and then, to directly go on a picture like that... but after a while you do of course do that".

*Interviewer:* "Do you think group pressure plays a role here?"

*Ralph*: "Yes, I do think so, yes, if everyone is portrayed as a Navigator then you eh, are more inclined to go on a picture like that. And in hindsight it is of course great fun<sup>21</sup>".

As these two examples of Julie and Ralph illustrate, there are certainly times in which group pressures cause a person to pose in certain ways in which he/she actually does not want to pose in. This mainly seems to occur when several people are involved in the photographic act. In these instances, the participants seemed to be more inclined to comply to the group pressure. These group pressures are, following from Actor-Network-Theory, part of the hybridity of tourist photography, and by restricting or affording certain expressions and actions, influence people's performances (see Larsen (2004)).

Another example that demonstrates attempts at strategic impression management during posing performances and which also involves societal and group pressures, is having body contact. During the UF Navigators trip to St. Augustine this specific posing performance was often observed. When being photographed, students bent towards each other and put their arms around each other's shoulders. After the picture was taken they separated again. As explained in the theoretical framework, a camera can legitimize the immediacy of body contact, and when posing is performed in 'teams', touch is an essential dramaturgical practice (Yeh, 2009; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). This also appears to be the case for the participants. From the on-site observation and interviews it appeared that it is very common for them to have body contact with other persons during a photographic act. Several reasons for this kind of posing behavior were given, involving ensuring that everybody fits in the photograph's frame and demonstrating friendship or the belonging to a group:

"To show we are friends, and we are having fun, like if you are just standing next to each other it is kind of awkward, it is like 'yeah, we were forced to take this picture', but if you are like hugging somebody it is like I like to be in the picture with you and you show that" (Hannelore, 22, German).

"I like you, so we can be close on the pictures" (Elie, 23, French).

"Just to show that group feeling a bit [...] By doing that you really show 'ok, we are a group, we belong together', and not like, we are a bunch of people who happen to be in the same spot just randomly" (Rose, 21, Dutch).

"Well, first it is natural and yeah you do not think about it, it is kind of a thing you do, and I do not know, it is to get closer, and yeah, it is like sharing the moment [...] also to fit in the picture [...] and maybe it is a way to show your friendship" (Frederic, 21, French).

Except for Vince (23, French)<sup>22</sup>, all participants stated that it is normal for them to have body contact for a picture, and that it is almost like a natural reaction. This corresponds well to Haldrup

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<sup>21</sup> Ralph implies that when he felt more part of the UF Navigators, he could identify more with the pose and therefore appreciated it more.

& Larsen's (2010, p. 130) saying that "when cameras appear, almost as a reflex people assume tender, desexualized postures, holding hands, hugging and embracing". Moreover, links can be drawn to Larsen's (2004) notion that with regard to family photography, families act out these 'intimate geographies' in order to be in accordance with the late modern cultural code that intimacy and tenderness epitomize blissful family life. Based on the participants' behavior and sayings, a similar cultural code seems to exist with regard to friends, in which case having body contact epitomizes – as the participants argued – their friendship, showing that they are a group and belong together. This demonstration of togetherness corresponds to Haldrup & Larsen's (2010) remark that 'arms around shoulders' is the common way of bonding friends as one social body: it shows that the group, indeed, is a group. This type of behavior can contribute to a group identity as it shows that you are a group and belong together, see also 4.4.2 'Group identity'.

However, it became clear that having body contact for a picture does not necessarily only occurs with people that one is familiar with, and that the cultural code seems to extend even beyond friends, involving people whom one might actually not know very well. Homer (23, Spanish), for example, said:

"Even if you do not know them, it is like, you have to touch the other people [...] they are not my friends actually, but it is like, it is like a group pose, I mean... [...] it is like a spontaneous reaction, when you are in front of a camera and you are with people, grab them and pose in front of the camera".

During his interview, Ralph (22, Dutch) gave an example of a photographic act that involved body contact with persons he did not know very well that occurred during the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine:

"Last Saturday in St. Augustine I did that [embracing] for example, with someone I did not know very well, but I thought yeah, it is, one way or another... there was a feeling like that makes the picture a bit nicer or something. Eh, I also think that it is consistent with that urge to prove, of eh, I am having a great time, but we [emphasized] are also having a great time together, eh, together as a group we are nice. I think you especially want to show that you are there as a group, and not only for yourself".

As becomes clear, even with people one is less familiar with, nothing appears to be more natural than producing moments of closeness for a photograph (as Larsen (2004) argues with regard to family photography). However, in these instances it is perhaps more related to the wish (maybe even pressure) to produce a nice photograph and to show that one belongs to a group – and thus, convey a certain image for the future and memory – than to show genuine friendship. Either way, having body contact is something that is consciously performed for the photographic act, as all participants stressed that this way of posing just occurs for the picture.

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<sup>22</sup> He said that having body contact with others for a picture is not something normal him: "It is not normal for me, but I do not care, really [...] I do it artificially". Nevertheless, he does see a reason for having body contact for a picture: "I think that you feel more, eh, friendly on the picture, maybe".

### 4.3.2 Handling the result: the holiday photograph

As explained, tourism is an influential area of consumption in today's society and is an important medium through which people express their identity (Williams, 2009). In these expressions of identity, holiday photographs play an important role, as they can have a strong social validatory role in the sense that they allow for the communication and projection of the self (Robinson & Picard, 2009). The strategic impression management continues after the photographic act itself. Here it all revolves around deciding what to do with the result of the photographic act: the holiday photograph. One way in which people can deliberately manage their impressions is by editing the result of a shutter-button release by using software programs, such as Photoshop. The digitalization has placed an ever wider range of controls in the hands of the photographer, with, for example, dozens of options for retouching their photographs (Dijck, 2008). By doing this, people can control the way they are presented photographically and manage their impressions and also manipulate their identity and memory (see Larsen (2008b)). This manipulability of photographic images suits well to people's need for continuous self-remodeling (Dijck, 2008). During the interviews, the participants were asked whether they edit the pictures that they take, and it turned out that this method of strategic impression management is rarely used. A reason for this might perhaps be that the participants do not have the knowledge how to use the software programs that can be used to edit pictures. From the ten participants only three said that they sometimes edit their pictures, albeit the degree to which they do this varies considerably. On the one hand, there are Roger (21, Peruvian) and Homer (23, Spanish), who only make small adjustments to their pictures. Roger, for example, said that he will probably edit the pictures that he took during the trip to St. Augustine, such as changing the light exposure. However he does not want to 'mess' with his pictures too much "because I feel it is not very real". Such small adjustments serve to improve the quality of the picture, to make it a better picture. On the other hand, there is Marly (21, Dutch), who, despite her claim that she does not know how to edit pictures very well, gave an example that involved a modification of a picture to a far bigger extent:

*Marly:* "[...] for example on a landscape picture, that that someone is just captured on the edge of the picture, than that ruins the picture a bit in my view. And because that persons is not someone I know, and who, like, does not have an added value to the memory, then I cut him off, haha...".

*Interviewer:* "[...] So then you actually change the reality a bit?"

*Marly:* "Yes, well... yes it changes the reality, but it is more my own reality".

