Ollscoil na Gaillimhe
University of Galway

Provided by the author(s) and University of Galway in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite the published version when available.

Title	Transnational (dis)affect in the Digital Age. Photographic practices of IrishSpanish families living in Ireland
Author(s)	Prieto Blanco, Patricia
Publication Date	2016-10-20
Item record	http://hdl.handle.net/10379/6080

Downloaded 2024-04-25T13:15:41Z

Some rights reserved. For more information, please see the item record link above.

Transnational (dis)affect in the Digital Age.

Photographic practices of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland.

A thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD to National University of Ireland, Galway

Patricia Prieto Blanco

Supervisors:

Dr. Tony Tracy, Dr. Anne Byrne

Huston School of Film & Digital Media and the School of Political Science and Sociology, College of Arts, Social Sciences and Celtic Studies, National University of Ireland, Galway

January, 2016

I. Table of Contents

i.	Table of Contents	i
ii.	List of Visual Elements	iii
iii.	Abstract	vii
iv.	Acknowledgements	viii
v.	Statement of Originality	xi
vi.	Preface	xii
1.	Introduction	1
2.	Digital Photography: an Interdisciplinary Research Field	7
2.1.	The Immediacy of the Digital. Technologies of Propinquity	15
2.2.	. Digital Photography as a Practice: Causality and Epistemology	29
3.	Practices of Family Photography in the Digital Age	44
3.1.	A brief (hi)story of Family Photography in Ireland	55
3.2.	Transnational Families in Ireland	61
4.	Visual Ethnographies of Family Photography in the Digital Age	68
4.1.	A brief (hi)story of Narrative Research	72
4.2.	Experienced-Centred Visual Narrative Research and Family Photography	77
4.3.	Writing Other People's Stories	100
4.4.	An ethical framework for the study of Media Pragmatics	123

5. Photographic exchanges of transnational affect. 134

5.1. Transnational Places of Communication and (Dis)Affect 142

5.2. On Affordances and Performativity 168

5.3. Memories for today, memories for tomorrow? On Materiality and Remembering. 222

5.4. The tacit and the intersubjective of digital photography 248

6. Digital Photography and Transnational Affect. 255

6.1. Digital Photography: between screen and paper 256

6.2. Digital Photographic Exchanges: mediating affect 262

6.3. Conclusions and further research 266

7. Reference List 272

8. Appendices 293

8.1. Forms used in the Three Phased Consent Process.

8.1.1. Protocol for conducting research about family photography with Spanish Families living in Ireland

8.1.2. Letters for Recruitment. Participation in Case-Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland".

8.1.3. Information Sheet for Participation in Case Study Research.

8.1.4. Information Sheet for Children Participation in Case Study Research.

8.1.5. Handout for participants.

8.1.6. General Consent Form Participant.

8.1.7. Consent Form Adult Family Member.

8.1.8. Specific Consent Form for the Use of Photographs.

8.1.9. Final Consent Form for Release of Information.

II. List of Visual Elements

Image i – xii
Ugly two people selfie. *

Image ii – xii
Planking in Ireland, www.planking.me/category/ireland (accessed on the 26th of November 2015).

Image iii – xvii
Hand-made photographic magnet. *

Image iv - xvii
Photographing from above with the camera-phone. *

Image 1 - 142
Photo-canvas hung on living room. Self-made.**

Image 2 - 148
Hand-made photo-collage. Detail.**

Image 3 - 150
Hand-made photo-collage hung on Pedro's and Maria's living room.**

Image 4 – 154
Photo-frames found in Celia's daughter's bedroom.**

Image 5 - 157
A virtual (turtle) hug.

Image 6 - 159
Celia's cousin photo-kiss.**

Image 7 - 173
Spontaneous photograph of Pedro's and Maria's son in Slovakia.**

Image 8 - 173
Posed photograph of Pedro and his children to mark his son's first bike ride.**

Image 9 - 177
Celia's cousin photo-kiss.**

Image 10 - 177
Celia's turtle hug.

Image 11 - 199
Gala's cat and her aggressive yawn.**

Image 12 - 203
"MY, MY family now. On St. Patrick's Day" – Yessica.**

Image 13 - 204
Photo frame on mantelpiece.**

Image 14 - 205
Yessica's fridge.**

Image 15 - 208
"It's one of the last photos I have of my dad" – Yessica.**

Image 16 - 216
Digital frame on windowsill.**

Image 17 - 218
Laminated slide to mark granddaughter's birthday.**

Image 18 - 219
Photo-objects at Yessica's.**

Figure i– xiii
Two examples of immediate exchange of photographs via mobile phone.*

Figure 1 - 84
Research design. Breakdown of Interviews and Methods.*

Figure 2 - 93
2nd Interview. Shooting script.*

Figure 3 - 115
Word-clouds: first interview. Four families with children. Most outstanding words for each category.

Figure 4 - 120
Parameters for the second cycle of analysis

Figure 5 - 122
Final aggregated list of themes.

Figure 6 - 138
Whose practice? Who controls the practice? Frame of analysis based on Pink's (2011a) and Rose's (2010) definitions of practice.*

Figure 7 - 143
Circle of Reference. Pedro and Maria.**

Figure 8 - 153
Place-making event in transnational families. Pedro and Maria.*

Figure 9 - 155
Circle of Reference. Celia.*

Figure 10 - 174
Images in heterogeneous networks (Lehmuskallio 2012) - Pedro and Maria.

Figure 11 - 184
Images illustrating recipes at Celia's family cooking blog.

Figure 12 - 185
Circle of Reference. Yessica.**

Figure 13 - 189
Circle of Reference. Gala.**

Figure 14 - 195
Visual instant messaging. Celia son's accident with a toy car.**

Figure 15 - 210
Visual boards in kitchens.**

Figure 16 - 251
Final intuitive set of codes.*

* Elements licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of the license, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/ (accessed on the 26th of November 2015).

** Elements protected by the three stepped consent process (see appendices).

III. Abstract

Blurb – This thesis argues that digital photography is a medium of (inter)action and experience for transnational families. An innovative visual research methodology enabled the elicitation of tacit and intersubjective knowledge of eleven families. The data demonstrates that ongoing digital encounters generate ontological security and challenge normative understandings of kinship.

Abstract - Migrant communities copiously use digital means to communicate. The visual component of communication is substantial in this process. This thesis reports the ways Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland employ photographic exchanges to stay in touch with geographically distant family members. Drawing on methods of visual sociology and narrative inquiry, an innovative research design was devised for ethnographic work with eleven families. It included an original three-stepped consent process, a circle of reference visualization and a photographic tour of photographic displays. These methods enable the elicitation of tacit and intersubjective knowledge about photographic practices. The data demonstrates that photographic exchanges generate third places of affect and intimacy where transnational families negotiate normative notions of kinship. The analysis of affordances of digital photography has revealed how strategies of inclusion and exclusion implemented by these families impact the very concept of family. Furthermore, the notion of digital ephemerality is challenged because intermittent but ongoing digital encounters generate ontological security for transnational families. This also serves to offer an alternative reading of phatic communication as an emotion-based process. Subsequently, the thesis argues that digital photography is as a medium of (inter)action and experience for transnational families.

IV. Acknowledgements

For the longest time, the background image on my mobile phone was a visualization of Christopher Vogler's "The Hero's Journey" (2007). It was a subtle reminder of the cyclical and transformative nature of the PhD adventure. Fortunately, I met my mentors early on my journey: Dr. Anne Byrne and Dr. Tony Tracy. They have believed in this project from the start and have always offered me their support and confidence. As my teachers, I can only feel gratitude and a profound admiration. Their mentoring often extends far beyond the academic. Muchas gracias de todo corazón.

The Spanish community in Ireland has been welcoming, inclusive, respectful and tremendously encouraging to both my work and my own person. Leticia Media opened the doors of ASPI (Association of Spanish-speaking Parents in Ireland) and lent me a hand from the outset. Her trust allowed me to experiment and to get to know many families. Some of them would become the participants of this study to whom I owe so, so much. They are the real protagonists of this story. Muchas gracias por dejarme contar vuestras historias.

The Huston School of Film and Digital Media is one of a kind. Prof. Rod Stoneman, Dr. Conn Holohan and Dee Quinn blow their *pixiedust* inside a little blue pre-fab building by the river so that the PhD magic can happen. The combination of people and place has certainly brought out the best of me, and I chose to believe it does so for each of us in "the bubble". The rocky road would have felt much lonelier without the daily chit-chat and occasional brain-vomiting that one can only have with fellow travellers. Shadi Abu-Ayyash, Nora Duggan and Levi Hanes have endured years of my post-it madness and still talk to me. They are obviously good people.

Also embarked on the PhD adventure but fighting on a different front were Suhaib Salawdeh, Stephen O'Neill and Dinali Manaram Wijeratne. The three of them are all doctors by now and they all have always shared wise advice with me and have taught me to commit and not to regret, but to always look forward. On campus, my favourite procrastinating activity has been to be involved in the

Feminist Society NUIG. Between organizing events and advancing the path towards equality, I have been very lucky to get to know fantastic human beings, who have always shared encouraging eyes, uplifting hugs and wise words with me. Watch out for Emma Brannlund, Caroline Forde, Ciara Griffin, Clionadh O'Keefe and Tanja Kovačič. They are destined to do great things.

Although they have never been to Galway, there are three people who have been fundamental part of my journey. They are my substantial allies. Even though he had an initial feeling of disbelief towards my topic, Prof. Peter Spangenberg kept reading and critically commenting my work. Elke Rentemeister was there from the start too. She likes to say she is my first "fan" because she has always advocated for both my topic and my somehow defiant writing style. Maria Schreiber has slowly but surely grown into a good friend and an excellent working colleague with whom I hope to share many more research projects in the future. Together, they are my "dream team" and we have managed to stick together in spite of our distances apart.

Back in Spain, my friends, Natalia and Xudi, always have my back, even though it sometimes means giving me a rather abrupt wake-up call. Muchas gracias por no dejarme que pierda el Norte. Lisa Ajtay is far now but I still feel her calming presence. She, and yoga, always brings me back to my centre. My father, my mother and my sister wondered for a while when I would stop studying. Fortunately, they realized this is a lifestyle and have come on-board to celebrate the bookworm of the family. Every time they check up with me, they lift my heart and boost my energy, especially when the message includes a photograph of my dear niece, Cati.

After fifteen years on the move and a PhD adventure, I feel more than ever that home is where the heart is. And that means Jake to me. Sometimes we call Galway home, some other times is the North, in summertime Maryland, Spain or Portugal are our home … and always our ever-interrupted and ever-resumed conversation is the place where I find myself, where I grow and where I put down my roots. So, Jake thanks for being my rock. You, Jack and Alyssa have

certainly helped me to get through the PhD ordeal. My deepest apologies for the many times I made you three pay the price of my uncertainty, stress and frustration.

This thesis is dedicated to all of you because even though my name is on the front page, your imprints are to be found everywhere else. Lo conseguimos. Endlich Feierabend. Let's celebrate together. *Slainte!*

V. Statement of Originality

I, Patricia Prieto-Blanco, hereby certify that all the work described within this thesis is the original work of the author. Any published (or unpublished) ideas and/or techniques from work of others are fully acknowledged in accordance with standard referencing practices.

VI. Preface

> *"[...] [T]he photograph opens up a passageway to its subject, not as a signification but as a world, multiple and complex" (Gunning, 2004: 46)*

Digitization seems to have transformed the ways we use and interpret photography as a medium. On the one hand, digital photography is about the interplay of the new technology with old and new contexts of use and practices. Ubiquitous photo-enabled devices are constantly used for private purposes in public spaces. This sets in motion a re-definition of social etiquette. On the other hand, digital photography is not as much about floating files on the digital cloud as it is about giving constant visual account of our happenings and wanderings: "[…] an immediate, rather fleeting display of one's discovery of the small and mundane (such as bottles, cupcakes, trees, debris, and architectural elements)" (Murray 2008, p.151). Contemporary photography is no longer valued by authenticity or artistry, but by play and phatic communion[1]. Although we seem to approach cameras and photographs today in a very intuitive, almost naïve way, rules and aesthetics still play a role in the timely production of photographs.

Image i: Ugly two-people Selfie

Image ii: Planking in Ireland.

[1] Phatic Communion designate "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (Malinowski 1965, p.315)(Malinowski, 1923/1960: 315). The importance of Malinowski's work for the present research will be clarified in the next section.

With the rise of ubiquitous and mobile technologies, attachment to family photographs also seems to be shifting. Thanks to built-in cameras in omnipresent mobile phones, photography is seen in novel ways. We take selfies, photograph our lunch and use cameras as note-taking devices. As our lives play out before us, we choose to give visual account of our intimate moments, anticipating the reaction of our family and friends. We share these snapshots immediately with them, some of whom live far away from us, and thereby, establish ephemeral connections.

A B

Figure i:Two examples of immediate exchange of photographs via mobile phone.

Photography has always been a tool used by families to remain in touch despite temporal or spatial distances apart. Sometimes the sense of touch is literally embedded in the photograph by means of adding “a tactile portion of the human body” (Batchen 2004, p.74) e.g. hair or other objects such as dried flowers, textiles, etc. Other times, the photographs become utilitarian objects that we are compelled to touch such as pillows, bracelets or more recently, mugs and mouse-pads. The images imprinted on these materials have often served to celebrate normative visions of family. Popular media representations of family

has also served as guide of performance and as a how-to tutorial for families practicing photography themselves (Chambers 2001, pp.75–78).

Family photography is a field where continuities, as briefly mentioned above, are noticeable. However, salient discontinuities have also emerged, especially with the advent of the Digital. Daguerreotypes were one of a kind. They were supposed to last a life-long and thus, to be a lasting and truthful visual representation for a long period of time. *Snapchat* pictures, on the contrary, last a maximum of ten seconds. The growing frequency of photographic exchanges may signal a possible enhancement of the connectivity function of photography. Moreover, the lives, whereabouts and in summary what we do and happens to family photographs arise as themes to be closely examined (Batchen 2004, p.44; Rose 2014, p.71,84).

When I left my home country ten years ago, I had lived far from home for three years already but still within the boundaries of the Spanish state. Going abroad was something different for me and it meant a bigger change for my family too. Back then, it was very expensive to phone my family and almost nobody had an Internet connection at home. Few months after my arrival, in Germany I sent my sister a couple of photographs from my first adventures in Nordrheim-Westfalen, which she printed and hung on the wall of my old bedroom. When I went back to Spain for Christmas, I found the photographs. I still remember the emotion that overwhelmed me when I encountered those photographs back home: my two worlds had been brought together by my little sister.

Nowadays, I have two *WhatsApp* family groups: one with my mum and my sister, the other one with my dad, my cousin and my sister. If I don't look at my phone during the day, by evening time I usually have about 30 unread messages of both groups, most of which are photographs. My sister has a young toddler and she is determined to share her mothering experience with me, my dad and my mum despite the four of us living in different places. My niece has seen me face-to-face only three times so far but she knows that when the computer is left on the sofa and pointed to her playground, somebody with a funny voice and some

visual tricks appears on the screen. That someone is me and the space we share has been created thanks to digital technologies. A photograph of my sister and I rests on my sister's mantelpiece.

My niece realized not long ago that the person on the computer screen and the person on the photograph are the same: her aunt. She still needs to put those two together with the flesh of my person. I'm also in a long-distance relationship with my partner and we most definitively interact within our tele-cocoon[2] all the time. When we are apart, we send each other photographs of our morning coffee, of our forbidden chocolate sins at night, even of our visits to the toilet[3]!

Image iii: Hand-made photographic magnet depicting my sister and myself. My niece has learnt to recognize my face partly thanks to this device.

Image iv: Photographing from above with the camera-phone. Previously unusual angles, situations, motives and formats become commonplace with the advent of the Digital and the camera-phone.

My personal family configuration across three countries got me interested in family photography in the first instance. As I saw ourselves signing up for broadband connections at home, buying laptops, asking Santa for webcams and increasingly exchanging photographs of seemingly banal situations, I started asking myself how other transnational families deal with distance and started asking around. My circle of friends was/is composed mostly of foreigners, so I

[2] In her study of youth culture and mobile (keitai) use in Japan Habuchi explores how growing urbanization and the concepts of security and intimacy relate to technological progress and contemporary understandings of modernization. She coined the term tele-cocooning to define: "(...)a zone of intimacy in which people can continuously maintain their relationships with others who they have already encountered without being restricted by geography and time" (Habuchi 2005, p.167).

[3] As a quick Internet search reveals, we are not alone in this endeavour. There are websites and apps designed to both map places of discharge as well as to exchange visuals of defecation (http://placesivepooped.net/, http://www.ratemypoo.com/, http://ratemyshit.tumblr.com/, http://www.pooptheworld.com/, accessed on the 26th of November, 2015)

started by asking them about how and when they took photographs and to whom they were sending the snaps. Soon, I became aware of the cultural differences, which aroused my curiosity even further. Audience studies had always interested me because the focus was not so much set on the message or on the professional production of media products, but on the end of the communication chain: on the receiver and her/his circumstances.

Studying digital family photography means for me going one step forward in the field of media studies. On the one side, I want to apply my media studies knowledge to the service of non-professional users. On the other, I want to know more about photography as a medium not by asking what photography can and cannot do in abstract and ideal circumstances, but by empirically exploring what photography means and does for everyday people.

1. INTRODUCTION

The point of departure for this research is to explore the notion of contemporary digital photography beyond a theory of signs, symbols, indexes and icons. Digitization[1] has presented individuals with the possibility of visually relating to each other live in spite of being distances apart. This thesis argues that the novelty of new media resides on the affective nature of the (quasi) immediate communicative

e interactions enabled by its intuitive and accessible character: with a simple touch of the finger to a camera phone screen we can show that we care.

The ways Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland employ photographic exchanges to stay in touch with geographically distant family members are reported and analysed in this investigation. The research area addresses two levels of the phenomena of family photography: the social constellation of this practice and the pragmatics of the photographic medium. Theoretical frameworks from three related disciplines - media studies, visual culture studies and visual sociology/anthropology - have been reviewed in order to devise an approach that responds to the interdisciplinary nature of the research questions:

- How do transnational families use photographs?
- Do transnational families print photographs? Why?
- How do transnational families express affection and intimacy when they are apart?

At a methodological level, a narrative lens has framed the ethnographic work with eleven Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland. Established visual research

[1] Digitization has given rise to a constellation of devices, platforms and media usage specific to our time. Throughout this thesis, the formulation "expanded context of new media" will be used to refer to this constellation that has become commonplace for many in the last decade. Internet access, portable, picture-able and track-able devices, as well as software platforms for collective interaction are the more salient characteristic thereof. In the first chapter, several terms - remediation and hypermedia (Grusin & Bolter 2000), polymedia (Madianou & Miller 2012), networked cameras (Lehmuskallio 2012), networked images (Gómez-Cruz 2012) - that have been coined as tools to think about and through these conglomerates will be discussed.

methods such as photo-elicitation (Lapenta 2006) were combined with original ones such as a photographic tour of photographic displays. The implemented methods unveil tacit and intersubjective knowledge about photographic practices. A clear focus on reflexivity throughout the eighteen months of fieldwork is the second fundamental element of the methodology. Both of them allow for a comprehensive exploration of photographic practices in transnational families, which takes all its steps into account: production, distribution, reception and storage.

A highly contextualized analysis of the data demonstrates that photographic exchanges generate what I call phatic zones of (dis)affect[2]. In them, transnational families reinterpret normative notions of kinship, which in turn impacts on contemporary notions of family (Beck-Gernsheim 1998; Beck-Gernsheim 2007). These exchanges also challenge traditional notions of digital ephemerality. The immediate and intermittent nature of digital photographic exchanges generates ontological security for transnational families. The affordances activated within their photographic practices highlight the social and cultural relevance of digital ephemeral encounters (Grainge 2011). Three elements define transnational digital photography: connectivity, reflexivity and material emplacement.

[2] The term phatic will be used throughout the whole thesis. Its meaning will be discussed and expanded by drawing onto recent scholarship. Although phatic as a term was originally coined by Malinowski (1923), the most known definition of is found in Jakobson's "Linguistic and Poetics" (1974). Both authors conceptualize the phatic and phatic communication in different ways. While Jakobson conceptualizes the phatic as a function of language that allows for contact and communication to occur; Malinowski's approach highlights the power that the phatic or phaticity has to both establish a common ground among interlocutors as well as to acknowledge the lack of a common understanding. Following Malinowski's approach, Wulff has argued for the emergence of phatic communities through mediatization (1993). More recently Kaye (2006) has demonstrated that minimal communicative interactions, those that primarily and almost exclusively affect the openness or closure of the channel of communication, impact greatly on emotional relationships and on the sense of belonging to each other. This thesis follows up Wulff's and Kaye's line of inquiry by questioning how visual everyday practices of transnational families mediate both common understandings and misunderstandings. It furthermore investigates the relation between these pictorial exchanges and the phatic dimension of communication and suggests that by regulating the openness and closure of the communication channel, transnational families manage their sense of collective belonging, or in other words, they administer the phatic communities they belong to. The discussion of phatic communication will be expanded in the following chapter and resumed again with the help of fieldwork examples.

The thesis starts with an overview of disciplines that research the visual construction of the social and the social construction of the visual. Discourses and ideologies behind mediated representations have been critically interrogated by visual culture studies, visual sociology/anthropology and media studies. Attention has been frequently paid to epistemological and ontological questions (Schänzel 2010; Fortunati & Taipale 2012; Martinez et al. 2012; Lampe et al. 2008; Hudgins 2010). Synaesthetic and pragmatic dimensions, however, have yet found little resonance with scholars. Adhering to Moores' non-media-centric media studies paradigm[3], this thesis attempts to rectify this omission. By empirically researching contemporary deployments of digital photography, this thesis contributes to the study of media pragmatics.