Editing pictures involves an adjustment of reality. As explained in the theoretical framework, photographs can be seen as the result of an active signifying practice, in which the photographer, for example, selects what is going to be photographed or edits the result (see Hall, 1982, in: Albers & James, 1988). The photographer can exercise his or her power to control *how* to see and *what* to see, and thus, a photograph is never just merely an objective representation of reality, but a subjectively constituted 'way of seeing' (Sontag, 1978; Berger, 1972, Barthes, 1977, in: Albers & James, 1983). However, editing a picture does not necessarily involve a conscious presentation of the self in a certain way, as, in Marly's example, only one element – which has nothing to do with the self – is removed. Nevertheless, an adjustment does influence the general image and thus, impact the impression that is given by it.

Another way in which people can deliberately deploy strategic impression management strategies after the photographic act is by making a selection of their pictures and/or by deleting some of them. As explained, people have an increased command over the outcome of a picture thanks to modern technologies, with, for example, the possibility of deleting pictures that do not charm. This makes it easier for people to produce images that live up to their desired self-images or the ideals (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). During the interviews it became clear that the participants do not so much delete pictures to deploy strategic impression management, but rely more on making a selection of their pictures. This can be regarded as a less rigorous method, as they still own all of the pictures themselves. All participants said that they made or will make a selection of their pictures of their time in Florida. They aim to capture the 'best' moments, the things they want to remember, and the pictures that mean most to them – which do not per se have to be qualitatively the best pictures – in their selections. Reasons why they (want to) make a selection are divergent: on the one hand, these can be quite pragmatic, as reducing the quantity of the pictures that they want to show to their family and/or friends, so it will not take hours to watch them together. Or to keep an overview, to make a photo-album, or out of financial considerations, as it can be quite expensive to print a lot of pictures (in case they want to print the selected pictures). On the other hand, the reasons to make a selection involve more deeper reasoning, as to upload only certain pictures on the Internet, or to control the pictures that others will see (which boils down to the same). In these latter reasons the attempts at strategic impression management become clear. Homer (23, Spanish), for example, said that he will show his pictures of his time in Florida to his family in order to explain his trip. However, as the part of his interview below demonstrates, he deliberately keeps certain pictures away from his family:

*Interviewer:* "And you already told me that you will probably show them to your family, will you show them all or a selection?"

*Homer:* "No all of them, yeah, I do not have any problem. Maybe, well maybe this ones I do not have any problem [the ones from St. Augustine], but maybe if we are talking about the whole trip, if some picture we are so drunk or we are like doing some impolite things or whatever, maybe I would... eh, take out that one or something. But it is kind of funny I mean, my parents know that I am sometimes getting drunk, so they can see a picture of us or of me, doing something weird".

*Interviewer:* "But still, you would hide these pictures from your parents?"

*Homer:* "Yeah. Because, they do know..."

*Interviewer:* "...but you do not want them to see it?"

*Homer:* "Exactly".

By showing only a selection of his photographs, Homer tries to manage the impressions of himself for his family. He only shows those pictures that match the particular narrative he wishes to construct about himself and his time abroad (see Garlick (2002)).

Nowadays, the showing of one's photographs often takes place online (see also 4.4.1 'Establishing and reinforcing social relations'), and selections are made in the sense that only certain pictures are uploaded on the Internet. During the interviews, the participants' online usage of their day trip photographs is discussed with them, and it appeared that they carefully consider which

photographs they upload on the Internet, hereby exercising power over who knows what about them (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009). The participants' online usage of photographs can be regarded as a performance, being a way of experimenting with the possibilities of the presentation of the self (see Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009)). Uploading pictures online involves the online presentation of the self, and by uploading only certain pictures, the participants construct a particular online narrative about themselves, that other people can consume. The strategic impression management they deploy online mainly revolves around the decision which pictures to upload online, and which not.

First of all, the pictures that the participants do upload online: here, there clearly takes a selection place before they put pictures online. During his interview, Ralph (22, Dutch) talked about societal pressures in today's Facebook-generation (as he termed it) that – in his view – revolve around the online uploading of certain pictures. He believes that there is an urge to prove where one has been and how much fun one is having, and that one can respond to this urge by uploading the 'right' pictures online. Ralph argues that as a result of this 'urge to prove culture', people always try to be portrayed in a nice way and to only upload the 'good' pictures that meet up to this urge:

"[...] in the Facebook-generation nowadays everything is thrown so quickly on Facebook, and if that includes a picture where you are portrayed, eh, not charming, eh, that is less nice I think, eh, I think that everyone in one way or another wants to be valued and yes, pictures are often a reflection of how somebody is, or how somebody tries to be towards other people... And besides, if you are portrayed badly, or if you eh, yes just do not look very nice in a picture then you will very soon get a comment like 'was it not great there?' or eh 'what a happy face' [sarcastic], you know, nobody is waiting for that I think".

This indeed appears to be the case for the participants. Marly (21, Dutch), for example, talked about a hypothetically miserable picture of herself, saying that she would show it to people with whom she is close, but:

"I would not put it on Facebook. Just show it to friends. The people who really see all of your pictures are probably your best friends, your parents and family, so that is fine for me. They probably see you more often like that. But I would not place it on Facebook".

For her, Facebook is the best reflection of herself, and she would never upload a picture in which she is portrayed in a bad way. On a similar note, also Homer (23, Spanish) thinks carefully about what kind of pictures he uploads online:

"[...] I just upload, like the pictures in which people appear [...] because that are the, as I told you, like the funny ones, or the ones that show that, that you are with a group and that you had fun. I mean, when people see, when people see pictures on Facebook, I think that they like, or at least I like, to see people. Not landscapes".

Homer does take landscape pictures, but would only show these pictures to his family and keep them for his own memory, and not upload them online. Just as Homer only uploads pictures that feature people, Rose (21, Dutch) also pays careful consideration to which pictures she puts online:



“[...] more readily when there are some other people on it [on the picture], or if it is really, yes, a special place, or really something nice which you want to share with people”.

As these examples demonstrate, the participants carefully think about which pictures they post online. By doing this, they present themselves in a certain way on the Internet and construct a particular narrative around their lives, and thus, deploy strategic impression management. Moreover, their online usage of photographs also affects the impressions they emit of their time in Florida. As explained, tourists produce a ‘calculated memory’ with their photographs (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), and likewise, with their online photographic behavior, the participants emit certain impressions of their time in the United States of America. By only uploading the ‘good’ pictures (e.g. happy holiday snaps), the myth of the perfect holiday is reinforced (see also Markwell (1997)). The pictures communicate that they are enjoying themselves, as, based on the social norm to enjoy oneself while being on a holiday, is expected from them (see 4.3.1.2 ‘Posing performances’).

Second, the pictures that the participants deliberately try to keep away from the Internet – although this is not always easy, as other people can also upload pictures online. During the interviews quite some examples arose that clearly indicate that the participants try to keep certain pictures away from the Internet. Following from the findings above, the participants avoid the uploading of pictures which they interpret as ‘boring’, ‘meaningless’ and pictures in which oneself is portrayed in a bad way (according to one’s own opinion). These kind of pictures would harm the image of the perfect holiday, which they try to emit by only uploading certain pictures. However, based on the examples that arose during the interviews, there is much to add to this. For instance, when asked whether there were any pictures made during the day trip to St. Augustine that he would have liked not be made, Roger (21, Peruvian) said:

“I am sure [...] usually there are [...] pictures that I look silly [...] And, for example, I ask all my friends, like if I have a picture with a beer on my hand, I do not want them to put a picture like that [online] [...] or if I am at a party and there is really a lot of drinking involved, just because I do not want that to be on Facebook, in public. [...] Because, I, I do not like, I just do not like pictures of me eh, with alcohol or other substances that could be around, not necessarily that I am consuming, but... [...] Because it is kind of an image, I feel like there is no need for me to be in pictures with alcohol. I do not think my family would mind even, they can see that kind of pictures of me”.

Clearly, he tries to keep these kind of pictures away from the Internet. In case a friend of him does upload and tag<sup>23</sup> him in one, he would ask that person to remove it. He does not want the image of him in combination with alcohol online and thus, by not uploading these kind of pictures himself or by asking friends to remove such images, he tries to manage the impressions that he emits (online). Another example of keeping certain pictures away from the Internet is the following quote by Hannelore (22, German), that also involves alcohol, but also partial nudity:

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<sup>23</sup> When being ‘tagged’ in a picture, your name is connected to the picture and, depending on your account settings, it is visible on your personal profile.

“When I go to the beach I do not take pictures of like, people in bikini’s or whatever [...] I would never like upload them on Facebook, if I have taken pictures of somebody in a bikini, or being drunk”.

As reasons for this she said:

“[...] because it is like, it always just depicts like one situation and you cannot, you do not have a context. You know, if you see somebody like ‘huuuuh’ with a drink in the hand, it looks like they are super drunk but it could have been just a stupid picture and you just look tired or whatever, but you cannot explain, so people think ‘oh, she was drunk and stuff’, so I do not want that”.

“I personally do not have a problem with that [note researcher: having a picture online in which she is wearing a bikini], but I know a lot of friends they say ‘nooo, I do not wanna be like in a bikini on Facebook because I am too fat’ or whatever. So they do not want that so I do not take pictures, because I do not know, they feel uncomfortable”.

From Hannelore’s first quote, the ambiguous nature of the act of taking a picture becomes clear, as framing a picture always removes a sense of context (see Robinson & Picard (2009), Yeh (2009)), as Hannelore also noted herself. Furthermore, following from her second quote, she has the sensitivity that some persons might have issues with uploading certain pictures online, out in public.

There are certain pressures at play around the showing of one’s photographs. Larsen (2008b), for example, noted how a certain form of parental surveillance can be at play with regard to photographs in travel blogs. Both Hannelore (22, German) and Roger (21, Peruvian) described how they felt pressures from their parents or friends involving the taking and showing of pictures. Hannelore, for example, sees taking and showing pictures as socially expected by her friends and parents:

“Yes definitely. Because when my friends like, at home, like, I tell them I go to Miami Beach or whatever, they are like ‘show us pictures!’, like they do not ask ‘ok, tell us all about it’ but they are like ‘I wanna see your pictures’, so it is like, yes, people expect me to upload them on Facebook and show it to them. And my parents always ask me ‘send some pictures of you’”.

The pressures that the participants feel from their parents seem to arise from their parents’ wish to be updated about the participants’ lives, they want to know how they are doing. Julie (22, Spanish), for instance, said she sends some of her pictures to her parents because:

“I want them to see how much fun I am having here. And also because they asked me ‘oh, send us some pictures of the trips you are doing’ [...] my parents want to know how well it is going here, haha”.

The sending of photographs serves as a way to keep in touch with people from back home, it can help to bridge geographical distances, allowing people to cultivate and maintain contact (see Yeh (2009)). As Larsen (2008b) noted with regard to travel blogs – but which also applies here – is that

it allows family members and friends to keep track of one's adventures, whereabouts and wellbeing in more or less real-time. For the participants themselves, sharing photographs can also form a component of home-making, as it serves to connect with friends and family members from back home (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010).

Thanks to modern technologies, the public's enthusiasm for making and sharing pictures has increased, and an almost instantaneous transmission of images is possible (Snow, 2012; Lister, 2009; and see also 4.4.1 'Establishing and reinforcing social relations'). Following from this, the strategic impression management deployed after a picture is taken (as described above), can even merge with the photographic act itself, as cameras in the form of camera-phones are readily connected to the Internet. Due to the ongoing digitalization and the connected rise in usage of social network sites, this type of strategic impression management will probably increase in significance.

#### ***4.4 Photography and interacting with others***

Whereas the previous sections paid attention to tourist photography's role in memory and self-identity, the various ways in which strategic management strategies are deployed, and the societal and group pressures that influence that, this section now specifically focuses on the role of tourist photography in interacting with others. First, the influence of tourist photography on the participants' social relations during their time in Gainesville, Florida is discussed, also paying attention to the influence of the digitalization on this. Second, a reflection on the role that photography can play in the construction of group identities is presented.

##### **4.4.1 Establishing and reinforcing social relations**

In the literature, the significance of tourist photography for people's social relations is acknowledged, and photography is seen as an integral component in producing these social relations (see Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Yeh (2009), Markwell (1997), Larsen (2004)). Yeh (2009), for example, sees the photographic act as serving to strengthen bonds among fellow tourists, and cameras as bringing a shared identity into a group's space and establishing a web of relations within the group. A camera can serve as a channel for breaking personal and social boundaries and can generate social interaction and legitimize the immediacy of body contact. However, the participants' opinion on the influence of photography on social relations is quite heterogeneous. This is perhaps related to the extent to which the participants already had bonds with other participants of the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine. The section below discusses three views in which the participants' opinions can be subdivided. First, the view which recognizes that photography has a clear role in establishing and reinforcing social relations. Second, the view which also recognizes this role but emphasizes that this role is more evident with regard to existing bonds. Third, the view which does not see a role of photography in establishing and reinforcing social relations. Throughout the section, attention is also paid to the influence of the digitalization on interacting with others, as, following from Actor-Network-Theory, changes with regard to the 'technological actors' of the tourist photography hybrid have consequences for one's photographic performances, and thus, affect the way people socialize and interact, and therefore, by extension, the way they maintain and consolidate relationships (Dijck, 2008).

First, there were two research participants who clearly saw a role of photography in both establishing and reinforcing social relations: Hannelore (22, German) and Julie (22, Spanish). Hannelore, for example, said:

“X and me, we took a lot of crazy pictures [...] they kind a like helped to establish our friendship [...] we bonded a little more over that”.

Hannelore also sees a role of the Internet in reinforcing social relations, as being a medium where people can upload their pictures and comment on them. She explained that, in the past, she would only show her pictures to good friends, whereas nowadays it is more common to share your pictures with others by putting them on the Internet. This is one of the consequences of the advent of digital photography and more broader, the digitalization, as discussed in the theoretical framework. People take far more photographs and are more enthusiastic to share their photographs, which has caused photography to flow beyond the limits of the home (Holland, 2009). Moreover, it has enlarged the audience, which now often also includes 'weak' and 'old' ties (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003). As a result of the digitalization, one can share one's life as it happens, and in today's (Western) society, most people are linked with each other through mobile phones, e-mails, social network sites etcetera, and display themselves to the public at large on websites such as Facebook. Dijck (2008, p. 61-2) notes that digital cameras are increasingly used for 'live' communication, where pictures are used to show affect or to convey a brief message, aiming at 'getting in touch' or 'connecting', instead of 'memory preservation' and 'reality capturing'. Instead of being aimed for a future audience, pictures are now targeted at an immediate audience (see Larsen, (2008b)). Modern technologies allow that the just made photographs can be seen straight away and can also be uploaded online.