Conceptually, the idea of mediation is situated at the centre of the inquiry. Visually mediated interactions are part of practices of media use, communication and representation that allow for experiences and memories to be shared (Sarah Pink 2011b, p.9). Thus, photography is understood as a mode of action whereby actors sharing tacit and intersubjective knowledge interact with one another. Two key concepts -"affordances" (Gibson 1979) and "phatic communication" (Malinowski 1923)- structurally support the line of inquiry. While the latter highlights the tight relation between media, agency and affect, the former is a scaffold from where to think about emotional dimensions embedded in photographic practices as phatic communication in a Malinowski sense foremost highlights the empathy that underlies every successful communicative encounter. Utilising these two concepts, a working definition of digital photography emerges that encompasses the ongoing cultural, social and technological transformations that impact on both socialisation processes as well as on the pragmatics of the photographic medium.

[3] Specifically for the present research, a "non-media-centric media studies" approach means firstly to approach the object of study from a holistic perspective, whereby contextual conditions are accentuated. Secondly, it means to work interdisciplinarily, both at the level of theory as well as the level of methodology. A comprehensive discussion of the non-media-centric media studies paradigm (Moores 2012) is provided in the first chapter.

Chapter three situates the research question in the concrete context of family photography. Recent scholarly work in the field of family photography is reviewed first, before addressing the causality of sharing practices in contemporary digital family photography. The emanating hypothesis is that digital photography provides transnational families with "third places"/phatic zones of affect where feelings of familial togetherness in spite of the distance apart are developed. On a subsequent step, this research is historically and culturally located by reviewing academic and artistic work undertaken in Ireland in the area of family photography. The case study is thereby contextualized. A succinct history of narrative research and the concrete emplacement of the study within the experience-centred visual narrative approach (Squire 1995; Bach 2007; Bell 2013b) provides a methodological contextualization of the research in chapter four. Special emphasis is placed on the ethnographic nature of the research design and the use of photography as both a tool to record and to elicit data. Furthermore, the importance of the cultural and social connection between researcher and participants for the generation of trust and rapport is addressed.

(Dis)affect, "affordances" and remembrance are the three axes that structure the analysis. In the fifth chapter, place-making strategies are set in relation with photographic practices of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland. The question thereby addressed is: what happens when distance is minimized, perhaps even overcome, through visual media? An analysis and discussion of communities of place offers an answer and situates photographic of transnational families practices in the wider discussion of the ephemeral. Photographic exchanges give rise to "third places" of familial (dis)affect. In them, children of transnational families are socialised in larger family units. Then, the analysis moves onto a detailed examination of places of exhibition and distribution of digital and analogue photographs. Two affordances are explored in detail: the affordance of propinquity and the affordance of publishing. While the first is set in relation with changes in the category of "picture-worthy" (Okabe & Ito 2003), the second is embedded in wider discussions about the domestication (Morley 2007) and accommodation of

technologies (Miller 2010). The emanated conclusion is that digital photography cannot be reduced to the world of ones and zeros. In fact, rather durable objects, such as paper copies and photo-calendars - are core to the practices of transnational families.

Following the idea of mediation as a repetition that impact on both actors and media, digital storage is set in relation to the discussion of distributed agency. On the one hand, storage capacity has increased almost limitlessly and on the other, the rate of material renewal or update has increased exponentially. The sheer amount of stored files produces difficulties of access unless an archival system is put in place and carefully implemented. In line with the data, photo-albums are presented as both a historical and still surviving storage system. The random nature of the photo shoe-box however, is by no means mirrored in digital storage, thereby eliminating a certain element of surprise or randomness. This element has been only slightly addressed in this thesis but it is an area deserving further research.

The emplaced employment of visual media importantly aids the transformation of networked interactions into networked kinship. This experiential understanding of photography was undoubtedly facilitated by the methodology of the research, which is evaluated in the last pages of the fifth chapter. Special emphasis is placed in the balance between a systematic - structured and organized working modus - and a holistic - at times even improvisational - research approach. The three phased consent process, which is part of the frame specifically developed for the ethnographic work with transnational families and their private images, is presented as a highly transferable protocol of ethics.

The discussion chapter presents the key findings of the research as well as setting them in the context of wider discourses. The chapter delves into the relation between (dis)affect and photographic exchanges. The strong link between phatic zones of (dis)affect, a.k.a. *tele-cocoons* (Habuchi 2005) or "third places", and everyday practices is. The performative force that photographs thereby acquire is set in relation with social presence and

connectedness, outlining thereby a shift of the photographic medium: photographs are shared as emotive actions. Contemporary constellations of polymedia (Madianou & Miller 2012) as well as processes of remediation (Grusin & Bolter 2000) and convergence (Jenkins 2004) allow for "affordances" to be activated in the service of affinity, (dis)affect and intimacy. Subsequently, contemporary kinship-making reveals itself to be a process relying forevermore on digitally mediated interactions.

In the last pages of chapter six, several conclusions are drawn and the theoretical concepts discussed are set in relation to other areas of research worth pursuing. The exploration of "the phatic" in relation to kinship and visual communication could contribute to the further study of phaticity, a so far rather neglected area of language research. Furthermore, both the relevance and urgency of interdisciplinary media studies is once again stated.

2. DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHY: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH FIELD.

> *"So it is my firm belief, that if you want nowadays, to have a clear and distinct communication of your concepts, you have to use synthetic images, no longer words."* (Flusser 1988)

In general terms, the aim of this PhD thesis is to research the interplay among the visual, the digital, and the photographic. There are several suitable frameworks through which to undertake this task, each steering the investigation in specific ways while also being combined in an interdisciplinary manner. Visual Studies, including its the German counterpart *Bildwissenschaft*, is a new discipline that focuses on studying images by itself combining aims and methodologies from neighbouring disciplines. The strong links between Visual Studies and Art History have influenced the discourse and methods of inquiry of this discipline. Visual Sociology/Anthropology is also a recently emerged area of discourse, concerned with both the social construction of the visual as well as the visual construction of the social. Instead of images, social processes are located at the centre of the inquiry. Media Studies is a third discipline involved, due to both the exploration of mediation as a concept and the tradition of empirical research in the area of reception studies, which especially suits the aim of this investigation because it focuses on the links between media and socio-cultural processes. There are two common threads within these three relatively new disciplines: firstly, the attention they give to visual literacy, and secondly, their theorization based on empirical research. All three will be further discussed below along with the implications their individual approaches hold regarding lines of inquiry within the pragmatics of digital photography.

Ten years ago W.J.T. Mitchell asked what pictures want, starting therein a fruitful discussion about the role of pictures in culture, theory and everyday life (2005). Likewise, Mitchell's question marks the origins of a new field of studies defined by its interdisciplinary character. Thus, under the broad

umbrella of the field of visual culture studies, various disciplines are brought together, such as art theory, anthropology, cultural studies and media studies. The scope and task of visual culture studies is a contested issue. In the search for institutional recognition, an interdisciplinary approach has been both a distinctive factor as well as a hurdle. The field has developed simultaneously in the Anglo-Saxon and German academic discourses but with subtle differences[4]. Although there is no consensual definition of visual culture studies, or *Bildwissenschaft* as it is known in German academia, several aspects are repeatedly highlighted when searching for a rationale of this emerging discipline: the act of seeing, visual events and visual technology (Mirzoeff 1998; Belting 2001; Mitchell 2002; Bal 2003). Mitchell observed that image studies are only a part of visual cultural studies (2002, p.178), which has tended to explore particular forms of visual productions, such as "film, photography, advertising, video and the internet", while paying less attention to visualizations used in hard-sciences (Elkins 2002).

In recent years, however, a growing interest in exploring "big data" visualizations, such as visual outputs of medicine, architecture, computer science, etc., has emerged (Intel IT Center 2013; Liu et al. 2013; Schindler & Io 2013). Nonetheless, sociology seems to have a say in this respect, as recent research has shown how big data can be instrumental in illustrating and measuring cultural and social trends (Bail 2013; Zorn 2015). Mieke Bal has accurately pointed out that visual culture studies still need to account for the contamination of vision and visuality – and thus address the synaesthetic, discursive and pragmatic qualities of the visual – as well as the shifting conditions of culture (Bal 2003, p.5). Exploring visual culture from this crossroads is certainly a daunting task. Nevertheless, Bal's outlook of change, as mediated through visual production, characterizes contemporary everyday life and is further heightened by the digital.

[4] Giger's article offers a comprehensive discussion of the differences between Visual Studies and Bildwissenschaft, as well as a proposal of a unique rationale that makes Bildwissenschaft distinctive and original on its own (2014).

Parallel to the development of visual culture studies, within anthropology and sociology there has been a turn towards the visual as well. Although the relationship between anthropology and photography can be traced back to Fox Talbot (Edwards, 2003, p.335), at some point the path of both disciplines diverged from one another. Sociology and photography were originally linked via social research, but the increased use of statistics after the First World War brought about other visualizations in social research. Statistical information, visualized through charts, diagrams and tables, began to be seen as objective and indisputable data, while photographs became viewed as highly subjective and thus problematic, mere illustrations of sociological arguments rather than factual evidence. Some scholars still worked with photography as a method of researching social life and as a medium to support field-work (Bateson & Mead 1942; Collier 1956).

However, both visual sociology and its parallel field of visual anthropology were not established as (sub)disciplines in their own right until the 1970s (Harper 2012; Stumberger 2007). Since then, there has been an explosion of investigations using visual research methods for social inquiry (Banks 2001; Strack et al. 2004; Globe et al. 2007; Bach 2007; Pauwels 2008; Sarah Pink 2011a; Durrant et al. 2011; Esin & Squire 2013; Mayrhofer & Schachner 2013) and a vivid discussion about the rationale of the (sub)discipline (Becker 2003; Pink 2006b; Riggins 2007; Pauwels 2012; Chalfen 2011; Bal 2003)

If we were to trace the origins of those tasks ascribed today to visual culture studies and visual sociology, we would find that early reception studies already focused on exploring the interplay between media products and socio-cultural contexts. Scholars working in reception studies have historically conducted empirical research coupled with a theoretical reasoning behind the effects of mass media (Merton & Kendall 1946). More recently, the increasing convergence of visual media and the rise of users/consumers as producers have brought about a distinct interest in the reception of visual media. Accordingly, scholars such as Annette Kuhn (Kuhn 2010) have extensively explored the reception of visual media products within concrete temporal and

cultural settings. Her line of work considers media experiences as part of people's daily lives and advocates an investigation that includes working with source materials as well as with audiences(Kuhn 2010). The application of different methods of research, as well as first-hand work with recipients, has generally defined reception studies, creating a highly theoretical and specialized field of media studies. In this way, reception studies are theoretically situated close to visual sociology and visual anthropology, although the research questions are approached from a different angle, namely from the perspective of mediation. The idea of mediation is also situated at the core of this thesis, "as a particular and unique enhancement or performance – in short a repetition – of structure that risks always transforming the media and the actors"(Lanzeni et al. 2014). This understanding of mediation is clearly influenced by Latour's work (1999) as it stresses the transformative potential of actions as things that happened and leave traces in reality. In section 2.2 a fuller account and discussion of agency is provided.

This context of melange and quick evolution is also reflected in Bolter and Grusin's concepts of hypermediacy and remediation (2000), which at their core highlight the transient nature of messages, the increase of exchanges, and the implications that all these processes have upon all aspects involved. Although remediation is not native to the digital, it has been exacerbated by the vast range of contemporary possibilities of achieving immediacy by way of ignoring the presence of media and of processes of mediation (ibid. 11). In relation to photography, the process of remediation initiated by the digital challenges the old desires and representations of immediacy (ibid. 26–30). The emanation from the referent, eloquently identified by Barthes as the raison d'être of photography, is in dispute.

While some scholars have focused on interrogating the ontological implications of this disruption (Lunenfeld 2002; Wyss 2000), others (Rose 2014; Villi 2010; Madianou & Miller 2012) follow Bolter and Grusin in their acknowledgement that immediacy is a "name for a family of beliefs and

practices that express themselves differently at various times among various groups" (ibid. 30). Thereby the universal character of photography is left aside, in favour of an understanding of the medium in terms of its pragmatics. It is proposed here to revisit the original interdisciplinary character of media studies in order to integrally address the particularities of contemporary (digital) pictorial practices today. They do not, after all, exist in a vacuum but in constant interplay with our actions and thoughts.

It is against this background that the leading questions of this PhD research are posed. First, as mediated practices gain relevance in everyday life through the use of mobile smart devices, photography now increasingly overcomes space as well as time. Ubiquity and accessibility are characteristics already present in web-based family photography (Pauwels 2008), but the dimensions of immediacy and movement have been brought about by portable and trackable devices. This expanded context of new media has precipitated a cascade of novel ways of theorizing and exploring contemporary media pragmatics. As we will explore in more detail below, the concepts of practice (Couldry 2004; Hobart 2010), movement (Sarah Pink 2011b) and agency (Russell 2007; van Dijck 2009) drive cutting-edge sociological and ethnographic work concerned with media and mediation. Practice, place and agency are strongly linked to the material turn that has recently overtaken much research in social sciences which has especially affected contemporary photographic discourse (Batchen, 2004; Elo, 2013; Hart & Edwards, 2004).

Keeping visual records of life is an activity that still takes place, but visually sharing these moments in an almost immediate manner and across great distances is new and has become commonplace in many parts of the world. The second question asked addresses the photographic medium and reads: "Do photographs increasingly serve more to connect?" Additionally, the understanding of photography as practice steers the investigation towards an exploration of the pragmatics of the medium. This is captured in the third question: "How are photographs utilised in present everyday life?"

The concepts of mediation, remediation and hypermediacy point out the repetitive yet constantly shifting character of media. Likewise, the implicit potential for change depends on their very definitions which have been a source of debate. Recently, Shaun Moores has called for a revision of research emphases on media studies as a discipline. Under the name of "non-media centric media studies" (Moores 2012, pp.11, 50, 103–10)[5], he locates media studies as a discipline equally concerned with the particularities of media themselves on the one hand and the complex dynamics between media, institutions, technology and politics on the other. This conceptual approach builds onto the work accomplished in the field of media anthropology by academics such as David Morley, with his work on territories and the geography of media (1995; 2007), which Moores quotes exhaustively. Furthermore, Moores' approach clearly incorporates the line of inquiry in digital material cultures of the everyday, developed by, among others, anthropologist Daniel Miller (2011; 2010) and social anthropologist Sarah Pink (2006b; 2011; 2011b).

The "non-media centric" approach emerged from a process of analysis of the goals, tasks and shortcomings of media studies as a discipline today. Two fundamental pillars ground this line of thought. First is the need to analyse media in the contexts they operate, as opposed to scrutinize their particularities and specificity in isolation. Second is the underlying urgency of bringing everyday life into the equation of media pragmatics. As Moores puts it: "[Media objects] differ from other material objects in everyday living such as foodstuffs or furnishings, as well as from each other, and yet it is precisely

[5] The recently emerged field of media anthropology could also be located within Moores' framework. So is this PhD research insofar as a set of media practices have been explored empirically and analysed experientially beyond their semiotic qualities. Thereby, media use also depends on conventions and social experiences unrelated to media-determined forms (Lanzeni et al. 2014), if that exists at all. However, as it will be later discussed, technology does influence form and material conditions, which in turn impact on social scenarios (Caron & Caronia 2007). This is the first reason why current PhD research is not ascribed to media anthropology but in fact situated on the crossroads of visual culture studies and visual sociology/anthropology. The second is that the object of study is digital photography today, whereby the employment of digital photography in transnational families works as a case study to empirically address the research questions. There is no doubt that the study could have taken a different approach and the methods employed might have remained unchanged. However, the hypothetical research questions to be answered in that case would set the focus on another area of knowledge.

the relationship between media uses and a range of accompanying practices that has to be investigated" (2012, p.108). This understanding of media research can be first located in the work of Nick Couldry (2002).

Understanding photography as a practice of media use as well as of communication and representation of shared moments (Sarah Pink 2011b, p.9) requires highlighting the contextual conditions in which photographs are not only taken but also shared, stored, and viewed. Therefore the aim of this research is to go beyond universalistic raisons d'être, acknowledging that media are constituted as such as much as by their messages as by their uses. However, as Mark Hobart has pointed out, approaching media as sets of practices is not unproblematic (Hobart 2010). He signals three major challenges: how to understand other people's practices, interpret them and appreciate the significance of the practices to participants. Accordingly, in this investigation methodological approaches and strategies have been implemented, which will be elucidated below. Lines of inquiry centred on media-practices –or media-related practices – are not about researching meanings in vacuums or about generalizations. Instead they are about a sense - a feeling – that is personal and intersubjective, as well as specific, and that is in constant interplay with the technological conditions in which it arises.

In this section, the leading research areas of the thesis have been located within an interdisciplinary framework. At a macro level, the ongoing implications of digitisation for the medium of photography have been formulated as questions to be answered, utilizing the non-media-centric media studies approach. At a micro level, empirical research has been identified as a fruitful strategy that fosters theorization from the bottom-up. Furthermore, an overview of key concepts – ubiquity, immediacy, mediation and practice – were provided and linked to recent turns – visual and material – within scholarly work in the area of contemporary digital cultures. The relevance of the resulting framework of inquiry – for the study of family photography as a case study of digital cultures today – has also been addressed.

The following two sections critically review existing academic work on immediacy and practice. Firstly, the construction of the digital as a thread to the ontology of the photographic medium is addressed, before then defining photography as a material practice and consequently accentuating the importance of examining the pragmatics of the medium. In a further step, the immediate nature of digital photography is then reviewed, focusing on two factors: time and space. The emergence of media settings as places of interaction is highlighted, as is the increasing employment of photography for connectivity. The conceptual term of affordances (Gibson 1979; Jenkins 2008) is presented as a tool whereby specific relational properties of digital photography can be examined.

Secondly, the approach to photographic practices as experiential processes is established, which "[…] is crucial to understanding the tacit, embodied, sensory and affective ways of knowing that are integral to people's relationships to both technology and visual content" (Pink, 2011b:95). Photographic exchanges are outlined as utilizations of the medium, for both its representational qualities and its communicative power within a concrete community of users. The incorporation of photography to the everyday is set in relation to the phatic dimension of communication. A critical review of phaticity follows, as well as a discussion of its relevance for the study of pragmatics of digital photography. Thereby the phatic is brought together with the concept of affordances and a first approximation to the question of human and non-human agency is established, which closes the first chapter.

2.1. The Immediacy of the Digital. Technologies of Propinquity.

Much has been researched and written in the last twenty years about the impact and consequences of digitization processes. By researching photography on the grounds of fundamentally ontological[6] changes to the medium, the digital has often been constructed as something dubitative, evil and dangerous. Within photographic discourse, *the digital* has been a source of unease and mistrust over the last two decades (Ulrich 1997; Wyss 2000; Lunenfeld 2002). The seeming impossibility of separating a photograph from its referent (Barthes 1980, p.6) was called into question by digital photography, thereby provoking fierce academic debate. However, discussions about the relationship of contiguity between the referent and the photograph seem to have been based on the wrong assumption that index and icon have to be identical (Gunning 2004, p.42).

It has been claimed that storing visual information in the form of numerical data radically challenges the indexicality of photography. However, "indexical instruments *par excellance* – such as devices for reading pulse rate, temperature […] - all [have always] converted their information into numbers" (ibid. 40). The iconic quality of photographs is intertwined with the truth claim associated with the medium, which inevitably raises questions about the context (ibid. 42). Photographs are complex signs that simultaneously have indexical and iconic qualities (2001 Merrell 2001, pp.36–8). The academic suitability of semiotics is called into question, while noting that the digital provides researchers with an excellent opportunity to achieve a greater understanding of the indexical qualities of photography and of the perpetual magical fascination of photographs (ibid. 48). Rose proposes to look at indexicality as an affordance, which "[…]is only realized and significant as it is 'activated', as it were, by particular practices" (Rose 2010, p.29). Thus the truth

[6] Already in *Camera Lucida*, Barthes questioned what photography in itself was "beyond the evidence provided by technology and usage" (1980, 3). Although many before him had interrogated the intrinsic and ultimate nature of the medium (Benjamin 1935), mainly in opposition to cinema; there was (and there is still) a very vivid discussion about the ontology of the medium. Barthes arrived to the conclusion that the intrinsic nature of photography is to reproduce to infinity what has occurred only once (1980, 4). And if we take this into account, it becomes clear how *the digital* does not represent an abrupt fracture of the medium. It has rather exacerbated its foremost distinctive quality.

claim resides in both viewers and images themselves. And as she points out, it is often taken for granted (2010, pp.30–32).

Within the photographic discourse, the importance of researching photographs, not only as signs but also as part of a signification process, arises as an impending research frame. On the one hand the new conditions for the use of photographic images come to the forefront (Mitchell 1992; Manovich 2001; Amelunxen 1997). On the other, photographs are outlined as the result of a multi-staged process comprised of production, storage, distribution and reception, in which multiple actors are engaged (Chalfen 1987; Belting 2001; Hart & Edwards 2004; Murray 2008).

Analogue and digital cameras work very similarly. In fact, some scholars, such as Bolter and Grusin (ibid.), don't speak about digital photography but about digitally mediated photography, therein highlighting the hybrid character of digital photography, a product of both chemo-mechanical photography and digital graphics. For them, forms of new media are revolutionary insofar as they enable a remediation of material and social conditions, while the relevance of hypermediacy and immediacy in the contemporary everyday also increases. Similarly, Asko Lehmuskallio (2012)and Edgar Gomez-Cruz (2012) work outside of the dichotomy of analogue and digital devices, instead focusing on the distinction between isolated and networked pictorial tools.

The seeming ephemerality of digital photographs has precipitated a process of reflection on the material conditions of the medium. We tend to think that media address only two senses: sight and sound. However, media products often take the shape of tactile objects, as is the case of photographs that have traditionally been mediated through paper, or are embedded in objects, as for example photographs of beloved ones printed onto photo mugs. Edwards and Hart (2004) bring the materiality of photography to the fore by highlighting the fact that photographs are objects[7] embedded in continuous processes of

[7] For Bourdieu, the photograph as an object becomes part of an exchange ritual in the same fashion as letters or presents would do (1965, pp.32–5). In the case of the emigration of the nuclear family, however, photographs are traded and exhibited beyond the family. They become interesting in their own right because they all are part of an extraordinary story (ibid. 41–2).

production, exchange, use and meaning. They also highlight how photography's material conditions can both favour and hinder certain patterns of use. Batchen draws our attention to the haptic properties of photographs. "The physicality of this fabric (…) gives these photographs substance and texture, (…) making them touchable and warm" (2004, 31).The choices made respond to specific uses and functions of photographs. Materiality is thereby conceptualized as the synergy of subject, place and material, always embedded in a social-cultural-historical context. This understanding of the material qualities of photography has also largely remained disconnected from other multisensory aspects; but this is changing as demonstrated by Edwards' (2009) exploration of material qualities of amateur photographic practices in England between 1885 and 1928, which points towards an affective dimension of photographs.

Current research acknowledges the problematic and paradoxical relationship of digital image capture. Instead of understanding these debates in binary terms of good and bad or bad and worse, however, the proposal is not to assume clear differences and opposed affordances/abilities, but a collective/continuous spectrum of possibilities that both the analogue and the digital photographic practice share to a constantly varying degree. Both are subject to manipulation in different degrees and ways, just as both use lenses and light to produce images. The material conditions of digital and analogue photography are also assumed not be oppositional but complementary and thus coexisting.

Consequently, digital photography is used here metonymically and stands for the ongoing cultural, social and technological transformations that are influencing the pragmatics of photography. This approach is very much in line with recent empirical research (Durrant et al. 2011; ibid. Lehmuskallio) and draws on Gómez-Cruz conceptualization of digital photography (2013, p.249). Accordingly, it is proposed to undertake the analysis of different material conditions at the level of pragmatics, this is materiality in use; and at the level of practice, which leads to an exploration of affordances and contextual

conditions. The closer examination of the pragmatics of photography and of its affordances serves to account for affective processes set in motion through the practice of photography, which are in turn located within the strong role that intimacy plays in people's lives nowadays (Jamieson 1998).

The relationship between photography and immediacy has long been investigated. One of the most significant accounts of the relationship between photography and immediacy is Barthes' notion of the *punctum.* The *punctum* is an accident that wounds the viewer (ibid. 26–7). It is also a detail from which to extract subjective meaning. The *punctum* is also "[T]ime, the lacerating emphasis of the *noeme* ("*that-has-been*")" (ibid. 1980, p.96) emphasis on the original), manifested either in immediacy or latency (ibid.:53); and a perpetual reminder of future (and past) death. "I am looking at eyes that looked at the Emperor" (ibid. 3). Bolter and Grusin cast more light on the relationship between photographs and immediacy by dividing it into two parts. A photograph is a.) an expression of the desire for immediacy (the truth claim of the logic of the transparency of photography) and b.) a representation of the desire for immediacy (triggered by the *punctum)* (ibid. 2000: 23-37, 110).

When the photograph is digitally mediated, then immediacy becomes hypermediacy. The obliteration of the act of representation becomes a myriad of highly visible acts of representation whereby the presence of the medium or media is accentuated. Accordingly, acts of remediation become omnipresent and an intrinsic characteristic of new media. Bolter and Grusin highlight how contemporary viewers are forced to reflect on the ways in which reality is diversely represented by different media. Space is discussed in terms of what is offered to viewers/users – heterogeneous hyper-mediated spaces versus unified immediate ones (ibid. 38- 44). The most recent of Villi's work (2014) goes beyond this understanding of multiplicity as possible and present in digital media, by interrogating the otherwise occluded absences. In order to do so, he goes back to the notion of *punctum*.

In the days of analogue photography, the time elapsed between original exposure and viewing of the photograph was quite prolonged. Nowadays,

however, photography paired with telecommunication is defined by the immediacy of the now[8]. Villi argues that networked photographic communication entails another kind of loss distinct to death: "(...) not absence in time, but absence in space – can be a source of punctum" (Villi, ibid. 53). Using the specific example of camera phone photography, Villi connects distance as a source of *punctum,* with transience, in contrast to the *punctum* of time, which is permanent because "the dead cannot return" (ibid. 54). The transient photograph resembles then "a fleeting act of communication" (ibid. 55). Ephemeralness, however, seems to be linked to the phenomenon of internet communication. In contrast, a conventional family photograph (understood here as a document and as a part of a collection), does not frequently becomes outdated nor does it lose its value (ibid. Villi 55). Yet when distance as punctum is not transitory but practically permanent and fleeting acts of communication do in fact constitute the most frequent and enduring communicative interactions among a community of users, actuality might play a part.

Our desire for immediacy is overt both in the ways we use media today and in the ways in which digital media have evolved. As Philip Budka points out, in the past old community media such as radio (Lanzeni et al. 2014) bridged spatial gaps in an immediate way. We interact in tele-communicative spaces (Villi 2010), in "new media environments" (Moores 2012, 6-8), with our network of friends and family, which extends well beyond our physical location. But this raises the question of whether the dynamic uses and

[8] Anticipating today's technical possibilities, Vilem Flusser back in the 1980s coined the term the *new nomadism*: "[...] the fact that without leaving my chair I can be everywhere simultaneously and that I can control my telepresence" (my own translation) (Flusser n.d.). He wittily points out the impact of technology in creating new nomadic spaces. That is to say the concept of distance is interlinked with technological possibilities and is opened to ongoing re-definitions, which we need to figure out at a practical level, in a given context. Flusser's line of thought progresses towards the concept of *Streuung* [dispersion] by which he illustrates how the categories of subject and object have been replaced by potentialities. These in turn need to be computated giving birth thereby to alternative realities. For Flusser this is the end result of the logical thinking started with the *Aufklaerung* and it introduces the idea of things (apparatuses) being able to do, to act. Against this background, the following section will explore the concept of affordances and agency in relation to the photographic practice.

understanding of digital photography, and of everyday media in general have obliterated distance, as proposed by Manovich (2001, 160-161).

One of the more widespread suppositions about new media is that they override physical boundaries to the extreme that place does not play a role anymore. While the para-social interaction of Horton and Wohl (1956) does in fact adhere to the seeming obliteration of distance, place is still wholly relevant (Sarah Pink 2011b; Lapenta 2011; Morley 2007). The work of Daniel Miller (2010; 2011) advances the idea that new media constitute places which are continuous with pre-existing ones, as new media are gradually incorporated into the routines of everyday life. While Miller has focused on the impact of "accommodating"[9] the personal computer, and the multiple media hardware and software solutions contained within (such as Skype, webcams and most recently *Facebook*), David Morley (2007, pp.261–3) offers some examples of how new media, such as the mobile phone, but also less obvious and 'older' household items such as the fridge, configure and are shaped by our daily routines.

In her research of the use of photography by the Cittaslow movement[10], Pink studied people's ways of interacting with place, and subsequently how photographic technologies, practices and images are involved. She understands place as both a context for the practice and as a product of the practice, noting that it is through applied practical knowledge that we interact with new photographic media, that we carry out concrete sets of practices in specific environments (Sarah Pink 2011a, pp.93–4). If places are continuously

[9] "The home is indeed a powerful instrument of objectification. [...] Hardly ever is the result a clear reflection of the intentions of the human actor. The process of accommodating is battered by floods of other factors:-the agency of the house itself, haunted or otherwise, the dictates of the state, the profession of architecture, the limits of resources, the arguments between couples, the refusal of people to accept you back as Jamaican, the superiority of one's own house to one's own aesthetics, the contradictions of real antiques and reproduction furniture, the attempt to adhere to roots that betray you" (Miller 2010, p.108). The concept of accommodating and its range of factors besides human agency can be extrapolated to other objects and their incorporation into everyday routines.

[10] Using the UK Slow Cities movement, Sarah Pink explored photographic practices and the constitution of place. "Cittaslow is Italian for Slow Town or Slow City. (…) Today, Cittaslow towns use cutting edge technology (…) to live slowly, to remain connected with our natural environment and the procession of the seasons, to care for residents' health and local traditions. (…) The strong community networks we champion encourage people to value the parks, squares, theatres, shops, cafes, wild spaces and urban environment that are our homes" (Cittaslow n.d.).

in movement, they are also dispersed. They are not concretely, physically located somewhere indefinitely, but tied to a conjunction of processes. The way digital images are produced, mediated and consumed shows how intrinsically linked are the feelings of movement with the experience of place, of being somewhere. The making of place is contingent to movement. And yet we can never return to the same place, as the ever ongoing interrelations and processes that transform space-in-place are transitional and ephemeral. However, the feel of a place and the experience of it linger on in our consciousness.

Space becomes place through repetition and familiarity. Both strategies are necessarily framed by contextual conditions. One of the first sociologists to clearly point out the relation between space and experience was Ray Oldenburg. In 1989 he structured place along three different social spheres with corresponding functions: the domestic or first place; the working or second place; and the inclusively sociable or third place. Oldenburg's third place is defined by the informality and anticipation of gatherings as well as for "its capacity to serve the human need for communion" (p. 20). Due to their neutrality third places provide a suitable environment for individuals to focus on experiences and relationships, which "makes possible informal, even intimate, relationships" to be forged among people (p. 23). The sense of communion among gathered individuals mentioned by Oldenburg strongly resembles the connection established through the openness of phatic channels observed by Malinowski. Indeed, the latter speaks about a phatic communion: "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (1965, p. 315). Certainly, Oldenburg places special relevance on talking when analysing how newcomers become regulars in pubs and bars, which following Oldenburg are the third places par excellence and "conversation is their sine qua non" (ibid., p. 28).

Undoubtedly Oldenburg acknowledged the importance and impact of design and architecture onto social processes and public life, as well as the relevance of regular access to third places. Recently, this element has been further

explored by Ana Luz (2006), a researcher who highlights the correlation between everyday practices and the transformation of space into place. As a matter of fact, regular access is a horizontal thread that structures Oldenburg's definition of third places. By applying his concept to contemporary everyday practices, Ana Luz has identified spaces of transition as everyday, concrete and socially inclusive locations (ibid., p. 147). The use of mobile phones surely provides a tangible example of how socio-material conditions impact the emergence of place. It has sparked vivid debates about the extent to which it is appropriate to discuss private matters in public spaces, or about the added audio-visual contamination of portable media-able devices. The corresponding etiquette is still in the making (Chalfen 2012). The key features of third places: spontaneity, congeniality, playful spirit, sense of belonging and equality are mirrored by their plain architectural features (ibid., pp. 21-28), or in other words, by the real affordances of their interior design and location. With the popularization of mobile digital lifestyles, Facebook and other social networks complement purely analogue third places by subsidizing social interactions and advancing informal socialization. Since place and practice are intertwined, the framing of both performatives and the phatic within a theory of practice enables us to account for tacit and intersubjective experiences of place, and thus the relational affordances activated as a result.

Shaun Moores (ibid. 2012) has analysed the gradual integration of media with the experience of place. He goes back to McLuhan's notion of humans being extended in order to emphasize how the medium itself, regardless of its content, impacts on new modes of everyday social interactions. Going back to the example of the mobile phone, audio-visual contamination occurs regardless of the nature of the content. The mobile phone provides the ability to listen to music on the go. How loud the music is will depend on the experience of the perceiver and within the surrounding environment. The same music that can be perceived as very loud on a quiet Sunday morning bus ride can also be perceived as almost unnoticeable on the same urban bus during a noisy and hectic Friday evening commute. The music, thus the content, remains the same but the production of meaning changes according

to the situation in which that music, that content, is embedded. When studying family photography in depth, Gillian Rose exposed the problems with semiotic/discursive approaches: (1) they are not suitable to explore dynamics in intimate spheres; (2) they are reductionists because images are thereby interpreted as images not as the results of complex practices; (3) they are problematic because although they show how social relations are (re)articulated through visual images they also reproduce the same power-relationship and annihilate visual power (2010, pp. 11-18).

More recently, Gómez-Cruz and Thornham have also noted the shortcomings of semiotic approaches to the study of media. In their view, a semiotic approach to the exploration of selfies, even when the frame of practice is taken into account, "continues to prioritise the visual and aesthetic over (and this is our contention) the power relations in which the image is situated" (2015). Gómez-Cruz and Thornham take a "non-media centric" approach to selfies by analysing them as a phenomenon and thus they are able to address the layer of mediation. Selfies in turn as explored as chats, stabilisations and durable algorithms. These two researchers, drawing onto Latour's work, also understand infrastructures, technologies and interfaces as built elements that generate "possibilities of interaction and mediation" (ibid.). The phenomenon of selfie is then outlined as a performative and mediatory practice, inasmuch as they are a source of embedded empowerment. Similarly, as unveiled throughout the course of this dissertation, photographic practices of transnational families, specially sharing, highlight the performative moment of negotiation and how this allows for feelings of connectivity and immediacy to arise, which in turn reinforces the sense of being socialised in a concrete network of kin, affinity and interpersonal support.

By reflecting on the materiality of objects certain cultural expectations of their function are fractures, thus allowing the research to be focused on ambiguities and subjective responses to production and consumption. The medium itself is questioned (Edwards, 1999, p. 68-69). Subjective and objective agendas come together through the medium's characteristics. The expressive

communicates, explores and articulates a response by taking the viewer outside of the frame, thereby revealing what has not been visualized on the image (ibid., p. 59). “Objects matter in the context of social practices” (Rose, 2010, p. 18). In the concrete case of photography it is necessary to talk about socio-technological practices as the medium itself is an intrinsic element of the practice and it is by the synergy of human and non-human elements that meaning arises. The objectual of photographs is brought in relation with social practices through three elements: (1) visual form, (2) material form, and (3) presentational form. The objectual of photographs of other media is the result of perception, thus of the blend between the subjective and the objective. From a holistic point of view, the same is required to approach and explore practices, environmental features, which are perceived rather than sensed – are meaningful. Already in 1977 Bourdieu pointed out the need to conceptually surpass mechanistic approaches as well as those that attribute to free or creative will the power to create meaning, in favour of an understanding of practice that encompasses objective potentialities, present contextualizations, prospective outcomes and customary modes of action (pp. 73-76). Bourdieu’s conceptualization of habitus as “a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group” (ibid., p. 86) has certainly provided a satisfactory platform from where to explores pragmatics of media use. However, this scheme does not account for the particular and diverse material conditions that often – especially nowadays – surpass the group distinction and influence – to a lesser or greater extend – both media experiences and media practices. Thus, I believe that the concept of affordances needs to be brought together with the objectual of photography. The study of pragmatics under this lens might reveal otherwise occluded aspects of sense-making embedded in the complex relation of human and non-human agents. As Rammert (2008) points out socialization encompasses both interpersonal interaction and interactivity with physical and symbolic objects.

The term affordances was first introduced by Gibson in 1977 in an effort to explore environmental properties, which he deemed different to the experience of the observer (p.137). From this moment onwards there has been a consensus about the invariant character of affordances, but in 1988 Norman – who studied under Gibson – introduced a second distinction: there are real affordances – built-in environmental or material features not easily manipulated by users – and perceived affordances – material features that vary depending on socialisation, conventions and past experiences. In this way, Norman partially addressed the relation between perception of meaning and immediacy, which Gibson had not discussed. Another controversial point that Gibson didn't discuss is the relation between non-human and human actors (Oliveira, 2005, p. 401; Wright and Parchoma, 2011, p.249). This was however thematised by Norman and resulted in a renewed understanding of affordances as material and environmental features situated in relation to the actor's experience and culture.

In the year 2000, Graves-Brown provided a good explanation of this relation: "[t]he way in which affordances are systematized and ultimately made proper to things derives from the relationship between people, things and other people" (p. 6). His approach is framed by mutualism, a theory used in biology stating that two organisms of different species coexist in a relationship that is mutually beneficial: each individual profits from the activity of the other. Culture and experience are in Graves-Brown's view an emergent property of the relationship between people and things. This relationship evolves over time and it can be broken down in three stages: invention, commercialisation and adoption. At the same time, affordances are always framed by systems, which include artefact, actions and social contexts (ibid., pp. 3-6). Importantly, Graves-Brown does not restrict agency to human actors. Although he does not attribute action to artefacts, he states that "[a]rtefacts embody all that has been enacted upon them, they are animated by their passage through the lives of people" (ibid., p. 5). Nine years later, Fajen, Riley and Turvey, went a little further by suggesting that "affordances are opportunities for action" (2009, p. 1), a statement that I also subscribe.

Also in 2009, Kono provided a more comprenhensive definition: "[a]ffordances are the dispositions of the environment; an individual can integrate some of them into his or her action" (p. 369). Thus, whether positive or negative, affordances are necessary conditions for action produced and maintained by conventions and that when perceived render possible intentional responses (ibid., p.361, 369). Parting from the understanding of language as a social institution, Kono – in agreement with other scholars – believes that language arises from active engagement made possible by and through affordances (ibid., p. 370). Always embedded in interpersonal interactions, language is a kind of a bodily expression as well as "the perception of events, those of social actions" (ibid., p. 371). In approaching language through the concept of affordances, Kono advocated for an understanding of political and social contexts that influence language. By approaching the medium of photography through practice and affordances, I am to widen the understanding of photographs to include their objectual properties in a first instance, and to analyse the social – and perhaps the political – implications of photography's diverse materialities. By exploring media in their contexts of use, deficiencies and benefits of design are revealed and valuable insights into future social uses of media are gained.

Although, as Wright and Parchoma have noted, the use of affordances has been very inconsistent (2011, pp. 249-250), it nevertheless has given rise to a productive discourse about the relationship between humans and technology (ibid., p. 250). After reviewing existing literature and the diverse discursive positions on affordances of mobile learning, Wright and Parchoma also propose a focus on situated practices and an ethnographic approach whereby the researcher observes existing practices rather than choosing to explore concrete technologies and designing specific settings of use (ibid., p.256). "It is not just that objects can be agents, it is that practices and their relationships create the appearance of both subjects and objects through the dialectics of objectification and we need to be able to document how people internalise and then externalise the normative. In short we need to show how the things that people make, make people" (Miller, n.d.). The present research

specifically addresses how the photographs transnational families make, impact on them. Images need media to become visible, they are not bound to specific carriers. However, concrete carriers have concrete real affordances and when socially contextualized also concrete perceived ones arise. Do the perceived and real affordances impact on images? As Lehmuskallio explains, "looking as an action cannot happen without a body" (2012, p. 38). Thus, pictorial media and material mediations are always dependant on the human actor looking/creating/sharing/operating with them. This means that the embodied self always exerts some control over images but the interactions with the images are also always dependant on perception (interpretation of information that results in meaning). Interactions are organized in social settings around shared understandings, whereby alone one shared practice is enough to give rise to mutual interaction, and images are "transmitted in the interplay between media carrying images and bodies directing their attention in perceiving them" (ibid., p. 40).

This interplay and interaction between images, media and human actors has been explored by Belting at a conceptual level, and by Lehmuskallio at an empirical one. It could be further refined using Hennion's work on attachment, because it opens the discussion to both the process of being attached to something as well as to the "specific object of attachment" (2012, p. 1). Thus, the exploration of attachments needs to take into consideration both the attachment itself as well as the experience of being attached. In this way, Hennion's work delves into the concept of habitus by situating socio-technological practices in concrete experiential contexts. Importantly, his work also acknowledges the problems of the binary opposition between agency and non-agency. The exploration happens then from within rather than from the margins into the centre. Attachment can reveal relations between people and things as well as among people. These relations can be beneficial or not, as attachment also "signified a bind, restriction, restrain and dependence" (ibid., p.4). Jamieson has argued for a very similar conceptualization of contemporary intimacies because "most personal relationships include a mix of love, care, sharing, understanding and knowing, which involve a degree of relying on,

needing or depending on the other, if not desperate necessity" (1998, p. 175). The ways we relate to each other, or using Hennion's vocabulary attach to each other, are situational and experiential. In a world where the division between public and private becomes increasingly blurred, constructing intimate relationships delivers pleasure although it also demands work and commitment (Jamieson, 2005, pp. 198-199). The boundary work that often characterises intimate relationships "concerns shared history, common property and shared objects" (ibid., p. 200). When an element of geographical distance is intrinsic part of interpersonal relationships, mediation of shared history and projects becomes – for better or for worse – a powerful instrument of intimate boundary work. Attachments are forged at the layer of mediation with both things and people because both are necessary elements for the construction of intimacy at a distance. As Jamieson argues, empirical research is needed in order to explore the significance of boundary work in personal relationships. Accounting for the experiential and situational aspects of attachments requires then a holistic approach to research that can only be delivered by being attached to research (Henion, 2012, p. 8) possibly through ethnography and narrative inquiry, the two methodological approaches leading this doctoral research. More recently, Lobinger also advocated for an ethnographic approach and described a research design that strongly resembles the one carried out in this investigation: "ethnographic approaches and qualitative interview techniques of visual research focusing on what people do with images across a broad range of media and ICTs in their everyday will definitively yield innovative and fascinating insights" (2015, p. 485). The present dissertation certainly fits this statement. Both contextual conditions and the content of mediated interactions relate to the spatial-temporal experience of the perceiver. In the next section, these concepts will be outlined and explored in greater detail, bringing them in closer connection with the photographic medium.

2.2. Digital Photography as a Practice. Causality and Epistemology.

Central to the concept of sharing, and thereby overcoming spatial and temporal distances, is the understanding of photography as a practice, which comprises three main factors. First, as Rose points out, is the notion of practice as a routine or as a consistent way of doing something (ibid. 2010, pp.11–18). Second, practice and place are intrinsically intertwined (Rose 2003; Rose 2010, pp.18–22; Sarah Pink 2011a). And third, practice as comprised of participation, which takes place in a concrete place and is framed by and responds to discourses (ibid. Sarah Pink 101; ibid. Caron and Caronia 37–49).

This definition and understanding of photography as a practice and of photographs as objects embedded in the practice is paramount for the present research. This is because it opens up a space to raise questions about the limitations of content-based media research, which focus intensively on codes and ideologies, by instead shifting the focus from the outcomes to the practice. This approach has a fruitful history, starting with Bourdieu's foundational investigation of amateur photography clubs (1965), followed by Chalfen's stepping-stone “home mode of communication” research framework (ibid. 1987; 1998), and most currently including the work of scholars such as Asko Lehmuskallio (ibid.) and Gómez-Cruz (ibid.). The relevance of these more current approaches will be further detailed below.