Julie also touched upon the role of the Internet during her interview when she talked about a leisure trip she made to Miami during her study time in Florida, where she met some people with whom she is still in touch thanks to pictures:

“[...] we were on a trip, and we met some French guys in the hostel that we were staying. And they took pictures eh of us, with the camera, and we took it with our camera, some pictures that we are together, because we did trips and we did some things together. And, now we passed the pictures, and they have uploaded them on Facebook. It is a way that you keep in touch with that people”.

Julie explained that thanks to the pictures, she is still in touch (via the Internet) with the persons she met, and that, by uploading pictures online or passing them on via e-mail and commenting on and talking about them, their social interaction is continued. This kind of social interaction (face-to-screen) is made possible by the digitalization of the past decades.

Whereas Julie has the experience of staying in touch thanks to photography (in the form of the pictures) with people that she had not previously met, three other participants (Marly, Ralph and Roger) also recognized photography's role in establishing and reinforcing social relations, but emphasized that this role is more evident with regard to existing social bonds, so, with persons that

they already know<sup>24</sup>. To the question whether, in their view, photography helps to establish and/or reinforce social relations among the participants of the St. Augustine trip, these participants answered:

"[...] It is more with the people you already know. You might have additional contact with them, say, with who already are kind of your friends. But not with people whom you do not really have contact with, or no contact at all, then it [photography] does not really have an added value" (Marly, 21, Dutch).

"Yes, eventually yes of course. At least with those of the trip with whom you have good contact, eh, like you say, then you can meet one night and put a slideshow on, and then you can enjoy the moments again [...] And that does strengthen that bond in that sense I think. Eh, but with people with whom you have less contact... I do not think that a picture all of a sudden strengthens that, that the social bond eventually strengthens [...] I think it has relatively little influence on that" (Ralph, 22, Dutch).

"[...] I am sure it did, I feel like, the pictures would probably be fun, because my friends were there, and they are also on Facebook, they might see the pictures later and remember 'hey, I remember that day', and in that way it will strengthen social bonds [...] they will remember the moment" (Roger, 21, Peruvian).

As becomes clear, these participants mainly see photography playing a role in the reinforcement of already existing social bonds. Here, the digitalization has made it, for instance, easier to share one's experiences with significant others. The convergence of digital images with the Internet enables an online usage of photographs as a narrative device for communicating one's experiences, allowing this to be done from a distance and leading to a 'time-space compression', which allows 'face-to-screen' sociality (see Dijck (2008), Yeh (2009), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Larsen (2008b)). Digital photographs are a crucial component in today's mobile networked societies in which a person's ties often are at a distance (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010), as already became clear with regard to the participants' sending of photographs to their family and/or friends from back home. These developments turned out to be of significance for the research participants' photographic performances and social interactions. All participants, for instance, uploaded at least some pictures of their time in Florida on the Internet – although to varying levels of accessibility and they also strictly regulated which pictures appear online (see 4.3.2 'Handling the result: the holiday photograph'). Here, the social network site Facebook constitutes the most important medium. In addition, six of the participants sent photographs to significant others – mostly their parents – by e-mail or post<sup>25</sup>. As explained, this online sharing and sending of photographs serves as a way to keep

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<sup>24</sup> Although Elie and Rosie are two of the participants who do not recognize photography's role in establishing and reinforcing social relations, they both do reckon it's confirming role with regard to existing social bonds, see below.

<sup>25</sup> It is important to realize that not everyone of their intended audiences uses the social network sites on which the participants upload their pictures and therefore, are dependent on other mediums, such as these e-mails or postal items with pictures.

in touch with people from back home, as it allows one to share one's experiences and to give an impression of one's time abroad. Photographs are particularly helpful here, as Rose (21, Dutch) said:

“if you tell other people about it [note researcher: time in Florida], it is way easier to explain what you did and saw, using pictures”.

As appeared from the interviews, the online uploading of photographs initiates social interaction, as it often leads to receiving comments on the pictures or so-called 'likes'<sup>26</sup>. Vince (23, French), for example, mentioned how a friend from back home in France made a comment including a joke about him wearing a t-shirt on the beach on one of the St. Augustine pictures in which he was 'tagged'. Vince himself again responded to this and thus, thanks to the photograph, social interaction took place. This online interaction does not only involve people from back home, but also includes persons that the international students met during their time in the United States of America. All participants, for example, saw pictures of other persons who joined the UF NaviGators trip to St. Augustine online on Facebook, or were even 'tagged' in a picture. Except for one participant, all participants also responded themselves to these pictures, with the most common response being 'liking' them.

In addition to the consequences of the digitalization with regard to making and sharing photographs, other consequences involve that as a result of the modern technologies, creativity, playfulness and experimentation have become common features in photographic performances, which can also result in interaction with others. A good example of this emerged during the interviews, Roger (21, Peruvian) and Rose (21, Dutch), for instance, mentioned the phenomenon of 'photobombing' – meaning to “spoil a photograph of (a person or thing) by unexpectedly appearing in the camera's field of view as the picture is taken, typically as a prank or practical joke” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013). Moreover, the digitalization has allowed the performances and uses of photography to be more collective (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009; Dijck, 2009; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010; Larsen, 2008b). Both during the photographic act, for example, by examining the pictures together (allowed by the screen of the camera), as well as after the photographic act, for example, by stimulating social interaction online. These consequences were also clear in the participants' photographic performances as, for example, except for one participant, they all responded on online photographs (see above).

Despite the enhancing influence of the digitalization on interacting with others, there are five participants (Homer, Vince, Frederic, Elie and Rosie) who support the view that photography does not have a role in establishing and reinforcing social relations at all. Two quotes that illustrate this view:

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<sup>26</sup> A person can 'like' a picture by clicking on the 'like button'. Wikipedia (2013) explains this phenomenon as follows: “A like button, like option or recommend button is a feature in communication software such as social networking services, Internet forums, news websites and blogs where the user can express that he/she likes, enjoys, or supports certain content [...] This is a quantitative alternative to other methods of expressing reaction to content, like writing a reply text”.

“I do not think it [photography] can help to build a relationship [...] it is just a picture” (Frederic, 21, French).

“...the thing is, the picture is something really, it is like just a moment. To take a picture, I do not think that it helps you to improve a relationship or something. [... But] at least you are doing something together, so it is kind of social interaction” (Homer, 23, Spanish).

As these quotes illustrate, these participants were more thinking about the effect of a picture itself, and less about all the other events that are involved in a photographic act. Although Homer did mention that it involves social interaction. However, among these participants who do not see a role of photography in producing social relations, there were two participants who did reckon that photography can confirm already existing bonds. This is in line with the notion that individuals, through the act of taking photographs, articulate friendship and their connections to others (see Crang (1999), Dijck (2008), and see also 4.4.2 ‘Group identity’). Rose (21, Dutch), for instance, said about the day trip to St. Augustine:

“There, it was the first time, I believe, that a picture was taken of a big group of Navigators, and then you think ‘oh, that is nice’ because later on you will see it again, and in that sense, I do not think that that kind of pictures necessarily strengthen a social bond but they do confirm it a bit, like ‘look, these people are all part of it’”.