The driving force behind Bourdieu's study “Un art moyen” was to explore the social functions of photography beyond individual desires and pretensions. By setting photography in context, he aimed to truly understand what the practice of it means, thus expanding the understanding of the medium beyond form and content (ibid. 26–9). Bourdieu's concept of practice is linked to photographic apparatuses on the one hand, and to lifestyles on the other[11]

[11] Bourdieu describes thoughtfully how diverse the photographic practice is perceived and carried out by different social classes (1965, pp.58–84). However, as enunciated before, mobility and place are at the core of this investigation and not class. And as mentioned above, although patterns of use might still differ from class to class today, migration seems to surpass issues of contemporary contexts of ICT and mediation (Madianou & Miller 2012).

(ibid. 29-30, 43-50). Years after, in his “Outline of a Theory of Practice”, Bourdieu presented materiality as a property that overcomes the division between subject and object as practices produce, reproduce and are used pragmatically to construct relationships. Kinship and affinity are the result of explicit and tacit – or in Bourdieu’s own vocabulary: conscious and unconscious – strategies put in place to satisfy “material and symbolic interests and organized by reference to a determinate set of economic and social conditions” (1977, p. 36, 47-48). Due to the important link between photographs and reproduction of social capital, Bordieu and Boltanski outlined photography as a special case of the relationship with the technical object, a theme richly explored later by Vilem Flusser, who also understood photography as a practice (1983, pp.18–34).

Flusser approached photography as the medium that caused a structural change in our way of thinking. His work follows the line of thought started by Benjamin in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935), by focusing our attention on the origin and widespread expansion of technical images, as well as our relationship with them. Starting with photographs, Flusser establishes the profound impact that technical images have had on the very structure of culture (ibid. 7). The photographic camera was a producer of symbols according to Flusser. “The camera is programmed to produce photographs, and every photograph is a realization of one of the possibilities within the program of the camera” (ibid. 26). Ultimately, he posited, the programs contained in cameras respond to higher social-economic conditions, and immediately the act of photography captures the cultural conditions that make it possible (ibid. 27-34). Although Flusser's analysis was not specifically conceived for the study of snapshot photography, it highlights a crucial aspect of the photographic practice: the relationship between material conditions and subject’s intentionality. “In the act of photography the camera does the will of the photographer but the photographer has to will what the camera can do” (ibid. 35). The same logic is applied to the photographed object: photographers can only photograph what can be photographed. For Flusser this means “everything located within the program” (ibid. 35). For Bourdieu

this means “nothing can be photographed apart from what needs to be photographed” (my own translation) (ibid. 35).

Flusser highlights how technology and human beings are intrinsically intertwined, while Bourdieu emphasizes the interaction of mind and body in collective categories. Flusser is ultimately preoccupied with the *Entpolitisierung* (un-politicization) caused by the *Technisches Bild* (technical image). He tries to deconstruct the power of images and the processes by which we perceive and decode (*entschluesseln*) them because it impacts greatly on how we process information. Bourdieu's utmost aim is to surpass the static structural understanding of the world by returning to practice. Only by studying what people do, can one conceptualize the social world. That is to say, in relation to photography, Flusser deconstructs the outcomes and elements of the practice while Bourdieu empirically explores these in action. However, while Bourdieu ultimately refers to the collectivity, rituals and routines to explain amateur photographic practices, Flusser gives agency to photographic apparatuses while acknowledging the underlying subject’s intentionality involved: “apparatus and humans beings merge into a unity” (ibid. 27)[12]. They both, however, underline the importance of exploring what it is known but difficult to be expressed in words - the implicit, tacit knowledge that is inherent to every practice and yet so difficult to gain access to.

Through the concept of practice one can address the truth claim of photography as well as the contextual factors involved. This is because the use made of the medium is understood in terms of both representation and communication within a certain community of users. Using this perspective to address the shifts and developments that have arisen within the digitization of photography means to contextualize them in concrete, tangible uses, as well as patterns of use. This in turn sheds some light onto the question of

[12] One of Flusser's concluding remarks is, however, that apparatuses, by having been programmed to function automatically and having done so for few generations, now “function as an end in themselves” (1983, p.73).

photography being increasingly linked to communication over space as it is incorporated in everyday routines.

Sharing a certain instant, mediating our presence, and bringing worlds together in the now are desires and possibly actions that we experience frequently. Whether we use the camera-phone or video-conferencing to do so, the fact is that we seek a moment of connection. In 2006 Kaye explored affective communication over distance using a single-bit medium of communication. Long-distance couples were provided with an application that allowed them very minimal interaction: "When one circle is clicked, the other user's circle turns bright red, and then fades over time. When a user moves their mouse over the VIO [Virtual Intimate Object], it changes to show the state of the remote partner's VIO" (2006, p.2). Contextual conditions were found to be key when interpreting these minimal interactions and in a broader sense, when designing technology that deals with affective communication (ibid. 5). By implication, the category of affordances is seen as crucial because it allows for the research to account for the interactions between humans and devices – referred to first by Latour as the hybrid actor (1999, p. 181) and later by Russell as "Humedia" (2007) in a more concrete context of mediated social practices.

Gomez-Cruz points out the need of a holistic approach because "many devices are needed to take photographs" (2012, p.24). Accordingly, he approaches photography from the interplay of the field of computer design and social sciences to arrive at the conclusion that the multiplicity of materialities of digital photography gives rise to a greater relevance of contextual conditions, of distribution processes and of uses of the medium. The moments of connection sought are embedded in routines of the here and now, as opposed to rites of the there and then (ibid. 231-8). We share in order to connect. We connect because we care. In order to further explore these moments of connection and how they impact on patterns of use, as well as on the devices employed, I propose to revisit the phatic dimension of communication.

In media studies, the phatic has been very simplified as it historically stands for the status of the channel of communication that can be either closed or open. This dichotomy does not allow for any in-between statuses. Consequently, this approach omits a discussion of the conditions of openness and closure that impact at both the mediation and the message transmitted. However, an anthropological view of the phatic reveals that beyond regulating the communication channel, "a mere exchange of words" contributes to the creation of ties of union (1923, 315). Thus, the phatic is about its operational as well as about its relational, or social, dimension. The phatic is everything that enables or distorts communication. It is the noise and the interferences. Malinowski, however, emphasized the positive element of phatic communication: its enabling character. The phatic is also about closeness, about proximity, about establishing a common ground. It is in this sense that the phatic is approached within the present PhD thesis.

According to Malinowski's (ibid.) study of *phatic communication*, contextual conditions[13] are key for *phatic communion* to take place. *Phatic communion* is a pre-condition for any form of communication. It is a type of speech in which ties that unite are created by a "mere exchange of words" (ibid. 315). On this level, language is a mode of action and words fulfil a social function (ibid. 314-6). The essentially pragmatic character of language is rooted on "customary types of behaviour, well-known to the participants from personal experience" (ibid. 311). The phatic both assumes and creates a social relationship of contact. For Jakobson (1974), the phatic fulfils a subjective and, thus variable, need on the one hand, and an intersubjective or constant need on the other, the latter being where tacit knowledge[14] resides. In turn, phatic acts are

[13] Contextual conditions are a fundamental part of Austin's analysis of performatives too. "The social habits of the society may considerably affect the question of which performative verbs are evolved and which, sometimes for rather irrelevant reasons, are not" (Austin 1961, p.245). For Searle however, extra-linguistic context is not needed for a performative – or an illocutionary act to use his own terminology - to be successful, because language is regulated. Meaning thus arises from the interplay of intention and conventions. "Talking is performing acts according to rules" (Searle 1969, p.22). Although rules are central in Searle's speech act theory, they do not necessary play a role for a regulated practice. "[It] can have a conventional mode of performance without having constitutive rules and without requiring rules or conventions to perform the act" (ibid. 40).

[14] Tacit knowledge is the non-rational ability to participate in common actions. It has a normative character, which is expressed in a practical way. "The ability to frame communication and action as the

essentially mimicable, because they conform to pre-existing conventions and they are performed within a certain community of participants (Austin 1975, pp.96–8). The community is corroborated by its members in an interaction ritual, which regulates the communicative act at the same time.

Malinowski's ideas have been applied to media research before. Wulff (1993) argues that television texts are generated within specific media constellations, which in turn form phatic references different from everyday communication (ibid. 151). Conative and social factors are explored in this analysis to conclude that the phatic is a mode of human action that affords a community to be formed through the performed communicative act (ibid. 142-44). In relation to the material conditions of photography, as Elo suggests that the phatic moment of touching is obscured in both analogue and digitally mediated photographs because it draws on singular and personal experience (Elo 2013, p.23). Thus, the impending research task is to devise an approach that guarantees access to these phatic moments in the photographic practice. The goal is to account for the feel and the experience of place as both context for and as outcome of the practice, as singular, personal and implicit as it might be.

If the phatic lets us explore the moments of connection and how patterns are acquired within a community of users, the study of the tacit leads us to identify these recognizable patterns of activity and action. Tacit knowledge allows for Malinowski's phatic communion to take place. The communicative action, influenced by the experience of place, acquires meaning through the *context of situation* (ibid. Malinowski, 306-7). In other words: "(...) meaning and syntax

identification of the context, in which things explicitly known can be applied, is the stuff of implicit knowledge" (Loenhoff 2011, p.62). In relation to intercultural communication, Loenhoff gives account of the process that could be considered the opposite of the phatic communion. The experience of the incomprehensible, the mutual misunderstanding in a concrete encounter enables us to experience cultural difference. He names this a "performative understanding of incomprehensibility" (ibid. 62). The open acknowledgment of failure, after all, gives rise to a productive "verbalization and transformation of implicit experience as and into explicit knowledge" (ibid. 62). However, stereotypes can override this productive moment.

of language can no longer be defined independently of the speech acts they presuppose" (Delueze & Guattari 1987, p.76).

Less than a year ago, another researcher has turned to the phatic dimension of communication to explain practices of sharing photographs. Lobinger explores practices of photo-sharing from a non-media centric approach (2015). She also recommends an ethnographic approach and qualitative interviews to study "what people do with images" (ibid., p. 485) and importantly she stresses the importance of the phatic dimension of communication in order to account for the relevance of otherwise historically stigmatised images due to their vernacular and thus dismissible character of their content – as I have also argued elsewhere (2010). Lobinger refers to "the pleasure of communication and connectivity of photo sharing" as an element of photo-sharing practices that stresses connectivity and confirms social relationships and bonds. Thereby it is not the content of photographs but continuous – and ever interrupted I would add – exchanges (Lobinger, 2015, p. 481) which sustains photographic practices. The research undertook with Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland will also prove this statement. Lobinger also agrees that shared photographs create a space of proximity and visual intimacy among participants, much like Villi (2010, 2012, 2013) has also argued. Lobinger's research, together with Gómey-Cruz and Thorhnam's exploration of selfies (2015), both published less than a year ago, demonstrate the force of the methodological and conceptual approach originally devised for this dissertation.

Malinowski's mere exchange of words could be a mere exchange of clicks today. As Villi modestly indicates, transient photographs resemble fleeting acts of communication (ibid. 2014: 55). We use anything we have at hand to establish/to renew the *phatic communion* that opens up a space for further and deeper interaction. Places are ephemeral and are tied to diverse processes. Thus the talking might be of movement instead. This raises specific questions to be investigated. How do we practice (digital) photography under these circumstances? How does the practice move from one context onto

another? In order to answer these questions, I propose to explore two terms: *affordances* and *performatives*. The next section is devoted to this.

Current research needs to account for the materiality and performativity of photography (Van Dijck 2007, p.99). Digital media change the way we perceive (ibid. 169-71). By building onto Belting's triangle of image, medium, and body, Lehmuskallio bridges "(...) the distinction made in theories of practice between symbolization processes and material mediations" (ibid. 2012:33). Lehmuskallio's aim is to find out what kind of things cameras are today (ibid. 16) and how they mediate our actions. His question is relevant not only because it interdisciplinarily develops the idea of distributed action between bodies and artefacts, but also because it approaches social signification processes of image and image making from its infrastructure.

The idea of objects having agency is contested. Over a decade ago, Latour formulated the principles of Actor Network Theory by exploring how material forms impact on people seemingly independently from human agency, thus coming to the realization that material forms possess some agency themselves at the very least expressed through the mediating role they fulfil (1999, p. 181). Action is not understood as the conscious act carried out intentionally by human subjects, but as what happens and leaves traces on reality. In their mediating role, objects also shape occurrences. As Latour wisely acknowledged, the work of palaeontologists and historians proof how the synergy of technologies and humanity has impacted socio-cultural developments "for about two and a half million years" (2002, p. 248). The layer of mediation is also stresses by Russell, who is of the opinion that the active objects of material culture are a mere reflection of "the oxymoronic construction of material culture" (2007, p. 2). In order to surpass dichotomies of active and passive, or of primary and secondary agency, Russell goes back to mediation: "I propose a move away from the dynamic struggle over manipulative correlations between objects and agents to shared correlations between inter-mediated entities" (ibid., 9). Social meaning arises from the synergy between human and media. As Hepp has argued, media are

reifications of communicative agency that become influential in human acting, so that technologies, interfaces and infrastructures form media and thus impact on stabilizations and imbalances of power (2013).

As discussed before, Russell coined the term "humedia" in order to capture the notion of shared responsibility of emotions that occurs when humans are approached as media themselves. In the interaction between humans and non-humans, feelings and affection reside no longer exclusively in the human being. Russell's proposal is derived from the digitization process, however the idea of shared agency between humans and media bas been scholarly approached before. Haraway's "Cyborg Manifesto" (1991) offers both a feminist perspective on the breakdown of boundaries that up until the 20th century had defined human beings as superior and different to machine and animals. The cyborg evades binary oppositions and recognises the potential for empowerment and the construction of alternative ways of being in the world that the blend of human and non-human brings along. A fundamental notion that sustains her argument is the acknowledgment of agency as being non-exclusive to humans. McLuhan (1964) also explored the notion of how media in general, and "electric media" specifically, merge with the human body. While Latour (2002, p. 248) states that considering technologies as extensions of organs makes little sense, I read this extension not only as a mere replication of the organ abilities albeit prolonged, but as a first acknowledgment of agency transferral from human actors to non-human agents. The primer relevance of ANT is that this synergy of hybridization is further investigated, conceptualised and made into a productive vocabulary to allow future explorations of agency, actions, acts and actants. It is important to note here that Latour defines actants as "a list of answers to trials – a list which, once stabilised, is hooked to a name of a thing and to a substance" (1991, p.122). In the following chapter when reviewing Chalfen's framework for analysing vernacular photographic practices as well as Lehmuskallio's update, the list that defines actants will be further discussed and brought in relation with the contemporary increase of agency-transferral to pictorial media. Both Russell and Latour agree that the synergy of human and non-human is not owned or controlled by humans alone

and it is from this conceptual point that the photographic practices of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland are explored and analysed in this dissertation. When human and objects seem to merge the question of actions falls upon both.

In 2010, Mol reviewed Latour's work and suggested to work with affordances in order to understand the continuous spectrum between activity and passivity of both human and non-human actors. By bringing together ANT and affordances, Mol goes beyond the prescriptive character of the concept of script because the experiential synergy of human and non-human is set at the centre of the equation. In Mol's view, the concept of affordances "[…] stresses that actors do not and cannot act alone: they afford each other their existence and their capabilities" (2010, p. 265). The focus on experience and action that the exploration of affordances brings along creates a necessary space to observe the mediating role of materiality (Verbeek, 2005, p. 133-134). It is exactly this important connection of emplacement between human and non-human actors that is also highlighted in this doctoral dissertation with the aim to explore in depth the social life of (digital) photographs, thus advocating for an approach to media that accounts for the social relations existing in and through material worlds, as Edwards (2002, 2009, 2012) and Miller (2010, n.d.) among other scholars have argued before. Subject and object "constitute each other in their interrelation" (Verbeek, 2005, p. 136). Furthermore, the force of ANT in enabling the rewrite of relationships of power (Mol, 2010, p. 256-257) aligns very well with the aim of narrative inquiry, which is the methodological approach used in this dissertation.

By participating in acts that enact conventions, these become necessary and part of reality. The force of these acts, or performatives, resides in their use, in the suitability of the circumstances, and in the pre-existing conventional conditions that they adhere to and through which they are performed (Austin 1975, pp.235–287). Thus, analysing performatives means to examine the social construction of reality within which they exist. Actions are embodied experiences and (social) practices are techniques of the mind as well as of the

body. Action must be culturally established before it can be meaningful. Latour's example of "the name Kodak" (1991, p.111) comprehensively details why all elements of a process need to be taken into consideration in order to assess the individual and collective implications. Media objects are discursive objects in the first place. Only once they become the topic of discussion are they not only media objects but social ones too (Caron & Caronia 2007, pp.33–37, 49, 60).

In 2008, Rammert made a very good case for a new understanding of agency. In line with Latour's hybrid actor, Rammert explains that intelligent machine design and interactive media can only be fully understood, specially their link to human beings, by acknowledging the capacities of these non-human elements and their growing connection with the everday. "Action can be composed of different acts and some can be delegated" (Rammert, 2008, p. 2). Furthermore, he explains how software engineers and system designers have transferred social and sociological concepts to software agents as to improve coordination of acts and actions (ibid., p. 5). This also explains why the earliest literature on affective media comes from interaction design. What is important to highlight here is that this new understanding of agency does not occlude the situation in which actions are carried out: it is through emplaced interactions that meaning arises, not by single acts. However, understanding action in this way also poses challenges as the location of agency becomes diffuse and blurry. The equalizing position of ANT scholars, by which there is no distinction between human and non-human actors, does not provide further clarity. Mol's proposal of bringing ANT and affordances together is a clear attempt to overcome the limitations of an understanding of agency that is both too encompassing and little experiential. The work of Weeks and Fayard (2007) perhaps provides a clearer approach to the question of distributed agency and everyday practices. They advocate for an exploration of practice through a powerful combination: affordances and habitus. By understanding and exploring Gibson's affordances as socio-material processes that foremost impact on setting, these two authors provide a complementary framework to Bourdieu's habitus. Both habitus and affordances are influenced

by class, setting and subjectivism, but while social structure (habitus) shapes behaviours, affordances present opportunities for action (a definition of affordances that, as noted above, has also been adopted by Fajen, Riley and Turvey). Alike Weeks and Fayard, Rammert also proposes to work empirically so that the levels of agency, the acts and the emplacement of each step can be identified and explored in depth.

Cameras might not take photos by themselves[15], but neither can we produce photographs without adequate technology. Photography is therefore seen as a mode of action. More concretely, contemporary cameras (from point-and-shot to digital medium format) fall into the category of pro-active agency proposed by Rammert (ibid., p.6). They do so because they contain self-activating programmes such as red-eye correction, face recognition or automatic exposure. Some of them could also be placed in the category of co-operation as automatic sharing of photographs can be delegated to Internet-able cameras thus leaving the distribution of images to the non-human agent. When deleting a picture, whether on camera or not, a dialogue box appears asking if we are sure we want that picture to be deleted. As Rammert explains, this features of agency force users to think of the non-human agent in terms of a relation, as if the non-human side of the equation had some control over the process. When this happens, "interactive-communicative relations" (ibid., p.9) emerge and technologies are perceived beyond their instrumental character. Photographs are mostly purposely produced, and by the very process of sharing them, our perceived reality is altered. Photographic exchanges seem to hold performative force[16], as they impact on social and

[15] In fact, some cameras do shoot on their own, for instance the ones wildlife photographers and some researchers set up in locations removed from civilization. Admittedly, these cameras follow an order given by a human, but no hand presses the trigger.

[16] Theory of language is applied here from the standpoint that language is in constant evolution and that it is co-constructed by users, techniques and technologies in place. Although within media studies and sociology of media, the question of media practice has recently gained popularity (see above), often language theory is presented as incompatible with a focus on practice rather than on the photographic object per se (Gómez-Cruz 2012). However, media-studies research that explores epistemological questions, such as the pragmatics of media use attending to socio-cultural contexts, have often employed language theories in order to further analyse the encounters between mediated messages and receivers. Martha Langford's work (2001; 2006) approaches photography from Ong's (1982) orality framework to further understand the reception of photographic albums.

emotive actions. Kono also advocates for an approach to affordances through speech act theory (Kono 2009). Austin himself acknowledged the potential of non-verbal means of communication to perform as successfully as verbal means, as long as they are conventional i.e. customized to the group (Austin 1961, pp.119, 287).

Performatives are necessarily embedded in social and cultural circumstances, which equip them with an effect. The force of performatives has been questioned by Gould (1995), who identified a major problem in Austin's performative force: it does not account for congruency cracks between a performative and its effects. Gould's "illocutionary suspense or perlocutionary delay" (Gould 1995, p.28) supports thereby Butler's reading of performativity by which discourse potentially and ontologically produces what it names by repetition and recitation (Osborne et al. 1993). Actions performed by verbal and non-verbal means acquire social meaning through emplacement and embodiment when they successfully conform habituses (Hanks & Hanks 2014)of a particular social group.

As we have seen, practice is firstly composed of participation; secondly, it is based on repetition; and thirdly practice and place are intertwined. Lehmuskallio asks why pictorial practices are very similar in different locations, as well as in different social and cultural contexts (ibid. 2012:36). His conclusion is that material mediations "(…) do not determine embodied actions, nor symbolization processes – but it surely seems to have an effect on them" (ibid. 49). Analogue photographs call for practices different from the ones enabled by networked images (Gómez-Cruz 2012, p.231) as the latter are embedded in a context of melange together with other images, text, links, etc., all of which constitute a concrete way of communicating. In this way, a printed copy of a digital photograph still responds to practices of analogue photography, such as the framing and displaying on mantelpieces, or additions to shoe-box collections. A digital photo can do the same and end up in a digital frame on a mantelpiece too, perhaps next to its analogue counterpart, or in a virtual *Dropbox*. However, a digital photo can also do more as it can also be

used to immediately overcome space when, for instance, it is sent via instant messaging. Through this action the fluid space of the home is extended to other realms.