Elie (23, French) also recognizes the confirming role that photography plays, as she would only take a picture together with someone that she knows:

“If you want to take a picture of someone or to be on a picture with someone, it is like you enjoy the moment and you like the person. You are not going to take a picture with someone that you just know on Facebook. It is because you have a good feeling”.

For her, a picture confirms that she likes the person and has a good feeling. In this confirmation of social bonds, group identity also plays a role, which is explored in the next section.

#### **4.4.2 Group identity**

In addition to the role that tourist photography can play in the construction and communication of self-identity as elaborated upon in 4.2 ‘Memories and self-identity’, it can also help to shape and communicate collective identities among tourists (see Markwell (1997), Dijck (2008), Yeh (2009), Williams (2009)). During the interviews, the role of photography in contributing to a group identity among the UF NaviGators is discussed. As explained, the UF NaviGators is a student organization from The University of Florida, and is formed by both American and international students. Eight of the ten research participants felt that photography contributed to a group identity among the UF NaviGators. Only Vince (23, French) and Roger (21, Peruvian) did not support that notion, Roger said he had no opinion on the matter, and Vince said he did not feel it that way himself, but acknowledged that it perhaps contributes. Seven of the participants pointed to the contributing role of group pictures in the UF NaviGators group identity. This is in line with Markwell’s (1997) acknowledgement of the role of group photographs in serving as a way to construct an overall group identity among the participants of a holiday-tour, and Dijck’s (2008) notion that through the

act of taking photographs, individuals articulate their connections to groups. A good example with regard to the UF NaviGators are the group photographs that were taken during the trip to St. Augustine, to which many participants referred during their interview. During the day trip there was one moment during which three group pictures were taken. The participants argued that these group pictures underscore the fact that the members of the UF NaviGators form a group. Figure 5 shows one of the resulting pictures.

“[...] that we are a group, and we are together” (Homer, 23, Spanish).

“We were there all together, at this moment [...] you are part of the group” (Elie, 23, French).

“[...] it was the NaviGators trip, so when I see these pictures it is like ‘o yeah, the international students’ [...] I sent it to my family [and] put like ‘these were, like the whole group that went to St. Augustine’” (Julie, 22, Spanish).

These quotes illustrate the (group-)confirming role that photographs can have, as shortly noted in the previous section already. One specific type of behavior, or posing performance, played a significant role in this underscoring of the group: the so-called ‘gator chomp’. This is a pose made by stretching your arms in front of your body and opening them up vertically, in this way forming an alligator-mouth. This pose is related to the mascot of The University of Florida, an alligator (see figure 4), and is regularly performed by students from the university, but could also often be noted during UF NaviGators events<sup>27</sup>. When the three group pictures of the St. Augustine trip were taken, everyone first lined up and smiled, and after the first two pictures were taken, someone in the crowd yelled ‘gator chomp!’, resulting in everybody doing the corresponding pose, see the resulting photograph below in figure 5.



**Figure 4:** The mascot of the University of Florida.

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<sup>27</sup> In addition to the trip to St. Augustine, the researcher joined other events of the UF NaviGators as well, where this pose could also be observed.





**Figure 5:** The 'gator chomp' group picture (picture made by a stranger during the day trip and downloaded from the UF NaviGators Facebook page).

The participants said the following about the gator chomp and/or group pictures:

“Such a picture of St. Augustine, they [NaviGators] also did that last year, it actually becomes their logo a bit, from the website. It embodies what the NaviGators represent, so, an international mix, a group of people. Where a lot become friends with each other” (Marly, 21, Dutch).

“The gator chomp is a good example of that [group identity NaviGators], apparently that [doing the gator chomp] is the identity of the NaviGators” (Ralph, 22, Dutch).

“Yes, we [NaviGators] usually always do the gator chomp in pictures, so that is kind of like a thing, I do not know, it gives an identity, like we are all students of UF and we like, talk together, that is kind of cool” (Hannelore, 22, German).

“Every time we go to St. Augustine there is this picture, like every year, so yeah, that is part of the thing we [NaviGators] do” (Frederic, 21, French)<sup>28</sup>.

By performing the gator chomp pose, both the international and American students show their connection to The University of Florida, and it stimulated the participants' sense of belongingness to the UF NaviGators group, and perhaps even their belongingness to their host university. The pose demonstrates that they belong to the group and communicates the group identity. However, group pressures can also play a role around performing the 'gator chomp', as became clear in 4.3.1.2

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<sup>28</sup> Frederic studies in Gainesville for one year and also joined the trip to St. Augustine during the Fall semester.

'Posing performances'. Ralph (22, Dutch), for example, found the first time that he performed the pose "very stupid", perhaps because he could not yet identify with the pose and the corresponding meaning of being part of the UF NaviGators and thus, The University of Florida.

Having body contact is also a posing performance that can contribute to a group identity, and can communicate that you are a group and belong together, as became clear in 4.3.1.2 'Posing performances'. Based on the participants' behavior and sayings, there seems to be a cultural code similar to the one that Larsen (2004) describes with regard to the 'intimate geographies' of families, in which having body contact on pictures epitomizes friendship and shows that the portrayed persons are a group and belong together. Here, the second way in which photography can play a role in identity that Crang (1997) distinguished is relevant, namely as functioning as a narrative device: the pictures can communicate the group identity.

Another example that demonstrates the role of photography in the group identity of the UF Navigators, and which also revolves around the narrative function of photography, becomes clear from the following quote by Rose (21, Dutch). She talked about the farewell party of the UF NaviGators, which was organized exactly one month after the trip to St. Augustine took place:

"One of the girls of the organization asks to submit pictures for a slideshow [note researcher: which would be shown during the farewell party]. That also shows again how much photography is a social event. That you show pictures on a screen and that you will watch them together, and in that way reminisce together".

In this case, pictures are used in order to reminisce and enjoy the pictures together. This also fits well to the narrative function of photography that Crang (1997) points to, and thus, also demonstrates the role that photographs can play in one's – and also in a collective – identity. Photographs can be used to talk through a holiday and to share one's personal experiences, or in this case, one's shared experiences as UF NaviGators members. Seeing the photographs together can enhance their group identity as the photographs communicate that they belong together and form a group; it reconfirms the bonds (see Dijck (2008)).

## 5. Conclusion and discussion

This research aimed to answer the question: *“What role does performing tourist photography play in international students’ social life, both with regard to their self-presentation and identity, and in interacting and bonding with others?”*

The topic was approached by making use of a performance approach, which is in line with the new tourist photography conceptualization that emerged in the late 1990s, entailing that duly attention is paid to the social practices and performances that are connected to tourist photography (see Crang (1999), Markwell (1997), Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Scarles (2009), Yeh (2009), Larsen (2004, 2005), Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). The research participants all regarded photography, both the act of taking a picture itself as well as everything that subsequently happens with the created picture, as a social practice. However, this research aimed to explore this topic in more depth and investigated the role of performing tourist photography in international students' social life.

First of all, attention was paid to the role of tourist photography in the participants' identity and ways they present themselves. The research illuminated that for many of the participants photography's memory function still plays a considerable role in the motivation to perform photography during trips that they make. However, as discussed in the theoretical framework, the functions of tourist photography extend beyond this, as photography also plays a role in identity construction and communication, and social relations (see, for instance, Markwell (1997), Larsen (2004; 2005), Yeh (2009), Haldrup & Larsen (2003; 2010)). The majority of the participants acknowledged this, and confirmed that their photographs convey the things that are important in their lives. Their pictures represent themselves and, for example, can demonstrate with whom they have contact. In this sense, photographs can convey someone's identity. The participants' online usage of holiday photographs also plays a considerable role in their identity, as it involves the online presentation of the self, constructing a particular online narrative about themselves. Moreover, it also affects the impressions that they emit of their time in the United States. By only uploading the 'good' pictures (e.g. happy holiday snaps), the myth of the perfect holiday is reinforced (see also Markwell (1997)).

The participants deliberately construct and handle their day trip photographs in certain ways, and in general, deploy strategic impression management strategies around their photographic performances. It is extensively discussed how they can do this, for instance, by framing their pictures in certain ways, by performing certain posing performances, by editing or selecting their photographs, and so on. By these performances, the participants try to avoid the 'giving off' uncontrollable signs and to 'give' particular signs, and hereby control the impressions of him/herself that other people will read off; they are managing their identity (see Goffman (1963)). Thanks to the digitalization, people are more in control of their pictures, for example, with possibilities of deleting and editing one's photographs (Dijck, 2008; Larsen, 2008b). This can enhance the role that photography plays in one's identity, as it is getting easier to precisely convey that in your picture what you want to convey and thus, to produce images to live up to your desired self-image. This suits well to people's need for continuous self-remodeling and desire to be able to control how they are presented photographically (Larsen, 2008b; Dijck, 2008).

In these strategic impression management performances, cultural scripts and social norms are inevitably at play, which – following Actor-Network-Theory – are part of the hybridity of tourist photography, and which influence the participants' performances (Larsen, 2004). Furthermore, the everyday and the tourist are linked; tourism patterns and performances are related to everyday patterns of social life, family and friendship (see Larsen et al. (2007), Larsen (2005, 2008a), Stylianou-Lambert (2012)). This social context can take on the form of societal or group pressures which influence one's photographic performances (see Edensor (2000)), of which several examples are presented. It became clear that tourist photography not only has an influence on one's social life – as is the direction of this research – but that one's social life also has an influence on one's photographic performances. The participants, for example, felt pressures from their parents or friends to take and share photographs, and more general societal pressures caused all participants to smile for their holiday pictures, in order to live up to the social norm to enjoy oneself when being on a holiday.

Second, attention was paid to the role of tourist photography in interacting and bonding with others. In the literature, the significance of tourist photography for people's social relations is acknowledged, and it is seen as an integral component in producing social relations (see Haldrup & Larsen (2003, 2010), Yeh (2009), Markwell (1997), Larsen (2004)). The participants' opinions on photography's influence on social relations however, appeared to be quite heterogeneous, falling apart in two participants who saw a clear role, three participants who mainly saw a role with regard to existing social bonds, and five participants who did not see a role. Of this last group though, two participants did point to the confirming role that photography can play – which is of significance with regard to group identities.

Irrespective of these divergent views, it can be argued that tourist photography does play a role in the participants' social relations, although they may not always consciously realize this themselves. It became clear for instance that photography contributes to a group identity among the UF NaviGators. Group photographs are of significance here, being a medium through which people articulate their connections to groups and thus, having a group-confirming function (see Dijck (2008) and Markwell (1997)). One specific posing performance played a considerable role in the underscoring of the group identity: the 'gator-chomp'. By performing this pose, the international students showed their connection to the University of Florida, and it stimulated their sense of belongingness to the UF NaviGators group (and perhaps even their belongingness to the University of Florida in general), as it demonstrates – by doing the pose altogether – that they are part of the UF NaviGators group. Another posing performance that can contribute to a group identity is having body contact, although this is surrounded by ambiguity, as it also appeared to occur with persons with whom one is less familiar with. Moreover, photography, in the form of photographs, can also enhance a group identity in the sense that it reconfirms the social bonds (Dijck, 2008). When watching the pictures – that demonstrate that the displayed persons belong together – together in the group or distributing them online, the social bonds are communicated and re-confirmed.

In addition to photography's contributing role to the UF NaviGators' group identity, tourist photography also has other influences on the participants' social relations. Here, the changes that occurred to photography thanks to the digitalization of the past decades are highly important (see

Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Lasén & Gómez-Cruz (2009), Dijck (2008)). In light of Actor-Network-Theory, this research acknowledges the hybridity of tourist photography, regarding photographic performances as resulting from relations between social, natural and technological actors (see Michael (2000)). Changes with regard to the 'technological actors' thus have consequences for one's photographic performances, on which this research reflected as it is of great significance for the role that tourist photography plays in one's social life, affecting the way people socialize and interact, and thus, the way they maintain and consolidate relations (Dijck, 2008). Thanks to modern technologies, a 'time-space compression' has taken place, allowing 'face-to-screen' sociality (Larsen, 2008b; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). The participants, for example, e-mailed some of their pictures from their time abroad to their family or friends back home, in which case photography served as a way to keep in touch with people from back home and thus, to maintain these social bonds (Larsen, 2008b; Yeh, 2009; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Moreover, it allows the participants to share their experiences and to narrate their identity (see also Crang (1997)). In today's society, sharing photographs has become more common and this in addition, often involves a bigger and more public audience (Snow, 2012; Holland, 2009; Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). All participants uploaded some of their photographs of their time in the United States online on a social network site, which initiated social interaction in the form of comments on the pictures or 'likes', both with people from back home and with people they met during their time in The United States. Furthermore, the technological developments of the past decades have led to more possibilities for collective photographic performances and social interactions around photography, for example, by examining a picture together with someone else on a digital camera's screen directly after it is taken, or by commenting on pictures on the Internet (see Lasén & Gomez-Cruz (2009), Dijck (2008), Haldrup & Larsen (2010), Larsen (2008b)). In today's society, the touristic and the everyday become increasingly linked, with photographs becoming more and more important as mediums to communicate, and turning into the new currency for social interaction (Dijck, 2008).

The research demonstrated the role of performing tourist photography in international students' social life, and showed how taking pictures can influence one's social life, even beyond the trip or holiday itself. The research has contributed to the tourist photography literature by devoting extensive attention to issues of sociality connected to tourist photography, by shedding some light on why and how tourists perform photography, and by elaborating on the consequences of the digitalization on tourists' photographic performances. For future research it would be interesting to explore issues such as the influence of one's cultural background on the role that tourist photography plays in one's social life.

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## **7. Appendix**

Below three attachments:

- 1) The interview guideline used to conduct the in-depth interviews.
- 2) An example of the message used to recruit research participants.
- 3) The consent form which the research participants needed to sign before starting the in-depth interview with photo-elicitation.