In the specificity of digital photography, agency is in constant evolution as are the networked cameras, images and nomadic citizens. This is why Gómez-Cruz understands agency always in interplay between infrastructures, dispositives and their pragmatics. Agency is shared (Rammert, 2008; Gomez-Cruz 2012, p.72) and why Lehmuskallio points out that pictorial action is distributed across a network of various artefacts and a variety of actors (2012: 62). It is here where Lehmuskallio's work makes a significant contribution: the embodied process of image making/viewing/sharing is controlled both by our bodies and by our pictures. The agency of the body is extended into things, as if they were prostheses. Along with McLuhan and Gibson, and as Lehmuskallio reveals, Flusser also defended this position: "apparatus and humans beings merge into a unity" (Flusser 1983, p.27) and after few generations, today they "function as an end in themselves" (ibid. 73). Taking Lehmuskallio's and Gomez-Cruz's works into account, the present research aims to further discuss how these new "things" –networked cameras and networked images – have affected the practice of photography and the relations they mediate. The use and disuse of objects and their contribution to shape human presence and absence in the world is central part of the present line of inquiry. This understanding further reinforces the productive character of affordances for the study of material culture because objects are not reduced to their invariable properties but understood as inextricably intertwined with humans. As discussed above, affordances are opportunities for action, are always contextualized by practices and thus emplaced within the lives of people, their actions and their experiences.

This chapter clearly situates the field of research within an interdisciplinary framework. The focus on practice comes from a sociological approach to media, whereas the discussion of the digital and material mediations belongs to a line of inquiry characteristic of media and visual studies. The concept of

propinquity has been identified as paramount when digital photography is understood, not only as an ontology of perception but also as a routine practice of media use whereby time and space are suspended for the sake of connectivity. The terms of affordances and of phatic communication have also been key to fostering a research project that aims to explore the tacit and intersubjective knowledge underlying digital photographic practices. Subsequently, the question of human and non-human agency has been identified as primordial and a first approach to it through the category of performatives has been provided.

The next chapter advances the conceptual construction of the research field by reviewing and discussing family photography. As a highly contextualized case study of the pragmatics of contemporary digital photography, family photography allows for empirical work and thus for theorization from the bottom-up. This chapter is closed by outlining the unique qualities of this research: the exploration of mediation of familial relationships of affect and intimacy attending to the representational and communicational character of the photographic medium and the examination of what implications this has for processes of kin keeping and socialisation.

3. Practices of Family Photography in the Digital Age.

The field of family photography has been academically explored for many years and distinctive elements have been identified by now established scholars (Hirsch 1981; Chambers 2001; Rose 200f3; Marianne Hirsch 2008). Outside of the academic world, both intuitive and informed engagements with family photographs, learnt for instance through everyday advertising (Slater 1991), construct tacit understandings within viewers of what family photography is about. As I will argue throughout the thesis, family photography seems to attend to three key elements: action - the act of binding, of creating a shared experience; narration - the stories we create and tell; and rituality – the moments/events we routinely capture with photo-cameras. In this chapter the field of research is reviewed in light of Gibson's affordances[17] and Malinowski's phatic communion. The aim is to examine photographic practices within families from the perspective of exchange, while paying attention to ritualistic aspects and narratives involved in the process. Language theory has been widely and successfully applied to the study of photography[18], however, if changes within family photography over the past 30 years are to be understood, existing conceptual frameworks need to be broaden by way of embracing a holistic engagement with the photographic medium, which in turn means to take an approach that accounts for both content and context, in other words for photography in practice.

In the following section, the most recent work in the field of family photography is briefly outlined, especially with regard to the process of sharing and exchanging family photographs. It will be highlighted how future lines of

[17] Both concepts have been defined and discussed in the previous chapter, section 2.1 and 2.1 respectively.

[18] While Martha Langford's research on photographic albums (2001), focused foremost on orality, is a contemporary example of language theory applied to the study of photography, Pierce's (1991), Sausurre's (1974) and Barthes' (1964) research, which build the core of semiotic theory, are classic examples. Although Langford's interest was to create a typology of (family) photographic albums, she contemplates both the content of the individual images and of the album as a whole on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the dialogic situation in which albums are received (Langford 2006, pp.223–246).

inquiry pointed out by previous works, resonate with the research question and design of this thesis. Media convergences (Jenkins 2004) produce phenomenological realities, which in turn are only understood through holistic approaches. It is the aim of the present investigation to specifically address contemporary digital family photography, if only to be able to understand further how the digital impacts on the pragmatics of the photographic medium.

Recently, one of the key contemporary voices in the study of family photography has reviewed her work in the light of digitisation processes. In 2014, Gillian Rose published a short paper titled "How Digital Technologies Do Family Snaps, Only Better" in which she begins by criticizing much of the earlier scholarly work about family photographs as placing too much weight on their material qualities. She argues that by setting materiality on the spotlight, scholars merely prolong a semiotic approach that emphasizes image content but occludes other important aspects of the medium. However, Rose's understanding of family photography as a social practice also incorporates material qualities of photographs[19], implying thereby that material qualities are relevant but not in isolation. In fact, Rose explicitly explores the links between affordances and their uses by asking what is produced therein, specifically when family photography becomes digital. Drawing on her previous investigation, in which digitisation was just lightly addressed, Rose gives an account of how family photographs signify and enact familial togetherness, being therefore "crucial objects in making a home"(Rose 2014, p.77). On the one hand, Rose comes to the conclusion that the digital has not changed, but only intensified family photography. On the other, she advocates for a methodological change that involves much less emphasis on close readings of images. Instead she argues for much a more attentive exploration towards "(…) what is done with [the images], to their travels, and to the complex effects of those doings and their mobilities" (ibid. 84).

[19] She had already used this approach in her previous work (Rose 2010) whereby photographs are emplaced in practices of kin keeping and domesticity. Likewise, other scholars advocate for the same conceptualization of (family) photography (Pink 2011c).

Other scholars have previously addressed the digitisation of family photography empirically, by way of direct field research (Durrant 2011; Lehmuskallio 2012; Gómez-Cruz 2012; Villi 2010). While the individual research questions posed in each of these studies are very precise, they all embrace the field-work holistically. They also all share an interest in the life of the photographs, in exploring the whereabouts of snapshots, and the particular outcomes of actions and images. Through the use of extended interviews and fieldwork, they have proven the understanding of photography as a practice as well as an ethnographic research approach to be very productive. Their work involves the creation of a certain level of rapport and trust with the participants which, as it will be argued later, is necessary in order to gain access to commonplace and yet private contemporary uses and practices of photography.

While family photographs may be redundant in their content, they nonetheless point out complex acts of binding that take place once and then repeatedly, and which are never finished as long as they are shared with the community that generated them. A phatic community consists of people who engage in phatic communication, which does not necessarily mean there is an emotional connection or investment among members. However, when phatic acts of communication are performed by family members for family members, the emotive dimension is highlighted. The phatic provides the infrastructure for the (dis)affective to take place. As I have argued somewhere else (2010) the performative sense of togetherness generated through processes of sharing and exchanging family photographs gives rise to third places of (dis)affect and intimacy and it reaffirms the existence of phatic communities. Arguably, a pro-active approach of family members contributes to the creation and validation of phatic communities (ibid. 2010, p. 16). Phatic communities are pro-actively established under common circumstances by adhering to well-known rules and through ties to the objectivity of their social and cultural situation and to the subjectivity of the participants. They are formally constituted in a vis-a-vis relationship of roles. However, as Wulff demonstrated in the case of television communication (*Fernsehkommunikation*) (1993),

phatic communities can be established over space as long repetition and continuity occur.

Through empirical work with middle-class families of South England, Gillian Rose found evidence of a generation of stretched spaces[20] through photographic practices more than ten years ago. She argued that the familial home is extended beyond the house by photographic means and that photographic objects are crucial in the production of domestic space (Rose 2003, pp.9-15). Her recent examination of the effect of digital technologies in family photography does not include a discussion of digital spaces. However, the specific geographical settings of transnational families – the fact that family members live in different countries and interact face-to-face at best a handful of times a year - , coupled with the transience (Murray 2008) and ephemerality (Grainge 2011) associated to the digital - which enhance telecommunication and the mediation of presence - , suggest the need to review previous definitions of family photography.

For transnational families the creation of home, its extension beyond the house, and the generation of third places for family interaction are of crucial importance, because *unmediated* face-to-face interactions are very limited. Once a space is inhabited, it becomes a place, even if only momentarily. Only then is an affective awareness and conveyance beyond spatial and temporal locations activated. Although each participant involvement is unique, since differences in form create different embodied experiences, nonetheless an active engagement is shared. It is suggested that this mutual participation takes place and leads to (dis)affective and digitally mediated everyday experiences. One could even talk about media of (dis)affect.

[20] Gillian Rose uses the term *stretched* space (and *stretched* time) (2003), however, I argue for "third place" as a hybrid between the physical first space and the second virtual area. These "third places" of space and time extend domesticity beyond the physicality of the house, as Rose sustains, as well as presenting their inhabitants with opportunities for emotional interaction. Whether they make use of it or not is a matter we shall deal with in the analysis of the data in chapter five. Furthermore, the term "third place" also refers to Ray Oldenburg's work whose "third place" is defined as an environment that enables people to focus on experiences and relationships so that informal, even intimate, social interactions can take place (ibid., p. 23).

Diasporas have always been mediated. However, while in the past the mediation has involved a time lapse, mediated presences today can - and often are - instantaneous (Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014, p.12). While the so called "*Kodak* Culture" (Chalfen 1987) worked in the past within parameters of delays and tangibility, the very company which gave rise to it failed to meet the needs and expectations of emergent networked cultures. On the 9th February 2012, *Kodak* announced that it was phasing out production of digital cameras, pocket video cameras and digital picture frames. A year and three months later, *Kodak* sold off its two remaining imaging divisions, including its photographic film business (Zhang 2013). Accordingly, the Migration Industry of Connectivity changed partners. First, it was *Kodak*; now it seems to be Skype, *Facebook* and other social networks who provide the technologies that fulfil the needs of families with an element of spatial dispersion.

Richard Chalfen's "home mode of communication" (Chalfen 1998, pp.215–216) reflects both Flusser's and Bourdieu's ideas in two ways. Firstly, it explores the bridge between individual control and social expectations. Secondly, it examines the two-way relationship between material conditions and embodied practices. Chalfen's focus is on conventions. The "home mode of communication" was primarily designed to elicit patterns of behaviour, exclusion, and inclusion supported by the practice of family photography. It is firmly rooted in analogue photographic practices. As such, material conditions are an important element of the "home mode of communication". Chalfen also stresses the fact that snapshots are always embedded in communication processes, which in turn make sense only for people sharing at least passing personal knowledge of one another (ibid. 216). This seemingly broad, but at the same time restrictive, definition of how family photography is shared within a group certainly resembles the commonplace photographic behaviour of many in social networking sites today. This doctoral investigation argues that the interactions fostered today by digital media, such as social networks or camera-phones, sustain familial ties. The passing personal knowledge of one another is both presupposed and reaffirmed by these interactions, but more

importantly feelings of (dis)affect and familial intimacy are attached to photographs when exchanged within a phatic community.

Pedro Oiarzabal and Ulf-Dietrich Reips have pointed out that the area of ICT (Information and Communications Technology) and migration is under-researched (2012), which contrasts the previously detailed research in the field of family photography. The latter only report very minor and gradual changes in the use of pictorial technologies, while the former point to significant changes linked to emerging forms of digital affordances and connectivity (Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014, p.18). The different might be due to the spatial dislocation and transnational connections of migrants, both of which are catalyst for early, heavy and informed media use. Thus, migrants are outlined as digital natives, early adopters and heavy users of digital technologies (ibid. 2014, p. 6). This doctoral dissertation set sail to empirically corroborate these propositions as well as to explore the consequences of migrant's media usage for kin keeping. Positively, both streams of research coincide in viewing the mediascape as an ensemble of interlinked affordances rather than as a catalogue of ever-changing discrete technologies (Madianou & Miller 2012). Researching family photography through the concept of affordances gives way to productively and efficiently contextualize explorations of connectivity and migration because it allows to both map out processes of remediation as well as the possibilities and limitations of novel devices and platforms. The study of contemporary media pragmatics needs to navigate the big oceans of collective and holistic use, as well as the small waters of individual and specific purposes. Innovation and pointers to future more general phenomena are to be found in concrete current practices. Due to their spatial dislocation, (digitally connected) migrants are early adopters of technology and they thus constitute an especially rich group to be explored.

Identifying the place of residency of digitally connected migrants seems to be problematic. Belting coined the term "nomadic world-citizen" (2001, p.68) to describe the transient and mediated life of those who inhabit digital heterotopias (Witteborn 2014). "Nomadic world-citizens" live in "non-places"

(Auge 1995), whereby places of home are constituted as non-places too. The utopian potential for transformation and renewal within digital heterotopias clashes with their dystopian qualities - a sense of the placeless, the connectivity of absence, and the inevitable presence of distance (Ponzanesi, S. & Leurs, K., 2014; Villi 2014, 2015; Witteborn, 2014). As noted earlier, space becomes place due to repetition and familiarity. Spaces of habitation become homes through the everyday, the common, and the shared. Therefore, a significant other (or others) is needed in order to create a shared space and to establish common ground. In the life of the digitally connected migrant, (dis)affection is mediated because spatial borders need to be overcome. The need to mediate presence increases.

Affection is based on affinity and interaction, rather than on normative frameworks, and is also continuously called into question (Gabb 2008, pp.16–7, 64–5). Through empirical work and analytical reflection on social trends, Lynn Jamieson argues that there has been a shift from relational bonds to communicational and affective interactions in personal life today (1998, pp.15–42). Intimacy and intimacy-disclosure regulate people's lives (Jamieson 1999; Ahmed 2004). Since bonds and ties no longer depend on rules but on feelings of affection, this affection need to be continuously produced and endlessly renegotiated (Jamieson 1999). Although it has been suggested that patterns of intimacy disclosure remain part of an emergent future, there might be observable patterns of intimacy disclosure within the ways families engage with digital photographic practices. Intimacy has always been mediated but the crucial change is that it is no longer private. In fact, intimacy constitutes a pivotal component of the public sphere (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz 2009; Hjorth &Lim 2012). Its performativity takes place at many levels: traditional intimacies - of family, lovers and close friends - find their place along with socio-cultural intimacies of cultural memory and para-social interaction(Horton & Wohl 1956). In this way the growing ubiquity of mobile media can be understood as a contemporary mediation of intimacy, which "(...) almost by definition implies distributed storage" (Van Dijck 2007, p.116). The popular motto sharing is caring illustrates this idea.

According to Pauwels, social practices and functions of family photography have not changed, despite the onset of the digital and the existence of the Internet's online sharing and storage capabilities (2008, p.48). The nature of family communication has, however, been impacted by this new, semi-public character of family photography (ibid.). This thesis seeks to examine more closely third places of family interaction and their relation to digital transnational family photography. Through field-work with Irish-Spanish transnational families, it seeks to test the hypothesis that digital photographic practices provide these families with places to renegotiate and develop their feelings of togetherness and notions of family. Undertaking family photography means practicing photography with a concrete aim and within a specific context. Exchanges of photographs as such contribute to create a sense of familial bonding and togetherness. Thereby the content of the photographs exchanged becomes less relevant than the actual act of exchanging. As highlighted by Pauwels, within the field of Family Photography there is an imminent need to examine technological developments, with respect to text and image communication through electronic networks and devices (Pauwels 2008, p.37). His analysis of web-based family photography reveals that the digital a.) impacts on social uses and how photography is perceived, b.) encourages a creative treatment of reality, c.) makes family photography a group negotiation process, and d.) causes a socio-cultural swing resulting in family photography being more expressive and also inclusive of friends as much as, if not more than, family members (ibid. 35-48).

Several investigations give account of novel uses of networked photography, such as the re-definition of the picture-worthy (Okabe & Ito 2003), or the innovative practice of impermanent photography exemplified by *Snapchat*. Impermanent photographs open up a room for fleeting, immediate, visual conversations and *Snapchat* illustrates the way in which digital photography seems to be understood and used today. The characteristic features of *Snapchat* have also been signalled as intrinsic elements of the digital: transience (Murray 2008) and ephemerality (Grainge 2011). Visual digital technology has easily expanded into people's lives, giving way to a renewed

understanding of photography in terms of both affection and play. After all, shiny cutting-edge technological devices are considered by many as “toys for grown-ups”.

In his more recent work, Lehmuskallio goes beyond the camera to interrogate future visions of photography (2014). Here he stresses the still prevailing societal need of recognizing photographs as images of something – of the need for the truth claim of photography. At the same time heuristic models - whereby accuracy is traded for speed - are being used to deal with the overwhelming amounts of visual information being produced. Visual resemblance is pushed to the background in order to process images - data - faster. One of the plausible outcomes of the incipient convergence between simulation and heuristic models - the former allowing for comprehensive analysis and prognosis - , is the emergence of predictive photographs. Algorithms will remember for us when and how to take photographs. Although this idea might sound distant and somehow alien, some pictorial devices already incorporate software features, such as face recognition or automatic cloud-backups, which are early aspects of this emergence.

Lehmuskallio’s previous work included an update of Chalfen’s “home mode of communication” by adding the existence of digital sharing and archiving. In pictorial networks, the act of sharing and showing pictures was found to support conversations and to aid in the process of bonding (Lehmuskallio 2012, p.150). As I will argue throughout the thesis, when looking at these images the interactions are also products and outcomes of social bonds and relationships. The list of components of Chalfen’s “home mode of communication” remains the same in Lehmuskallio’s study, although some changes occur in relation to topics. Along with “traditional snapshot pictures”, the following categories were found: pictures related to knowledge; emotional pictures (those created in order to overcome distance); functional pictures (those that primarily work as an aide-de-memoire such as photos of shopping lists or of documents); and “photos that are taken because there is nothing else to do” (ibid. 143-4). The continuity between “*Kodak* culture” and pictorial networks corresponds,

firstly, to the relatively new incorporation of networked cameras to non-professional photographic practices, and secondly to the perseverance of traditions "developed for and within film-based mass photography" (ibid. 162). The changes Lehmuskallio made to Chalfen's work respond to the much more dynamic nature of photography today and are a sign of the trend of photography being used as a tool of connectivity. Furthermore, these changes also respond to the growing relevance of immediacy - temporal and spatial[21] - in pictorial practices.

Unlike Pauwels, who discusses the question of privacy in non-professional photographic practice from the perspective of ethics, Lehmuskallio follows Roses's lead (2003, 2010) and employs indexicality as an affordance to trace motivations for sharing (or not) family photographs online (ibid. 164-98). The indexical connection is a repository of agency; of human agency depicted on the image and of the pictorial technology in use (ibid. 192). The mistrust associated with digital technology has a strong link with opaque technologies of picture generation, display, distribution and storage, and also with the fact that digitally mediated pictures present further possibilities of taking on a life of their own. This fear provokes the negation of any possible consequences and effects liked to online distribution of photographs, through which the seemingly indexical character of photography is neglected and photographs become mere surfaces (ibid. 196). It is the aim of the present research to investigate this more fully, because other scholarly voices have argued something completely different, namely that digital photography supports and fosters emotional interactions (Edwards 2012; Lasén 2005), communication (Van Dijck 2008) and the mediation of presence (Villi 2015).

By way of looking at the acts of sharing pictures online and through the framework of the pictorial practices of the Irish-Spanish families interviewed, this PhD research makes a substantial difference as in the study, contrary to other works in this topic, acts of sharing photographs are contextualized within

[21] Villi has recently suggested that distance is the new photographic *punctum*. The relevance of this concept for the study of contemporary photographic practices has been addressed in section 2.1.

the greater pictorial practices of the participants. The contextualization of photographic sharing-acts responds to the epistemological nature of the research question in as much as to the non-media-centric media studies approach advocated above. Thus the processes of production, editing, storing and sharing - online and offline - are all taken into account. In this way a detailed picture is drawn of how affordances impact on contemporary photographic practices of transnational families. This, in turn, outlines emergent developments in how photography is used to mediate actions and emotions. It is proposed to look at photography as a multi-dimensional site of image production, distribution and storage, in short as a practice that is both unique to the socio-cultural moment in which it is embedded, and general enough to be recognized as such across cultures and societies.

3.1. A Brief (hi)story of Family Photography in Ireland

Family photography is a rich and extensive field of academic and artistic research. Along with the international voices mentioned so far, an emerging interest in the topic has developed in recent years in Ireland.

From an artistic perspective, the work of Trish Morrissey deals intensively with family photography. In *Front* (2005-2007) she interrogates the very notion of the family portrait by inserting herself in other people's group - often family - constellations. The production of these photographs is "highly performative" (2007) not only because it demands a role exchange that sets authorship into question, but also because the very acts of inserting oneself into a family and of becoming a photographer effectively impact the social realities of the actors. As enunciated above, performatives have a direct impact on reality. One of the issues the present research investigates is the production of family photographs as ways to overcome distance. It has been suggested that the process of sharing photographic copies is a mechanism used to confirm a certain belonging. Morrissey's work oversteps this threshold of intimate engagement by participating in the very production of family photographs. During her short intervention Morrissey herself acquires tacit knowledge about the group/family constellation, which is absolutely necessary to construct a "native" interpretation. As Chalfen points out " (…) 'outsiders' would never get it" (Chalfen 1998, p.229). However, these family portraits become artworks. They are shared with outsiders in public spaces, who will only ever perceive them as such. This contradictory interaction between the private and the public invites the viewer to reflect on the function of family photographs, both as part of the dynamics of a set constellation of people and as elements of cultural memory (Assmann 2001).

Prior to *Front*, Morrissey developed *Seven Years*, a work which also aims to disrupt legitimated conventions of family photography. She sets up family snapshots of the past by carefully employing aesthetic strategies characteristic of the amateur snapshot genre, along with period clothing and props. The body language materialized in the assumed poses serves to shape the performed

roles. *Seven Years* visually explores the aesthetic dynamics of family snapshots although technological developments, such as camera-phones and the consequently developed arm-length photography, are barely taken into account. Issues of gender are also strongly addressed. *Seven Years* mimics conventional features of family albums and the dynamics or orality described by Martha Langford (2001): the use of repetition, exaggerations, nicknames and typologies. As the text will reveal below, Langford's research has greatly impacted the understanding of family photography both theoretically - through the employment of Ong's (1982) framework for the study of photo albums - as well as at a methodological level - through an approach that combined both analysis of archival material with empirical work. Interestingly, both Morrissey's and Langford's work were created during the same period of time, the early 2000's. This signals a more general preoccupation and interest in alternative readings of family photographs and the function of family albums.

Bridging the fields of artistic and academic research and with a strong focus on community engagement, another example relevant to this research is that of Belfast Exposed. This community-based art gallery and community collective has built a tradition of regularly featuring and supporting work in the field of family photography. The publication *Portraits from the 50's Archive* (Downey & Hadaway 2005) emerged as an accompanying book to the eponymous exhibition. Both were framed within a collaborative project focused on unveiling the collective memory of the 50s as a period of progress and increasing individualization in Northern Ireland. The questions of insider/outsider knowledge, as well as the process of private images going public, are pointed out in this early academic work on Irish family photography. Again, the same themes as outlined above appeared in this essay, an early signalling of the emergence of a concrete research focus on personal and cultural memory within the field of family photography.

More recently, the *Roe Valley Family Album* (2013) project has addressed family photographs as semi-public documents and witnesses of community

life. Over an 8-week period, 12 people from 3 different communities in Limavady, Northern Ireland were brought together to share their photographs and stories. Afterward they created "(…) a shared photography scrapbook telling the story of their lives as members of their community" (ibid.). Once again, the methods employed in this project highlight the need for tacit knowledge about family photographs in order to engage with them. At the same time, the emerging changes within family photographs from the private to the public sphere are also interrogated. The project highlights not only the different contexts of reception but also the transformation of meaning and the need to offer contextual insider knowledge when publicly displaying family photographs.

The participatory approach employed in the *Roe Valley Family Album*, in *Portraits from the 50's Archive*, and to some extent in Martha Langford's work (2006) are indicators of a methodological shift within the field of family photography. There is a sense that other, more commonplace methods of research such a content analysis or semiotics, are insufficient because they do not allow researchers to access tacit and insider knowledge. Furthermore, contextual conditions in the process of production, storage, distribution and reception of family albums are pushed to the background when the content of the photographs occupy a primary place in the research question and design. An ethnographic approach, however, aims to unveil dynamics of family photography, understanding it more as a practice than as a tool of representation only.

A large scale project about family albums is currently taking place in Ireland. "The Photo Album of Ireland. Your Photos. Your Memories. Our History" began in 2013 by inviting people to bring a selection of their family photographs to one of the organized regional scanning sessions. The aim of the project was to set up a dialogue between owners of private collections and representatives of cultural organizations in Ireland (lead by the Gallery of Photography in Dublin) about the relationship between private photography and public/cultural memory. "Photographs from family albums or private

collections often reveal details about how people lived and worked that official records often won't capture" (Lambe 2013). This extensive exploration of Irish family photographs and related artefacts (albums, biscuit boxes, captions …) aims to build a "democratic archive" of the private, thus unseen, history of Ireland. Official, legitimated histories are challenged by both the photographic material and the stories and anecdotes that the donors share with the research team. Clearly the focus of this project is to interrogate the relationship between private and public records.

"The Photo Album of Ireland" is located within the stream of research on family photography and memory. Questions about remembrance have been posed and addressed in the past by influential scholars such as Marianne Hirsch (2008) or Annette Kuhn (1995). An alternative line of investigation, with a specific focus on contextual conditions of the photographic practice, started as early as 1965 with Bourdieu's *Un Art Moyen* and has been since developed by leading voices such as Richard Chalfen, Don Slater and Gillian Rose. While the researchers focusing on the intersection between representation, memory and family photography come from diverse scholarly backgrounds, such as literature or reception studies, academics interested in procedural processes tend to come from the social sciences. In both cases, each academic background strongly informs both the research questions and the methodological approach in unique but often overlapping ways.

Regarding the focus of this PhD investigation it has been a conscious decision to bring two lines of work together in order to offer new insights into the dynamics of family photography as practiced by transnational families. The theoretical considerations are therefore rooted in an extended media studies background. Thereby the understanding of photography as a medium has been broadened to include procedures of the practice, which has resulted in an extended discussion of affordances and performatives. This, in turn, has informed the methodology of the research, as explained below. The question of private documents finding their way into public archives, however interesting and appealing it is, will not 'be addressed in this doctoral project as

it falls beyond the scope of both the research question and the goals of the investigation itself.

Academic research about family photography in Ireland is rather scarce. Timothy O'Grady (2006) has explored the intersections between personal memory and national memory in Ireland. His works focuses on identity formation at both individual and collective level. Migration plays a prominent role in his discussion of the memory of Ireland, which he describes as politicized (ibid. 257). He questions processes of remembering and forgetting collectively. Thereby assuring that "[t]he functioning of memory in Ireland is at the heart of its literature, its politics, its social order and domestic rites" (ibid.). These processes are framed by the socio-political and historical contexts of the Irish state and thus not rooted in empirical research. O'Grady's notion of functioning memory mimics the dichotomy, put forward by Assmann (2001), between "Funktiongedächtnis" - the more utilitarian part of cultural memory that is in current use by individuals and groups - and "Speichergedächtnis" - the archived cultural memory that is preserved but not inhabited.

In the course of this field-work, Watters realized that participatory photography was not only a research method but a social practice in its own right (2011). A recent PhD graduate of cultural geography, he set out to empirically research the cultural landscapes of migrant families in Ireland. Space and place occupy a focal point in his argument as they are at the core of his understanding of the performance of family (ibid. 208). By combining a participatory photography approach with family album exploration within his methodological approach, he is able to adequately address the question of feelings at home and belonging to a family. The stories gathered by this method are classified in not mutually exclusive "memoryscapes" – families over time; "technoscapes" – families across space; and "travelscapes" – families in place. These family landscapes extend our knowledge about the social and spatial practices that produce families.

The question of kinship and kinship-making is also highlighted by Watters as a possible avenue for new research and it is here where this PhD research is

situated. The understanding of family that has informed the present research design is borrowed from studies on non-standard families. The concept of family of choice(Weston 1997) is relevant to transnational families because migration pushes them to negotiate new networks of support and/or to adapt old ones. In the same fashion that same-sex families find a more sensitive support within other same-sex families, transnational families empathize greater with families in a similar situation to theirs. As will be described below, my first meeting with the research participants consisted in becoming familiar with their circle of reference, which is an expression of the more intimate elements of their network of support and their relational dynamics. This provided a solid basis for a gradually developed but very deeply understood knowledge of the photographic mediation of the social and spatial practices that contribute to create/negotiate kinship and belonging among these families.

Against this background the unique qualities of this study start to emerge. This doctoral thesis examines the relationship between verbal and visual communication in constructing familial intimacy. Understanding (digital) photographic practices, as both tools of representation and of communication, is an original feature of this study, which enables an exploration of how ubiquitous spaces of familial interaction emerge, responding to the rapid development of multinational/multicultural social environments. This, in turn, acknowledges the recent transformation of Ireland as a land of migration rather than of emigration. It points out a growing familial constellation: families with an element of geographical dispersion. Transnational world families use photography to share certain spaces devoted to intimate engagement. At the same time, their spaces of familial intimacy are reconfigured through the digital photographic practice. An open and constant negotiation of intimate spaces takes place.

3.2. Transnational Families in Ireland

In Ireland, the concept of family has been the object of agitated public and political debate for the past twenty years. In 1994, the political discussion about the family started out by implicitly accepting the UN definition of family (Éireann 1995):

> The family is defined as those members of the household who are related to a specified degree, through blood, adoption or marriage. The degree of relationship used in determining the limits of the family is dependent upon the uses to which the data are to be put and so cannot be precisely set for world-wide use. A family cannot comprise more than one household; a household can, however, consist of more than one family, of one family together with one or more non-related persons, or entirely of non-related persons. In practice, most households are composed of a single family consisting of a married couple without children or of one or both parents and their unmarried children. It should not be assumed, however, that this identity exists (United Nations 1959, p.76)

This definition has since then been updated by the UN.

> The preamble to the Convention refers to the *family* as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children. The Committee recognizes that *family* here refers to a variety of arrangements that can provide for young children's care, nurturance and development, including the nuclear family, the extended family, and other traditional and modern community-based arrangements, provided these are consistent with children's rights and best interests. (United Nations 2005, p.7)

From the late nineties to the early two thousands, several studies (Daly & O'Leary 2004; Martin 2005) carried out among the Irish population revealed people's assumptions, expectations and conceptualizations of family. These studies showed that the popular meaning of family in Ireland accentuates the feeling of belonging together as essential for a family to be considered as one.

However, belonging can be achieved through blood ties – formal or informal kinship – and that can be stretched beyond particular households (Daly & O'Leary 2004, pp.22–28). Inglis summarizes the changes in lifestyles, identities and senses of self that have impacted families in contemporary Ireland in two trends: individualization and informalisation "[S]tanding together and apart becomes central to what families do" (Inglis 2015, p.74). This doctoral project aims to secondarily provide empirical information about how affection and intimacy is mediated in families whose members are physically dispersed. Thus, it has the potential to be tied to sociological research in contemporary Ireland. However, as indicated before, that is not its main aim.

The debate in Ireland has culminated with the recent incorporation of diverse forms to the legal definition of family (Equality 2013). However, the Irish Constitution still pushes women to a position of subordination within the family unit, as their labour at home is explicitly tied to the achievement of the common good (Inglis 2015, p.72). The concept of family is inherent to socio-cultural and historical contexts. Although families have little power of their own, they adopt and internalize discourses; they create and maintain habitus, producing thereby particular understandings of oneself and of the world.

As a reflection of the increasing non-Irish national population, diversity within the family emerged as a topic in the studies by Martin, Daly and O'Leary too. In nine years, the percentage of non-Irish national residents increased from 5.8% in 2002 to 12% in 2011 (Central Statistics Office 2012), transforming Ireland very rapidly into a country of immigration. Practices and institutions are becoming inclusive of transnational emotional practices and it is Irish men who are most likely to enter a relationship with a non-Irish national (Chiyoko King-O'Riain 2015, pp.159–160). Belonging, both in terms of place and of people, is also important for migrants' family identity (Watters 2009; Chiyoko King-O'Riain 2015). Accordingly, belonging is located at the core of the definition of family in this study of Spanish-Irish families.

On the one hand, the extension of home spaces beyond the house (Rose 2003) and the generation of third places of interaction are of crucial importance for

transnational families, even if only because face-to-face situations among them are scarce. Distance pushes transnational families to form families of choice[22] (Weston 1997) thereby reinterpreting kinship, friendship and the very concept of family[23] (Beck-Gernsheim 1998). As Inglis' recent investigation brings to light, even people "normally living alone" are extensively involved in family relations (ibid. 2015, p.75). The concept of family is very elastic. In line with Jamieson's work, Shome (2011, p.402) links Ahmed's affective economies (2004) to mediated bonding, whereby the use of digital media could be conceptualized as a tool to negotiate feelings of familial affection.

Ciarán McCullagh's recent conceptual research paper addresses the use of information and communication technologies by families in the Republic of Ireland (2015). Despite the difficulties associated with obtaining reliable figures regarding the penetration of mobile phones and Internet into Irish households, his data paint a picture of high but unequal usage whereby youth is a decisive factor with regards to frequency. As a consequence, the institutional debate in the Republic has been focused on young people (ibid. 2015, pp.188-192). McCullagh proposes to use three separate elements to fully investigate the impacts of ICT on family life. Control is mentioned first and it resonates with the focus on exchange placed in the present research of Spanish-Irish families. By studying strategies and patterns of distribution and display of digital photographs, understandings of the implications of contemporary media usage in families can be enhanced and predictions about future expectations attached to photography as a medium can be made. Secondly, he suggests working with the category of 'affordances', although his proposal is not well illustrated within a productive research design, which

[22] While there is still a strong interest in white, middle-class, Western families and their vicissitudes, distinctive non-standards communities such as the LGBTQ or ethnic communities have also received research attention recently. This doctoral dissertation locates transnational families within the latter group and points out one strong link between them: kinship is in both cases understood as an extension of friendship mainly because of the lack of an established/inherited network of support.

[23] While the families targeted for this study are not primarily families that have undergone a process of dissolution of cohabitation, they all have left part of the family behind in one of their home countries. In Ireland, they establish relationships with people who are not tied to them by blood, and sometimes who are not bonded legally either, but whom they would consider essential part of their family. Thereby elective families are formed and well defined networks of support are established.

would allow eliciting tacit and intersubjective knowledge about media usage. In this doctoral dissertation affordances has been proposed as a fundamental concept whereby issues of agency and by extension power can be fully addressed in the context of mediated affection and intimacy. As the next chapter will reveal, a case study approach, ethnographic fieldwork and visual methods of research successfully allow to access the tacit and the intersubjective, thus further developing the knowledge of affordances and their relation with control and agency. The third factor named by McCullagh is domestication (ibid. 2015, pp.194–195), which strongly mirrors Miller's term accommodation (2010) in as much as both refer to the process of becoming familiar with objects and realities, and it is located in the tradition of audience and reception studies, which was mentioned in the first chapter, as one strong research tradition where this study of Irish-Spanish families is located.

However, McCullagh overlooks an important element of contemporary family life in the Republic of Ireland. It goes unmentioned that as a group, digital connected migrants are also early adopters of information and communication technologies (Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014, p.6). This investigation and McCullagh's share a rationale and present many similarities regarding the conceptual approach, but where he focuses on the debate that has been addressed and encouraged by the Irish State, this very research explores the families and their practices that are still far from being the norm: transnational ones. Although his study mentions physical separation of family members as a result of an increasing number of dual-career families on the one hand, and due to work-related emigration on the other, the focus still remains on the norm, not on the outskirts of contemporary family lifestyles. Furthermore, while McCullagh builds a conceptual approach only, the present project does both: the conceptual and the empirical.

Spanish emigration to the Republic of Ireland is a new phenomenon. Traditionally, Spanish citizens emigrated to France (before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and intensively afterwards as a consequence of the Francoist repression), Germany and Switzerland (especially in the 1960s and 1970s for

work related reasons). Spain and the Republic have historically maintained certain connections, which were foremost related to religion (Los Colegios Irlandeses of Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, Sevilla, Madrid y Alcala dating back to 1592 serve as an example. Another one would be the participation of the Irish Brigade in the Spanish Civil War). The Celtic Tiger created job opportunities for bilingual foreigners, which favoured the relocation of Spanish citizens into the Republic. According to the Spanish Ministry of Employment and Social Security, the current emigration of Spanish citizens to the Republic is related to labour and the average migrant is a young, qualified professional wanting to gather international working experience to complete his/her education (Social 2014).

Socio-demographic data of Spanish migrants collected by Spanish institutions are scarce, but comparing the number of Spanish associations in Ireland and in Germany exemplifies the newness of the Spanish migration to the Republic. There are two Spanish associations in Ireland listed on the web page of the Spanish Embassy in Dublin (Anon 2014a). The first one was founded in 1989 to strengthen the commercial and financial investments between the two countries. The second one is ASPI (Association of Spanish-Speaking Parents in Ireland), and it was not established until 2012. A third one, the CREI (Consejo de Españoles Residentes en Irlanda), is not listed, but was also created in 2012. In contrast, 34 Spanish associations are listed on the web page of the Spanish Consulate in Hamburg (Anon 2014b). Both national population as well as historical migration are factors that have an impact on the presence and involvement of Spanish migrants in Ireland and Germany. In very recent times, the Spanish press has equated the current wave of Spanish emigration to similar past emigration waves in Ireland. “Spain is the new Ireland” [my own translation], they say, trying to connect the present and past of both countries (García Delgado 2013).

Throughout this chapter the reader has been presented with both historical and contemporary academic work in the field of family photography. Irish examples of artistic engagements with the topic have also been addressed, in

order to demonstrate how practice-based and community-lead research often reveals underlying discourses enforced in family photography. The reports from research on the Industry of Connectivity and on family photography clearly diverge. While the former highlights ongoing shifts and developments in ways and causality of communication among spatially dispersed family members, the latter only notes subtle changes - sometimes presented as insignificant (Rose 2014). Researching family photography in transnational families allows for a highly contextualized exploration of contemporary photographic practices which, while being culturally informed, could be extrapolated to other contexts. Furthermore, findings from work with digitally connected migrants, who are early adopters of technology, will point out future trends of other social groups.

The strength of the conceptual framework developed for the research on Spanish-Irish families has been defined by the contextualization of photographic exchanges within wider photographic practices. Exchanges are just a step in the larger photographic practice that also includes production, distribution, display and storage. Attending to the potential emotive character of these pictorial exchanges, as well as to the affordances of the digital media employed in the process, allows identifying emergent developments in the pragmatics of the photographic medium. As briefly mentioned before, a working hypothesis is the conceptualization of photography as a tool of affection and play. A second presupposition refers to the dynamic nature of contemporary photography. Shifts and developments associated with digitisation processes need to be further linked with the growing importance of temporal and spatial immediacy, both for visually mediated interactions and social interactions. The third and last interpretation deals with the understanding of these photographic exchanges, and of the interactions thereby enabled, as products and outcomes of social bonds and relationships.

The following chapter gives a detailed account of the methodological approach as well as of the research design. Starting with an overview of established academic work in the area of narrative research, this doctoral research is

located within the specific stream of visual, experience-centred narrative inquiry. A critical review and discussion of a research design that accounts for both a narrative and ethnographic approach is provided throughout the entire chapter. Special emphasis has been placed in fully explaining the ideation process behind the creation of three original methods: the three phased consent process, the visualization of the circle of reference, and the photographic displays house tour. Moreover, the role of photography as a tool to both record and elicit data is also explored and debated. As noted at the start of this second chapter, the development of trust and rapport between participants and researcher is crucial, particularly in order to access underlying tacit and intersubjective knowledge of photographic practices. Thus, an ongoing reflective practice accompanies the field-work. As such, the following chapter ends with a comprehensive discussion of ethics and confidentiality.

4. VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHIES OF FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE DIGITAL AGE.

Building on an interest in the digital, my doctoral research empirically explores photographic digital cultures in Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland. Interplays between photographic cultures and digital pictorial technologies, which elsewhere have been described as the development of networked cameras (Lehmuskallio 2012) and networked images (Gómez-Cruz 2012), will be addressed in this investigation. More specifically, the question of visual communication is surveyed in the precise cultural and spatial setting of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland. By researching how transnational families24 use photography, this research discusses some of the ways in which contemporary media usages impact the understanding of photography.

Transnational families[25] have been chosen as a case study for two major reasons. Some scholars have found that due to the lack of face-to-face interactions, transnational families turn to media to sustain affective relationships (Shome 2011). However, as influential scholars and artists have demonstrated (Holland and Spence, 1991; Motz, 1989; Langford, 2001; McAllister, 2006; Morrissey, 2007; Hirsch, 2008) family photographs conceal harsh emotional realities. On the pages of twentieth and twentieth-first century family albums there is rarely room for disease, separation and death. Emotional relationships among family members can be both functional and dysfunctional, there is both affect and disaffect and visual media can be potentially employed to transmit both. Attention to both poles and the grey areas in between has been paid during the fieldwork. As the analysis will reveal (see chapter five), transnational families have developed tailored strategies to

[24] In this investigation transnational families are understood as those whose family members not share the same household in a regular basis and reside in different countries. This element of dispersion is constitutive or the family rather than a short-term phenomenon and the distance separating family members is great enough for return trips to usually involve at least an overnight in destination.

[25] In her recent research about international families in the Republic of Ireland, Chiyoko King-O'Riain talks about a growing "family-based multiculturalism" enabled by inter-racial, intercultural, interfaith and multilingual families. Some of them are also "highly transnational" in that their intimate ties stretch across time and space, and in that they use technology to maintain them. (2015, pp.161–191)

deal with emotional distress, frustration and uncertainty. Undoubtedly, disaffect and affect coexist in contemporary photographic practices of transnational families. The second and related factor then comes to the fore: space. Scholars such as Gillian Rose (2003) have linked images with the extension of home spaces beyond the house. Transnational families not only extend their homes but also visually mediate domestic spaces regularly. The double visual mediation of presence and space forms part of their everyday. This study aims to assist in generating a wider theoretical resonance (Bourdieu et al. 1991, p.628) in the emerging field of visual (dis)affective media. Furthermore, an ethnographic approach (Berry 2011; Crang & Cook 2007; Harper 1987) to the ways in which these families employ photography in the present "(…) might also account for what they think they will do in the (not distant) future" (Lanzeni et al. 2014).

Research about family photography is marked by its interdisciplinary character partly because photographic images cannot be isolated from their contexts of production, distribution, storage and reception. By taking these contexts into account, an examination of how photography as a medium in transformation is used today can be elaborated. Previously discussed theoretical approaches of different but related disciplines (media studies, visual culture studies, visual sociology and anthropology) have addressed family photography. The structure of this inquiry takes this work into account and builds on it - thus, the diverse physical attributes of photography, its uses and discontinuities between analogue and digital have been addressed through the theory of practice. This literature also accentuates the contextual conditions of the medium in use that have been explored through the concepts of phatic communication and affordances (see chapter two for a thorough introduction to these). Additionally, the theory of performatives, with special emphasis on the category of action, has been suggested to extend the concept of affordances.

A visual narrative inquiry approach and the research tools implemented - the three phased consent process, the visualization of circle of reference as well as the home tour of photographic displays, allow access to tacit and intersubjective knowledge about the question of how transnational families use photographs. Two fundamental aspects of the research design are felt to advance methodological knowledge: the position of the researcher - also a Spanish migrant living in the Republic of Ireland, and the corresponding ethical implications and issues of bias. Both aspects will be fully discussed in the following pages and evaluated at the end of the following chapter, after a comprehensive report and analysis of data is presented to the reader. Throughout this process a question of crucial importance is addressed: how can personal photography be discussed without incorporating something of ourselves into the text?