### ***7.1 Appendix 1: Interview guideline***

My research is about tourist photography. I focus on international students in Gainesville, and how they use photography and their cameras as social acts. During this interview I would like to talk with you about your usage of photography, and your experiences with it. Furthermore, I would like to watch and discuss the pictures that you took during the trip of the NaviGators to St. Augustine with you (in case you took photographs).

The interview will take about one to one and a half hour. Do not hesitate to tell me things which might seem obvious to you, or ask questions yourself during the interview. I will use this interview for my master thesis, and in the future possibly as input for an academic article or presentation at an academic conference. Participating in this interview is voluntary, and you can always stop the interview, whenever you like. Furthermore, you do not have to answer all the questions if you do not want to do so.

I would like to record the interview, so I do not have to make a lot of notes during the interview and can focus on you and your story. Furthermore, I would like to ask your permission for the usage of the pictures that you took during the NaviGators trip for my master thesis, and other works that might result from my master thesis research. If you want, I can edit the pictures so your face is not visible. In my research I will use fictional names to ensure your anonymity, but considering the small size of the NaviGators group, there might be a chance that you are identifiable by other members of the Navigators. At the end of the interview I will therefore ask you if you want to see a transcript of the interview, and if you feel certain statements should be made anonymous. In light of all this, I made a consent form, which I would like to ask you to sign.

Do you have any questions before we start with the interview?

OK, then we can start with the interview. The interview consists of five parts. First I will ask you some general questions about yourself. Then we will move on to a section about your opinion on some topics related to photography. Followed by a section with questions about your experience with being a photographer, with being a subject of a photograph, and experience with onlookers/strangers at the places where you take pictures. After that we will discuss the NaviGators trip to St. Augustine, and discuss the pictures that you took (in case you took photographs). Then we will talk about some social aspects of photography, and your opinion about this. You can see this as the interpreting, concluding part.

## **Introduction**

Name:

Gender:

How old are you?

Where are you from?

Where were you raised?

How long have you been in Gainesville?

How long will you stay in total?

Why are you in Gainesville?

What do you study?

Do you own a camera yourself? Why / why not?

- *If yes*, what kind of camera?

- *If yes*, do you often take pictures? Why / why not?

- *If yes*, during what kind of occasions do you take pictures?

- *If yes*, do you normally take pictures during holidays or trips that you make? Why / why not?

Does your family have a camera?

- *if yes*, is your family used to take lots of pictures?

- *if yes*, when do they take pictures? (Is the camera always a part of events?)

Do you have photo-albums? (Printed or online?)

- *if yes*, do you have a tradition of looking at pictures with your family and/or friends?

- *if yes*, are the pictures inside these albums mostly posed or natural?

Do you have a mobile phone?

- *If yes*, can it take pictures?

- *If yes*, do you often take pictures with it? Why / why not?

- *If yes*, during what kind of occasions do you take pictures?

- *If yes*, do you also use it to take pictures during holidays or trips that you make? Why / why not?

Do you have other devices that you use to take pictures with? (for example webcam, iPad).

- *If both yes*: Do you prefer using your camera or mobile phone (or other device) for photography? Why?

Is photography important for you? Why / Why not?

## **Photography**

Do you think taking photographs is a socially expected thing to do if you are on a trip or holiday?

Are there certain rules and/or do & don't around holiday photography, in your opinion?

- *if yes*, could you explain them?

- *if yes*, do you think these rules make sense? Why / why not?

What do you consider a good holiday picture? Why?

What do you consider a bad holiday picture? Why?

What is your typical reaction when you are faced by a camera when you are on a trip/holiday?

Why?

## **Being a photographer**

If you take a picture of people with whom you are with, do you usually give them directions? Why / why not?

- *If yes*, what are typical directions you give?
  - *If yes*, how do the persons you are taking the picture of usually respond?
  - *If yes*, did you ever experience a conflict because persons had different ideas than you about how to behave or pose for a picture?
- Do fellow travelers make comments about your way of photographing?  
Do they give you suggestions?  
Do you ever 'take turns' with someone you are photographing? I.e. shifting between being the photographer and being the poser during the same photo session. Why / why not?

### ***Being a subject***

- If someone is taking a picture of you, do you give that person directions?
- *if yes*, what kind of directions?
  - *if yes*, how does that person normally respond?
- If someone takes a picture of you, do you normally pose? Why / why not?
- *if yes*, how would you describe your usual way of posing for a holiday picture?
  - *if yes*, what do you try to achieve with this way of posing?
- Are there certain funny poses you do when being photographed? (for example, making a 'V' above someone's head).
- *if yes*, why do you do these poses?
- Do you often get directions of the person who is taking the picture?
- *if yes*, what kind of directions?
- Did you ever get directions which you thought were silly/stupid/etc.?
- Did you ever get directions with which you did not want to comply?
- *if yes*, why did you not want to comply?
  - *if yes*, what did you do?
- Is it normal for you to smile when you are getting photographed? Why / why not?
- *if yes*, what is the purpose of smiling for a picture, in your view?
- Is it normal for you to have body contact with people with whom you are getting photographed?  
Why / why not?
- *if yes*, in what kind of ways do you have body contact?
  - *if yes*, what is the purpose of having body contact, in your view?
  - *if yes*, do you also have this kind of body contact with the persons outside photography? Why / why not?

### ***Onlookers / Strangers***

- Have you ever asked a stranger to take a picture of you and/or your group? Why / why not?
- *if yes*, could you describe how such an interaction usually takes place?
  - *if yes*, did you ever ask a stranger to take a picture of you out of other reasons than wanting a picture (for example, trying to start a conversation with them)?
- Do strangers ever ask you to take a picture of them?
- *if yes*, do you comply? Why / why not?
- Do these kinds of interactions result in more than just taking a picture? (for example, having a chat with each other).
- Have you ever experienced that an onlooker/stranger made a comment about your way of

photographing and/or the way you are posing for pictures?

Have you ever made a comment to a stranger about his/her way of photographing?

When you are taking a picture / being photographed at a busy spot, what are typical responses from strangers? In case their walkway passes the shooting event, do they wait? Do they adjust their walkway?

What do you normally do when your walkway crosses a shooting event of others?

### *NaviGators trip to St Augustine*

Did you take pictures yourself during the trip? Why / why not?

If person did take pictures him/herself with own camera:

What type of camera did you use?

How many pictures did you take?

Did you take group pictures during the trip? Why / why not?

Did you experience any interactions with other tourists or local people because of photography? (for example, asking them to take a picture of you).

Did you examine pictures you took during the trip by looking them back on your camera screen? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, when did you examine them?

- *if yes*, did you examine them by yourself or together with others?

- *in case with others*, can you describe the situation?

- *in case with others*, did they/you made remarks about the pictures? (e.g. did it serve as input for a conversation?)

During the trip, did you delete pictures you took during the trip? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, was this based on your own decision or did others also have a role?

- *if yes*, did deletion result in retakes of pictures?

Would you have liked to take more and/or different pictures than you did?

- *if yes*, why? And why did you not take them?

Are there any pictures made during the trip that you would have liked not to be made? (out of group pressure for example). Why?

\* Watching participant's pictures together – Questions depending on the pictures \*

- *in case of picture of self*: who took the picture? Did you ask him/her yourself? Did he/she give you any directions? Explain situation?