As a crucial part of the research design, an original three-step consent process was implemented to ensure confidentiality, transparency and systematic accuracy of the research process. At the same time, data co-construction with participants who had given written consent and progressive access to their personal photographs and the stories behind them, was encouraged. This elaborate but highly effective approach ensured that adequate time and space was given to evaluate the ongoing collection of material during fieldwork. It also allowed participants to decide whether the collected material could be used for academic purposes beyond the elaboration of this doctoral dissertation. Furthermore, the final consent form for the release of information guaranteed that the interpretation of the material is shared as participants are and will necessarily have both access and the right to critically engage with the study's outcomes before they are disseminated. This co-constructive practice is very much in line with the narrative inquiry approach. Therefore, while the material produced for the study could be employed to address alternative research interests such as migration and visual culture, and mediation on kinship or questions of transnational identity, these prospective directions cannot be taken for granted. In short, the negotiation process

between participants and the researcher starts in the first information session and it continues throughout the entire research process.

This chapter begins with a short review of the narrative inquiry approach. Then, the study is located within the experienced-centred stream (Squire 1995). This second part also includes the description and discussion of the research design. A reflective discussion of the fieldwork follows. Then, the text moves to a comprehensive discussion of the ethics involved in working with families and accessing private visual material. The implications of this line of research for the field of media studies are specifically addressed. The chapter closes with a critical evaluation of the position of the researcher vis-à-vis the participants and the study. The advantages and disadvantages of this particular constellation are elucidated, and reflected on.

4.1. A brief (hi)story of Narrative Research

Stories have often been at the core of research of film studies, audience studies and family photography. Sometimes, life stories contained in photographic albums have been explored to counteract dominant discourses (Spence 1979; Holland 1991; Berger 2009). Other times, memories as the objects of study provide a perspective for surveying the private, the public and the collective memories of a given point in time (Kuhn 1995; Instituto Distrital Patrimonio Cultural 2005; Lambe 2013). In sociological empirical research, individuals' experiences, on which stories are built, didn't gain epistemological relevance until the 1980s (Bertaux 1999). Working within narrative inquiry means exploring social realities by examining the interplay between participants and researchers, whereby the emphasis is not on the difference between them, but on ongoing multi-directional processes of rapport generation and knowledge production. This modus operandi allowed the emergence of divergent perspectives in sociology based on dialogue and experience, embodied and emplaced, and thus concrete and palpable. By the beginning of the nineties, the methodology of narrative research had been established (Moen 2006). Its rationale and uniqueness revolves around the following factors: an interest in people's lived experiences and the self, a focus on processes, a desire to empower research participants and the awareness of the position of the researcher as a narrator (Elliot 2005, pp.3–20).

Scholars have been collecting and studying stories for a long time. Oral history and folklore are "closely related" to narrative inquiry (Jakobson & Bogatyrev 1980; Connelly & Clandinin 1990) and they have been successfully applied to the study of family photography (Langford 2006). Repetition, exaggerations, nicknames and typologies are fundamental tools of orality (Ong 1982), which are sustained by the community of tellers and listeners. Jakobson and Bogatyrev note, "[a]n item of folklore per se begins its existence only after it has been adopted by a given community, and only in those of its aspects which the community has accepted" (1980, p.4). Researching narratives means exploring contextualized social events, whereby intersubjective meaning,

multi-layered interpretations, emotion and reflection are fundamental aspects to attend to (Elliot 2005; Bold 2012).

Contemporary narrative research is as diverse as ever regarding both methods and objects of study. As Brockmeier (2013) states, stories are forms of life with all their variations and variables, which inevitably makes narrative research trans- and interdisciplinary at its core. Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (Andrews et al. 2013) offer the following taxonomy for narrative inquiry: co-constructed, event-centred and experience-centred. The first, co-constructed narrative research, advocates for a dialogical process of story-making between research participants and researchers. Its basic assumption is that stories illustrate broad cultural narratives by reflecting cognitive and emotional states (ibid. p.6). The second, event centred narrative inquiry, is very much in line with Labov and Waletsky's work (Labov & Waletsky 1967; Labov 1997). Thereby, event is understood as "(…) something that has happened to a person or thing, at a particular time or in a particular situation" (Bold 2012, p.15). Both event-centred and experience-centred narrative research explores circumstances, thoughts and emotions through their external expression: a narrative, which is more or less constant under the umbrella of event-centred narrative inquiry, and highly circumstantial according to the experience-centred approach. Thus the importance of multiple voices and interpretations is highlighted.

The aim of this approach is to represent human experience, reconstructing and expressing it in stories that are contextually situated. Heritage from related disciplines and modes of inquiry (Jakobson & Bogatyrev 1980; Benjamin 1991) led to a strong focus on language in narrative research since its early days, but is subverted by advocates of the experience-centred narrative approach. Instead, greater attention is paid to the socio-cultural dimensions of the narrative (Squire 1995) as well as to the different materialities of stories: interviews, photographs, diaries, objects. Following this line of inquiry, the present project presents stories in the wider contexts of digitization and migration while attending to both, what is told as well as what is withheld. Bold

notes that the experience-centred approach links the concept of human agency to narrative (2012, p.22). As we shall see below, this point is of special relevance for this investigation in as much as human agency and affordances are related to the mediation of (dis)affect and of experience.

In the midst of all these different approaches, researchers agree and highlight the fact that there are always two kinds of narratives interacting (Elliot 2005; Bold 2012). On one level the ontological or the context narrative refers to, and analyses, the stories as collected during the research process. On another level the representational or meta-narrative involves the research story as developed collaboratively and reflexively with research participants. A meta-narrative can also refer to dominant narratives. The opportunity for the crafted narrative during a collaborative research process is to bridge personal experiences, what is tacitly known and what becomes verbalized, externalized, mediated.

A basic premise of narrative research is that to know is to narrate. Reality is understood as unknowable but temporal and storied expressions of experience can be studied. Participants and their concrete circumstances - including spatial-temporal coordinates - become the observable variables (Clandinin & Huber 2010). The inter- and transdisciplinary configuration of the narrative research approach opens a space where the leading research questions of this study can be explored. The humanist and hermeneutic heritage allows a holistic and conscious engagement with the object of study and participants, whereby special attention is paid to the interpretative layer of the researcher as well as to implicit and explicit layers of knowledge and reflection. Likewise, significant weight given for holding space for otherwise silenced stories not only enables the particular accounts of transnational family members to emerge, but it also allows stressing the political in the personal, which is a strong feature of narrative research.

Already in 1956, sociologist John Collier identified three basic factors of visual research: contextualization, sequence and non-verbal language (1956, p.77). His initial arguments for the use of photography as a method to explore social

realities were expanded through the years. One of Collier's core methodological ideas was to maintain the balance between spontaneous, open-ended processes and structured observation and analysis (1986, pp.163–167). Collier notes that knowledge is produced through the process of selection and interpretation of primary data, i.e. interviews and photographs into written text (ibid. p.170). In the narrative inquiry approach, the idea of "creating objectivity" is rejected and substituted with an emphasis on reflexivity and co-construction for knowledge production. Primary data are part of the crafted narrative and since they build knowledge they are positioned as much more informative than illustrations.

Visual research methods have been promoted in significant ways by cultural geographer Gillian Rose (2001) and visual anthropologist Sarah Pink (2001; 2010; 2011c). The former provides an interdisciplinary approach to visual research, which has been updated several times in order to account for the rapid changes and developments of the field that respond to emerging contexts such as deterritorialised culture and mediated everyday life. A drive to develop an ethical, respectful and inclusive working method underlies the work of these two scholars, along with the firm intention to advance multi-shaped texts in which knowledge is constructed by still and moving images as well as by written text. Their work has inspired much of the methodological approach of this research, especially the search for ethical modes of visual research and the use of photographs as an integral part of narrative research and not as mere illustrations of wider phenomena.

Pink's and Rose's work resonate with the work undertaken in Visual Sociology (Harper 1987; Pauwels 2012), whereby photography is seen as a crucial method to construct and disseminate "phenomenological sociology" (Harper 1988, p.1), which in turn reflects Squire's contemporary approach to narrative research (1995). In visual culture studies, Bal (Bal 2003, p.22) stressed the need to identify and deconstruct legitimated and naturalized narratives in order to make alternative ones visible; after Boehm (1994) and Mitchell (1997) had called for a return to the image in thinking and knowledge production

processes. Within narrative inquiry, an experience-centred narrative research approach has been successfully developed by Bell (Bell & Bell 2012; 2013b) and Bach (2007) into what it is known now as visual narrative analysis.

The many fields where visual research methods are being developed and employed with the aim of approaching knowledge intersubjectively, respectfully and through an ongoing process of negotiation, testify to the need of a more collaborative and interdisciplinary approach in the immediate future of visual research methods and research of vision and visuality (Pink 2006b; Pink 2006a). This development will allow scholars to address better emerging tasks in the field, namely the advancement of a collaborative working modus with participants, the ethical dimension behind it and the further exploration of the relationships between content, contexts and materialities of images. These goals shared by visual sociology, visual anthropology, visual culture studies and the narrative research approach, take a central place in the rationale of this study. Consequently, the present research is located within the research stream of visual narrative, as developed by S. Bell and H. Bach and has been strongly inspired by the challenges of visual research signalled by Pink and Rose. While Collier and Collier's work is outdated in terms of their understanding of knowledge production and of the research process, their focus on systematization of data collection has also informed this research. The relevance and advantages of working with a plan, as well as considerations of propinquity will be elucidated below. Furthermore, the exploration of the interaction between images and written text in the production of knowledge as advocated in visual sociology and visual narrative inquiry lies behind the formal presentation of the research ahead.

4.2. Experienced-Centred Visual Narrative Research and Family Photography

> *"As a researcher, I trust and allow for uncertainty to be present",* (Bach 2007, p.291)

Stories have verbal and non-verbal elements. Language goes beyond words as these are accentuated by the cadence of the voice, by unhurried glances, by knowing smiles. Vision is always part of a story. Sometimes image objects are present in stories too. As tokens of appreciation, repositories of memories or witnesses of (dis)affection, photographs are often embedded in tales and accounts. Just like stories, photographs help to identify participants and circumstances of particular events in a temporal transition. Photographs and stories enrich each other. Their interplay embellishes the narrative and equips it with personal accounts that both provide and require context for interpretation.

Photo albums take the shape of a book. The photographs on their pages are often annotated and are frequently kept together with other objects such as letters or Mass cards. They are supposed to tell stories. But they cannot narrate these on their own. Photo albums are multimedia objects which exhibit narrative potential (Langford 2001, p.140). As Chalfen puts it, "at least a passing personal knowledge of one another" (1998, p.191) is required in order to understand the messages produced within the "home mode communication"[26]. Martha Langford asked several women to narrate a stranger's family album (2006). Thereby both the socio-economic status and the position of each woman within their families greatly influenced the reading. Even though the women hadn't met (and couldn't meet) the owners of the albums, these women constructed a story from the pictures. According to Langford, emerging stories in albums are strongly based on oral formulas

[26] Under "home mode communication", Richard Chalfen gathers the practices of everyday photographers who use inexpensive cameras to generate and keep records of performances and appearances of normality within a small group. The snapshots are embedded in an interpersonal communication process of making, interpreting and using the pictures in a variety of ways. The focus is set on family life and the messages produced are intended for personal uses.

(2001, p.125) and photographic albums are built in anticipation of storytelling and rely on visual memory (ibid.2006, p.227).

In spite of stressing the importance of improvisation, Collier and Collier's (1986) method of collecting visual material is prescriptive and quite structured. As mentioned, Bell (2013b; 2012) and Bach (2007) have developed a more open set of guidelines for this kind of research, which allows and encourages research subjects' participation, researchers' reflexivity and creativity to emerge. However all these crucial voices - Collier and Collier, Bell and Bach - have stressed the importance of a systematic collection of (visual) data, keeping in mind that individual elements are related and mutually supportive. As a result, a systematic approach to data collection has been employed in the work with transnational families. Furthermore, the interpretation of materials also follows a systematic, structured process core to the present research practice.

Coherence among singular elements set within a larger context is key in visual narrative research. Stories of mediated experiences are sequential as well as spatial and they are subjected to the mediation of cameras and displays. The story not yet told might be located out of frame, thus it is important that the interpretation covers what is there and what is missing (Bell 2013b, p.145; Bell 2013a), as well as the private and the public as categories (Bach 2007), even though they are dissolving. Visual depictions are two dimensional views of reality and three dimensional objects in their own right. The truth claim of photographic representation as well as the double bind of technology, what it enables and what it demands, need to be addressed in a visual narrative research study. The content is relevant as much as the context. But how are we to transpose the viscerality of objects into written text? The craft of storytelling and the creative space that narrative research opens are an adequate response to this question, as Bell's and Bach's work attest, and as has been briefly described in the previous section and as will be further addressed in the following paragraphs.

Research on photography has often been addressed with methods derived from a semiotic approach. While the twofold analysis of connotation and denotation (Barthes 1964) accounts for contextual conditions of the production of images, frequently formal attributes such as aesthetics have been the object of study (Hirsch 1981; Holschbach 2006) to the detriment of cultural contexts of image production and use, which have been mostly addressed by scholarly work in the field of anthropology and visual studies. A recent example is Stumberger's research (2007). Social theory and the category of class informed his examination of historical social documentary photography, whereby the conditions of production, distribution and reception took a prominent place. Stumberger's work doesn't involve working with participants but with archives, similarly to Martha Langford's research. However, both lines of inquiry have inspired the development of the research questions enunciated below, if only by acknowledging that by working in the field the source or the centre of the object of study is accessible, as opposed to researching catalogued materials.

In the area of family photography, research has followed different directions. On the one hand, the object of study is approached with a critical lens via psychoanalysis or feminist theory and which allows for alternative readings, as well as the use of autobiographical material (Spence 1979; Kuhn 1991; Marianne Hirsch 2008; McAllister 2006). On the other hand, closer examination of family archives (Downey & Hadaway 2005; Langford 2001; Sandbye 2013; Pauwels 2008) as well as direct research with families (Rose 2003; Durrant et al. 2011; Madianou & Miller 2012) has expanded the understanding of photography and accounted for the contextual conditions of its practice within the family. However, when working ethnographically with families as opposed to with archival material, the lack of images in the work of many of these scholars (Chalfen 1987; Chalfen 2012; Rose 2010; Rose 2014; M. Hirsch 2008; Villi 2010; Gómez-Cruz 2012) is remarkable. Although some of these investigations have been carried out empirically and there are references to the photographic material shared with the researchers, the reader is left alone with her/his imagination when it comes to visual accounts

of the visual material. Possibly, the researchers behind these investigations weren't allowed to share the private images they accessed in the field. However, the lack of seeking or of obtaining consent from participants further illustrates scholarly disengagement with the potentialities of the visual to advance knowledge. The recent work of scholars such as Durrant (2011) or Protschky (2012) finally incorporates a visual method of inquiry to the research design. Building on this latter working modus, the present research employs visual narrative research as a method of inquiry.

A visual narrative inquiry is an intentional, reflective and active human process that accounts for lived experiences, personal practical knowledge and told stories (Bach, 2007: 281). Research using this approach is structured around three axes: time, place and camera work. Note that two of these dimensions - temporality and place - coincide with the three stems of narrative inquiry identified by Clandinin and Huber (2010). The third one differs at first glance only, since Bach's (2007) camera work refers to the socialization of vision that is specifically mediated through cameras. Three is also the number of core (f)actors in the research process: the image, which stands for the socially agreed meaning; the participant, who has his/her own story; and the researcher, who elaborates a story fed by images, fieldwork and theory (Bach 2007). On the one hand, this frame of work for visual narrative research builds onto Hannah Arendt's distinction and relations of labour, work and action (1958). On the other hand, a post-modern sensibility brings with it an intention to stay open and to actively listen to participants. Working with photographs means to renegotiate continuously and thus researchers need to "[…] trust and allow for uncertainty to be present" (Bach 2007, p.291). Stories are told through diverse and coexisting media materialized through strategies such as the use of body language or the inclusion of pictures next to a verbal narration. The technological, social, cultural and historical contexts in which material qualities of media emerge influence their interpretations. For Bell, (multi-media) objects do not contain a story waiting to be told, "it is a process of active listening" (Bell 2013a).

As mentioned, photography as a practice functions at a phatic level. Thereby photography can be understood as a mode of action, so that photographs would fulfil a social function. A relationship of contact is both presupposed and generated at a phatic level. Following Jakobson and Bogatyrev (1980), tacit knowledge is located in the intersubjective dimension of the phatic and it is mimicable because it responds to conventions that make sense within a certain community. Hence, in order to gain access to tacit knowledge, a means of entry into a specific community needs to be put in place. Some scholars have worked with institutionalized family photographs. Museums and archives store photographic collections of families that are significant for the collective memory. However, as Langford warns: "[…] we must consider the possibility that our vision of family life comes, not from the source or the centre, but from the margins of observation and construction" (Langford 2001, p.199). In addition to this powerful reason, the fact that the present investigation addresses the impact of the digital on photography as a practice makes it difficult to work with archival material.

The three hypotheses emanated from the theory reviewed, led the design of the case study. First, it was felt that photography is increasingly used for communicating live (synchronous use) (Van Dijck 2007, p.99) rather than to capture and represent the so called external reality (the truth claim of the photographic medium) and preserve it for the future (diachronic use). Subsequently, as an extension of man (McLuhan 1964), digital photography mediates presence rather than extending human memory (Villi 2010). This idea is linked to the third hypothesis: contemporary photographic practices move away from remembrance and enter the realm of the experiential. The following case study (Bourdieu et al. 1991, p.628) - transnational Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland - is used to empirically examine contemporary photographic practices and reveal how photography is perceived and understood in this context. As expressed, the understanding of family photography as a practice is central to the research design. Of interest are shared photographs, those that are displayed in order to be gazed at by diverse guests, and those that aren't, but are kept away and hidden in a closet. This

project also explores how commonplace images of commonplace existences might aid in the generation of feelings of affinity and in the creation and maintenance of familial ties.

Framed within the conceptual lens of visual sociology (Harper 2012; Pauwels 2010; Becker 2003) and taking an experience-centred visual narrative research (Squire 1995; Bell 2013b; Bach 2007) approach, the following questions were developed for working with transnational families. These questions have enabled the exploration of the primary question of how the photographic medium is empirically being used and understood today.

- How do transnational families use photographs?
- Do transnational families print photographs? Why?
- How do transnational families express (dis)affect and intimacy[27] when they are apart?

Becker (1974) proposes working with the categories of social interaction and emotion in order to unveil intersubjective and tacit knowledge. In line with the conceptual work carried out by Batchen (2004) and Edwards and Hart (Hart & Edwards 2004; Edwards 2009), he considers photographs as socio-cultural objects with a "life" of their own, which inform viewers both of the social relationships being negotiated and of contemporary understandings of photography as a medium. Meaning can be constructed from relationships and organizations and changes according to users and contexts (Becker 2003). This doctoral visual narrative ethnographic study, accesses and tracks changes in the contemporary meaning of everyday photography. As Mark Hobart (Couldry & Hobart 2003; Hobart 2010) has pointed out, approaching media as sets of practices is not unproblematic. He signals the major challenges: how to understand other people's practices, interpret them and appreciate the

[27] Following Gabb's work (2008), the interrogation of intimacy responds to the recently emerged intellectual framework by which traditional understandings of interpersonal exchanges and kin formation are interrogated and intimacy is separated from the sex (ibid., p.2-11). Gabb empirical research builds onto Jamieson's exploration of contemporary intimacies and emotional work within diverse social formations (the family, friendships, couples) that has brought to the fore the relevance of trust, emotional attachments and particular forms of closeness (Jamieson, 2005, p. 189), as already discussed in chapter 2.

significance of the practices to participants (ibid.2010, p.6), which also challenge narrative research. Accordingly, a line of inquiry centred on media-practices - or media-related practices (ibid.2010, p.9) - is not about researching meanings that arise in a vacuum or that generalize, but about a sense that is personal and intersubjective as well as specific and that is in constant interplay with the technological conditions where it arises.

By understanding photography as a "socio-technical" practice (Gómez Cruz 2013, pp.10–11) and photographs as social actions which fulfil social functions, the research design aims to elicit patterns of practice in Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland, thus taking the baton of experience-centred visual narrative inquiry. The following research design is expected to enable access to tacit knowledge, and intersubjective understanding within the community of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland and for digitally connected migrants more broadly. The following table is an itemization of the interviews carried out during fieldwork. The table was provided in the participant's information sheet, but an extra row has been added to give account of the research aims of each interview.

Figure 1. Research Design - Breakdown of Interviews and Methods					
Time	Day 1 – Information Session	Day 2 - +1/2 Weeks First Interview	Day 3 - +4/6 Weeks Second Interview	Day 4 to 6 - +4/6 Weeks Follow-ups	Day 7 - + 6 Months Last follow-up
Location	Neutral Venue	Neutral Venue	Participant's home	Neutral Venue	Neutral Venue
Expected duration	30 Minutes	30 to 45 Minutes	45 to 60 Minutes	3 times 30 Minutes meeting every 6 weeks	30 Minutes
Notes for participants	Discover what the research project is about and what your participation would involve	Bring three to five photos that you have already shared with distant family members. We will discuss them. The interview will be audio taped. The photographs will be copied.	Talking about where you display family photographs at home. Interview will be audio taped. Places of display of family photos will be photographed. Some of the photographs you have shared with distant family members will be copied.	Talking about when, what, why you photograph and how you select photos to be shared with distant family members. The interview will be audio taped. Dates of when photographs were taken and when shared will be recorded. Some of the shared photographs will be copied.	Talking about when, what, why you photograph and how you select photos to be shared with distant family members. The interview will be audio taped. Dates of when photographs were taken and when shared will be recorded. Some of the shared photographs will be copied.
Research tools and methods	Information sheet for prospective participants	Visualization of the network of support (circle of reference) Narrative interview with an element of photo elicitation Consent form 1 – participant and adult family members Assent from under age family members – assent information sheet Handout researcher - Temporality, Sociality, Place, Field-notes	Narrative interview with an element of photo elicitation Visual tour of photographic displays at home Consent form 2 - Specific consent for the use of photographs Handout researcher - shooting script	Narrative interviews about ongoing practices. Narrative interviews about photographic practices of the recent past. Contact sheet of photographs taken during the field – Negotiation and approval/dismissal of images for further academic use	Narrative interviews about ongoing practices. Narrative interviews about photographic practices of the recent past. Consent form 3 - Final release of information

All participants agreed to partake in the following: one narrative interview with a photo-elicitation element; second narrative interview followed by a visual exploration of their photographic displays at home; semi-structured interview about their photographic practices; and in three follow-up interviews to check for patterns and discontinuities in the practice. The first two narrative interviews as well as the semi-structured interview about photographic practices were audio recorded, other meetings were documented with field-notes.