- *in case of picture with other people*: explain situation? Was there any choreographing? Who decided to take a picture? Who took the picture?

- *in case of a picture with play/out of character behavior*: explain situation? Why did you behave like this?

- *in case of a picture with a prop*: explain situation? Why did you take a picture with this object?

If person did not take any pictures him/herself with own camera:

Did you appear in pictures that other people took?

Have you made pictures with someone else's camera?

- *if yes*, explain situation(s)?

Did you experience any interactions with other tourists or local people because of photography? (for example, asking you to take a picture).

Did you examine pictures that someone else took during the trip?

- *if yes*, when did you examine them?

- *if yes*, did you examine them by yourself or together with others?

- *in case with others*, can you describe the situation?

- *in case with others*, did they/you made remarks about the pictures? (e.g. did it serve as input for a conversation?)

During the trip, did you delete pictures someone took during the trip / that you took yourself with someone else's camera? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, was this based on your own decision or did others also have a role?

- *if yes*, did deletion result in retakes of pictures?

Would you have liked to have more and/or different pictures than you do now?

- *if yes*, why? And why did you not take them?

Are there any pictures made during the trip that you would have liked not to be made? (out of group pressure for example). Why?

### ***NaviGators trip to St Augustine - After the trip***

#### **If person did take pictures him/herself with own camera:**

What did you do with them after you arrived home? - Did you put them on your computer / usb stick / hard disc?

Did you edit any of the pictures? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, how did you edit them?

Did you make any selection?

- *if yes*, where did you base your selection on?

Did you show your pictures to anyone? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, describe situation?

- *if no*, will you do so in the future do you think?

Did you share your pictures with anyone? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, with whom? Describe situation?

- *if no*, will you do so in the future do you think?

Did you print the pictures? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, what will you use them for?

- *if no*, will you print them in the future do you think?

Do you value the pictures that you took? Why / why not?

- *if yes*, do you value them more for the location or for the portrayed people, or other reason?

Did you upload any of the pictures online? (for example, on Facebook/blog/Flickr/etc.). Why / why not?

- *if yes*, where did you upload them?

- *if yes*, when did you this? (During trip / same day / day after / etc.)

- *if no*, do you think you will do this in the future?

#### ***In case of uploading:***

Did you add any type of text or comments to the pictures? Why / why not?



- *if yes*, what kind of text/comments?

Did you get any response on the pictures and/or comments?

- *if yes*, what kind of responses? Of whom?

Did you do anything else with your pictures we have not discussed so far?

Will you do anything else with your pictures in the future we have not discussed so far?

Did you see other pictures of the trip next to your own?

- *if yes*, where did you see them? Got them from a fellow trip participant / online / etc?

- *if yes*, did you comment on them? (if possible)

If person did not take any pictures him/herself with own camera:

You did not take any pictures with your own camera, but have you, since you got home, seen any pictures?

- *if yes*, where did you see them? At a fellow trip participant / online / etc?

- *if yes*, did you comment on them? (if possible)

- *if yes*, did you save the pictures to your own computer / some other device?

- *if yes on downloading*, what will you do with the pictures? (Edit? Make a selection? Show to others? Share with others? Print? Upload online yourself? Add text/comments?)

Did you receive pictures of other students who joined the trip? Or will you receive some in the future?

- *if yes*, what will you do with the pictures? (Edit? Make a selection? Show to others? Share with others? Print? Upload online yourself? Add text/comments?)

## **Sociality**

*This final part is about some social aspects of photography, and your opinion about this. You can see this as the interpreting, concluding part.*

Do you see photography as a social act? (both taking the picture itself and the events afterwards)

Why / why not?

- *if yes*, in what ways?

Do you think photography helped you to strengthen bonds with others who participated in the St. Augustine trip?

- *if yes*, in what ways?

Do you think photography helps you establish and/or reinforce social relationships with the participants of the St. Augustine trip?

- *if yes*, in what ways?

In your view, do photographs contribute to a group identity among the NaviGators? (As being an international student, as a student in general, as someone from X <nationality/ethnicity>, as female/male student)

- *if yes*, in what ways?

Does photography and/or photographs contribute to your identity? (both taking the picture itself and the events afterwards) (As being an international student, as a student in general, as someone from X <nationality/ethnicity>, as female/male student)

- *if yes*, in what ways?

Do you behave differently with regard to photography when you are with different people? (for example, different way of posing when with friends than when with family)

- if yes, in what ways?

Do you see photography as an individual or collective act? Why?

### ***Final questions***

Is there anything you would like to add to the interview?

Do you have any questions about the interview?

Do you want to see a transcript of the interview?

Do you feel certain statements should be made anonymous?

Thank you for the interview 😊

## **7.2 Appendix 2**

Hi X!

How are you? We met each other during the NaviGators event to St. Augustine last Saturday, remember? We did not talk a lot, but I wanted to ask you the following question:

I'm here in Gainesville for my master thesis. The research that I'm doing is about tourism photography, with as goal to examine the photographic acts that international students in Gainesville engage in. Hereby I focus on how international students use their camera and photography to perform sociability. During the NaviGators trip to St. Augustine last Saturday I did some observations, and now I wanted to ask you whether you would be willing to participate in an interview :)

During the interview I would like to talk with you about your usage of photography, and how you behave with regard to photography. Furthermore, I would like to watch and discuss the pictures that you took during the trip of the NaviGators to St. Augustine with you (in case you took photographs). I estimate that the interview will take around one hour.

Let me know what you think about it, and in case you want to participate (which would be great!), we can plan a good day and time to do the interview.

Gwenda

## **7.3 Appendix 3: Consent form**

This research is about tourist photography and focuses on international students in Gainesville, and how they use photography and their cameras as social acts. During the interview I would like to talk with you about your usage of photography, and your experiences with it. Furthermore, I would like to watch and discuss the pictures that you took during the trip of the NaviGators to St. Augustine with you (in case you took photographs).

I will use this interview for my master thesis, and in the future possibly as input for an academic article or presentation at an academic conference.

**Contact details**

*Researcher*

Gwenda van der Vaart  
[gwvdvaart@hotmail.com](mailto:gwvdvaart@hotmail.com)  
(352) 226 5626 (American phone)  
(331) 6 52317254 (Dutch phone)

*Supervisor*

dr. B. van Hoven (from University of Groningen)  
[b.van.hoven@rug.nl](mailto:b.van.hoven@rug.nl)  
0031 50 363 6422

Please circle your choice.

- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
| I agree to participate in the interview  | YES | NO |
| I agree to have the interview recorded   | YES | NO |
| In this research fictional names will be used. Suggestion for name: .....  |     |    |
| I agree to the usage of my pictures in the resulting master thesis and presentation  | YES | NO |
| I agree to the usage of my pictures in other works that might result from the research, such as publications in academic journals and academic conferences | YES | NO |
| In case my pictures are used I want the pictures to be edited, so my face is not recognizable  | YES | NO |
| I agree to the usage of comments on my pictures that I make on the Internet (e.g. Facebook)  | YES | NO |
| I would like to keep informed about the research   | YES | NO |
| if yes, please give e-address:.....  |     |    |

Name participant: .....

Name researcher: Gwenda van der Vaart

Signature: .....

Signature: .....

Date: .....

Date: .....