Ethnographic fieldwork[28] was considered to be the most suitable strategy to address the research questions because the search was for patterns and not just for a snapshot of the practice. Furthermore, the rapidly changing context of digital photography and the fact that the field of study is situated within the realm of the (semi-)private, needed to be addressed holistically and in a temporal flow. The study design allowed for ethnographic observation of (digital) photographic practices in Irish-Spanish families for 18 months. A careful considered process of data collection was designed and implemented, while leaving room for imaginative insights, processes of reflection and human spontaneity by allowing time to pass between encounters as well as by starting each meeting with a revision of the themes touched in the previous one. Stepped and prolonged encounters allowed for eliciting stories around photographs, revealing shifting practices and "of the subtlety of interpersonal understanding" (Watson 1999, p.7). Moreover, a certain level of openness was built into the fieldwork in order to allow for a collaborative process of data elicitation as well as to respect participants' privacy and assure they were feeling at ease.

As Inglis and Donnelly (2011) point out, an open-ended qualitative approach can bring to the surface significant issues and processes that were not identified at the outset. The employment of narrative interviews with an

[28] The understanding of fieldwork is based in Wolcott's definition: " (…) fieldwork is a form of inquiry in which one immerses oneself personally in the ongoing social activities of some individuals or group for the purposes of research" (Wolcott 1995, p.12).

element of photo-elicitation follows this line of thought and it has proven fruitful: every now and then participants stressed certain themes, which were then incorporated into the research and might have otherwise remained in the background. Further strategies to build rapport with participants included: getting to know them through volunteering for ASPI (Association of Spanish-speaking Parents in Ireland), starting the research with an introductory meeting in a public place, accessing the private only after a certain level of rapport and trust had been built and ongoing reminders to participants that they could choose how much and what they wanted to share. This last point was formally addressed with a three phased consent process, discussed below (section 4.1.1.), and informally through verbal agreements.

In first instance, as a consequence of devising and implementing this research design I have become aware of the importance of building rapport and trust with participants and of the need to also maintain a certain distance. Finding the right balance has been one of the most challenging aspects of fieldwork due to the private, even intimate nature of some research questions. In order to ensure balance, I started each meeting with a few minutes of "small talk" and eventually clearly stating the start of the interview process. Also I would always recapitulate what was discussed in the previous meeting and state the aims of the current one. Participants were appreciative of this protocol, especially when I seemed to remember details about what they do with their personal photographs. Before meeting a participant, I would listen to the previous interview and re-read my field-notes, so that I could better immerse myself in their world, and thus be able to relate with what they were about to share.

While prior to and at the start of the fieldwork I was preoccupied with finding the right questions; as time and interviews went by, I realized that the skill of listening was of equal importance, and that silence is as telling as words. Subsequently, these observations have greatly informed the final analysis. After an initial weak informative session, I realized that I needed to find common ground between prospective participants and the research and that

these needed to be transmitted clearly, and honestly. At the start, I was also very concerned with ensuring participants were getting something out of the research. Not only with regards to their finding participation valuable, but also about making sure that data collection was not extractive but somehow reciprocal. In general, participants wanted to follow a fixed structure, probably since the preconceived idea we have about research is that it is made through surveys and questionnaires. However, as time progressed I found participants taking more and more ownership the participatory process and I learned the value of designing a structured and systematic research process, that it could be overridden when necessary.

In terms of visual methods of research, I undertook picture production along the way, such as photographing only after the interviewed had finished in order to fully concentrating on the interaction with participants. Equipment needed to be updated and adapted to the situation, for instance I needed a portable diffuser for the external flash, and a polariser filter in order to be more effective and less disruptive when photographing.

> *"The photographs that I took are an active engagement and statement about the visual construction of transnational families. Photography is a cultural and social practice grouped in concrete forms and systems. There is a synergy of social and visual that I address when I photograph, interview and reflect on the field. I need to find out how it is produced and what its consequences are". (Field-notes, September 2013).*

Although I would always have a shooting plan and would make sure to record everything I needed, sometimes I asked participants for the opportunity to re-photograph in their homes, which gave me the chance to focus on details and reopen the conversation about their stories. I learnt that being professional and efficient doesn't mean to rush or to necessarily cover everything in just one session. On the contrary, having an open dialogue with participants about the shortcomings of my practice when necessary in fact fostered a sense of confidence in the research for both parties and a more realistic understanding of the process, one whereby collaboration and synergy fell into place. This

ethical engagement has also impacted the process of sharing and evaluating material gathered during the research. Notably, participants have critically commented on the material, negotiated exclusion of some pictures and advocated for a greater inclusion of their voices.

An ethnographic study also has some disadvantages. The process of immersion influences a researcher's perspectives and outlook and it is very challenging to address different research questions with the same data (Hammersley 1997, pp.133–139). For these reasons, field-notes were taken immediately after each encounter with the research participants. Notes were structured according to the three axes of narrative research – temporality, sociality and place, while emotions and sensorial experiences of the researcher were also incorporated by recording them. Audio recordings along with the visual material and the field-notes have allowed for a visible charting of the shift in researcher perspective.

Harper makes a case for the use of photo-elicitation in social and anthropological research based on the fact that "(…) images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words" (2002, p.13). Furthermore, the power of images to decentre authority and allow for a plurality of voices to emerge, connects the method of photo-elicitation with a postmodern view of sociology and ethnography (ibid., p.15), an element that is crucial for my understanding of research, and that is also reflected in rationale of narrative research. In visual studies, photo-elicitation can be employed to account for commonplace interpretation, thus contesting hegemonic and ideological understandings of culture. Following Harper, photo-elicitation was included in the research design: he writes of "breaking the frame" (ibid. p.20) to convey the idea of newness regarding points of view, which in turn leads to original views and opinions about the research question. In the specific case of Irish-Spanish families living in Ireland, the fact that participants were sharing their personal photographs for the sake of research already broke a frame. Already, the method of photo-elicitation demands a co-construction: A teller and a

viewer are confronted with an image and a story arises. This point intimately ties photo-elicitation to narrative research.

Psychotherapist, Fina Sanz inspired the design of the narrative interview with an element of photo-elicitation(2008)with her technique of *fotobiografía* to aid with introspective processes. In her own words the *fotobiografía* is:

> The construction and description of our life story departing from certain photographs that appear in our own or somebody's else albums, and that it is shown as a synthesized recapitulation of what would be 'my life's album' by analysing those facts, circumstances and happenings relevant to the construction of our identity and our bonds.(ibid., p.68) (original emphasis, my translation)[29]

Her instructions include telling participants to imagine that they are going to tell the story of their lives through photographs and accordingly select images among their own collection or in the collections of relatives and friends. This very idea grounds the appeal of the auto/biographical photo essay and led to two strategies of the research design: First, asking participants to select three to five photographs that they had already shared and were significant to them. Second, photographing the photographs displayed in the house of the participants after having been guided through them, as the house displays were understood, in line with Sanz (2008) my life's album, as 'my life's analogue wall' and thus as a medium where the private and the public collide/dissolve.

Richard Chalfen's (1998) pictorial communication analytical framework permeated the design of both the photo-elicitation process and of the house tour of photographic displays. His work sets emphasis on the modi in which people participate in home communication so that the questions to pose in relation to family photographs are: when, where, with whom, under what circumstances and for what reasons. Inspired by Harper, Sanz and Chalfen, I

[29] Original quote in Spanish: "(…) la construcción y la descripción de nuestra historia de vida a partir de ciertas fotos que aparece en albúmes propios o ajenos, y que se muestra a modo de recapitulación sintetizada de lo que sería 'el album de mi vida', analizando aquellos hechos, circunstancias y acontecimientos relevantes en la construcción de nuestra identidad y nuestros vínculos".

conceived a two-phase research procedure whereby participants were asked to curate photographs based on the act of sharing the images with relatives and friends. During photo-elicitation where participants talked about three to five images previously shared with relatives and/or friends, I paid attention to issues of place, temporality and sociality, with the following questions leading the process:

- Please, tell me about this photograph.
- Please, tell me about your feelings when this photograph was taken / when you took this photograph.
- Please, tell me about when you saw this photograph for the first time after it was taken. Other than immediately after having taken it and seeing it on the camera display.
- Please, tell me about when you shared this photograph with members of your circle of reference

The aim of the exercise was to identify links between digital photographic practices and familial intimacy as well as between verbal and visual communication processes within the circle of reference for the creation of spaces of intimate interaction. Furthermore, the exercise intended to locate the photographs in their social, cultural, material and technological contexts to later be able to examine how these are related to processes of virtual interactions in multinational and multicultural networks of intimacy.

The second step of the process consisted of a tour of places of photographic display in participants' homes. Photographs shared either digitally or physically were of interest, and participants were asked to reflect on how they display and share their photographs before the second meeting. Together we would find examples in their homes that they were willing to share. The visual exploration of photographic displays at home followed the aforementioned guidelines.

Ethnographic strategies employed included a systematic collection of visual material, reflections on the material place in the home where photographs were located, as well as on moments of image production, and naturally on the photographic object itself. Initially participants expressed a certain level of

discomfort with this element of the research, perceiving the photographing of photographic displays as strange. However, following narrative research, an explanation of these research processes and their motivations not only dispelled any hesitation but also fostered reflection, and encouraged discussions about the life stories of the photographs. Participants shared their motives behind displaying photographs in their homes including accounts of their curation processes. As we will see in the next chapter, shared understandings are at play when curating photographic home displays, which were made explicit at this point in the ethnographic process.

The aims of the photo home tour were to identify modes of sharing photographs within the "circle of reference" and to explore how acts of displaying and sharing impacts familial intimacy, and the effective extension of the home beyond the house. Furthermore, inspired by the reflexive work around objects that is fundamental for museum collections and the life stories of objects (Riggins 2007; Edwards 2012; Emmison & Smith 2000), a special emphasis was placed on identifying migration of technologies in relation with the act of sharing photographs, as well as unexpected uses of photographic objects. It was discovered that reasons for adopting or not adopting a technology could also unveil alternative uses and assumptions for that technology. The discourse of (dis)affective media unveils the process of symbolic creation and attribution of symbolic meaning to objects (Edwards 2012), whose emotional qualities have been recently powerfully reveal by art-based research such as the work undertaken by John Clang[30].

[30] By combining online video-conferencing, image projection and digital photography, Clang fully acknowledges the potentialities of digital technology to (re)create a third space, a space that is in-between time zones and geographical locations. When I talked to John Clang about this body of work he told me that "the portraits of Skype are not about 'being together' with technology. The main core of the session is to bring the dynamic emotion in one family portrait across continents, aided with the current technology for future reflection. The process of how it is taken will make each family member remember and the delicate relationship between each member during and up to that moment will be known internally to each of them. It goes beyond grouping them together to take a picture" (Clang & Prieto-Blanco 2013). Clang uses the emotional dimension of communication to generate a space of intimate interaction: " (…) a third space, a site that is able to reassemble them together within the photographic space that we call a family portrait" (Clang 2010). The social value of this third space lies in establishing a framework, where a repetitive and frequent flow of communication can take place. It is not about what is conveyed by the images, but about the rituality of their production, which generates social cohesion (Villi 2010, pp.105–15).

A visual shooting script was devised in order to ensure a systematic collection of visual material. The breakdown of the shoots understood photography as a practice making places of storage and of dissemination, or distribution, of special interest. The balance between the small frame, places of storage and distribution of family photographs, and the bigger one, the general practice of photography within the family, was reproduced in the shooting script. On the one hand, places of image production were a theme in the interviews and this sometimes led to a visual exploration. On the other hand, material locations of image storage and display were also photographed. While I expected to gain access to more public areas of the participants' homes such as the kitchen, the living room, the dining room and the entrance, photographing bedrooms was an anticipated challenge, and only half of the participants agreed to have their bedrooms photographed. The shooting script included the fridge, the mantelpiece and corridors or staircases as special places to photograph because they are often used for family photographs to be displayed. Drawers, shelves and cupboards were also noted as potential places to photograph, as they are associated with analogue storing of family photographs.

Figure 2. 2nd Interview– Shooting script

Offline digital photographs

-> photograph all of the technologies mentioned by participant in this section, when allowed.

- ☐ computer (as background, screen-protector or user-profile-picture)

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ phone (as background, screen-protector or user-profile-picture)

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ digital frames

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ other, specify:

Detail ☐ and context ☐

Online digital photographs

-> photograph all of the technologies mentioned by participant in this section, when allowed. Alternatively, ask participants to share with you examples of photographs they share online.

- ☐ email (do you use groups or lists for sharing photographs?)
- ☐ social network sites (do you use groups or lists for sharing photographs?)
- ☐ Apps for mobile phone (*WhatsApp*, *Viber*...)
- ☐ blogs - online photo albums
- ☐ other, specify:

Offline analogue photographs or digital printed photographs (paper-based photographs)

-> photograph all of the technologies mentioned by participant in this section, when allowed.

- ☐ frames

Detail ☐ and context ☐ such as entrance area, living room, staircase, bedroom, kitchen

- ☐ albums

Detail ☐ and context ☐ such as cupboards, drawers, shelves

- ☐ walls

Detail ☐ and context ☐ such as entrance area, living room, staircase, bedroom, kitchen

- ☐ door of the refrigerator

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ wallet

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ postal mail

Detail ☐ and context ☐

- ☐ objects (T-shirts, mugs, calendars...)

Detail ☐ and context ☐ such as cupboards, drawers, shelves, walls

- ☐ other

Detail ☐ and context ☐

Remarks:

Questions concerning the camera work arose throughout the research period. Participants were asked to identify what kind of camera they had used to take each of the photographs shared for the research as well as the reasoning behind their choice. As the research progressed, participants themselves signalled the importance of using one camera technology over another. Consequently, the third interview with each of the families consisted of a more structured conversation around photographic technologies of production, storage, distribution and reception[31]. This specific part of the research resonates with Chalfen's (1998) differentiation between what we can do, refers to technological capacity, and what we actually do, which refers to implementation of technology and it is simply another way of approaching affordances.

In order to familiarize myself with each participant's sharing network, I designed an exercise to visualize the network. Prior to photo-elicitation, participants were each asked to produce a visual representation of their "circle of reference" using colour cardboard on a black background. Pink stood for people they share daily life with; blue for people who are close but whom they do not share daily life with, green for acquaintances and brown for pets. Participants themselves were represented by a pink card marked with an X. They freely choose how to distribute the strips of cardboard to symbolically represent – in this order – the configuration of people who they rely on, who they share photographs with, and with whom they share photographs more regularly (at least once a month). The intended outcomes of this visualization were twofold. First, the visualization was expected to intuitively reveal the configuration of the intimacy network of the participants. Second, the exercise was expected to provoke a reflective process on photographic practices and subsequently bring tacit knowledge to the surface. Furthermore, these visual

[31] Note that these factors had been signalled as relevant in previous research (Crang & Cook 2007). The fact that the dialogical interaction between research participants and researcher brought these concrete topics to the surface could be seen as a sign of the validity of the study, because they are consistent with others' findings.

circles of reference would identify the intended audiences of these family photographs were. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Narrative interviews allow tacit knowledge and patterns of photographic practices to emerge. Since temporality and place structure field-notes and interview questions, the photo-elicitation exercise included participants' accounts of when and where the photographs were taken and shared. This approach to photo-elicitation allows stories behind the photographs to be unveiled, while providing a concrete platform from which a further engagement with the research question can be launched. During field-work, the visual exploration of places of display of family photographs at home is a crucial element.

Rose found evidence that photographic means contribute to extend the familial home beyond the house and that photographic objects are crucial in the production of domestic space[32](2003, pp.9–15; 2010, pp.41–58; 2014, pp.76–8). Homes are private spaces of intimacy, and gaining access to the house is not equal to being granted access to the home. Regulation occurs at interpersonal levels of propinquity. Lobbies and kitchens are more prone to be peeked at and visited by uninvited strangers such as canvassers or by service providers such as electricians and plumbers. While photographs resting on mantelpieces and staircases can be glanced at by any of these outsiders, most likely their gaze is not nurtured or encouraged. Welcomed guests however are expected to politely comment on photographs and other displays when visiting the familial home. While visual exploration of participants' homes troubles the tensions between private and public, it also addresses questions of family representation. By witnessing what is willingly and lovingly remembered, questions regarding what is forgotten rise to the surface. Furthermore, by attending to the material qualities of these photographic displays, motives behind their production, distribution and exhibition are addressed vis-à-vis their digital counterparts. This aspect was intended for exploring processes of

32Although Rose talks about space, both Sarah Pink's work and Agnew's conceptualization of place and space – as discussed in the previous chapter- suggest that these third spaces are actually "third places" in which the sense of belonging is mediated through the photographic image. This point has already been argued at the start of chapter three, also on a footnote.

creation, attribution of symbolic meaning to photographic objects, and social performance - what is appropriate and at what levels within the family.

Then the visual exploration is accompanied by an informal interview, in which participants take the lead and share as much as they want about the whats, hows and whys of the family photographs on display. It was expected that, first, the production of photographs and, second, the subsequent discussion of these with participants would reveal latent and tacit knowledge about the (digital) photographic practice in families.

According to the Irish Census of 2011, the number of Spanish people living in the country increased by 53.2% from 2002 to 2011 and by 12.3% from 2006 to 2011. Interestingly, Spanish residents have a large proportion of one-person households (31%), according to the Irish census of 2011 (Central Statistics Office 2012). Additionally, since half of the Spanish households are mixed with Irish nationality, Spain is the seventh most represented nationality in Irish households. The mix of nationalities is also reflected in language use. Thus out of 21640 people who reside in Ireland but speak Spanish at home, 12590 are Irish nationals (2011 census). Spanish is also a language used by American nationals residing in Ireland (the second most spoken language by this group). They are the force behind the change of name of ASPI, as will be discussed later.

The sampling of participants in this study accounts for the diversity in the figures above: families with and without children as well as singles were also included. The number of female Spanish citizens is almost 1.5 times higher than male counterparts. Given this disparity, it is not a surprise that the majority of the respondents of this study were female. Also, most of the Spanish citizens live in Dublin and its suburbs (3781), which the sample also reflects: half of the families interviewed live in this area. The sample mirrors the age pattern in the 2011: more than 60% of the Spanish citizens living in Ireland are between 25 and 44 years of age. Only one of the respondents of the study fell outside of this range.

The aim of the ethnographic case study was to identify patterns of use, to unveil tacit knowledge about how transnational families use photography today and to locate intersubjective knowledge that a concrete segment of the migrant population in Ireland puts in place when it comes to family life. Appropriate inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed for the selection of prospective participants. These set up a rigorous framework to examine contemporary photographic practices in Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland.

Inclusion Criteria

- Country of origin of participants: Spain. Mixed families are also eligible as long as one of the members originally comes from Spain[33].
- Country of residence of participants: at least one of the family members lives in Ireland.
- One or more of the family members lives far away or commutes, in which case this member of the family spends at home usually only weekends and/or holidays.
- Families that own at least one camera phone and a dedicated photo camera.
- Families that use at least one of their cameras on a regular basis (at least once a month)[34].
- Families that own family photographs (analogue or digital).
- Families that share photographs (analogue or digital) with distant family members on a regular basis (at least once a month).
- Families that have an internet connection at home (broadband or by using the phone as modem) or that use internet facilities in public places such as libraries or internet cafes on a regular basis (at least once a month).

[33]The study could have included families of other nationalities, in order to survey the impact of cultural differences in contemporary photographic practices. Yet the focus of the research question is not cultural differences, but emergent shifts on the photographic medium in relation to the digital and the geographical dispersion of familial networks. The question of cultural specificities is certainly interesting and worth pursuing. Moreover, the data collected with the present study could potentially be used in the context of such an investigation.

[34] Families who do not practice photography on a regular basis could also have been included if only for the sake of comparison. However, patterns of use emanate only from the practice. Families who do not engage in photography often could have certainly been surveyed, but the time frame for the ethnographic study would have had to be much longer and outside of the realm of possibilities of a single-researcher, PhD investigation.

Exclusion criteria

- When neither of the family members comes from Spain.
- Country of residence of participants: none of the family members lives in Ireland.
- When all family members share the same household and sleep there usually every night.
- Families that do not own at least one camera phone and a dedicated photo camera.
- Families that do not use at least one of their cameras on a regular basis (at least once a month).
- Families that do not own family photographs (analogue or digital).
- Families that do not share photographs (analogue or digital) with distant family members on a regular basis (at least once a month).
- Families that do not have an internet connection at home (broadband or by using the phone as modem) or that do not use internet facilities in public places such as libraries or internet cafes on a regular basis (at least once a month).

Data triangulation took place on different levels. Working with more than one family and with families of differing structures helped provide an informant triangulation. A time triangulation was used by following families for an extended period of time. Visual material was gathered during field-work with families and were used for checking accuracy and consistency with the interviews.

A purposive sample of eleven families allowed for a holistic engagement, but also ensured the study would not remain unfinished in case some participants decided to withdraw. Five out of the eleven families were composed of a heterosexual married couple and two children. One of these families provided contrast regarding the spatial distance among family members as both members of the couple came from countries other than Ireland, in this case Spain and Slovakia. Three out of eleven families were composed of a heterosexual couple and the three remaining ones were young single people living in shared accommodation. The distinctive feature of all eleven case studies of the present study was the range of geographical dispersion of family members. Within this research, distant family members are those who do not

share the same household on a daily basis, and who are regularly separated by distance. Participants were selected on the basis of known attributes that were built into the exclusion and inclusion criteria.

Finally, the great importance of self-reflection during the process of the study stressed within the narrative inquiry approach is not only consistent with my ethical stance as a researcher but also with the wider concerns of the field. Family photography is produced in dialogical situations, which entails a great deal of introspective and tacit knowledge being transformed into communicative, shared accounts and stories. By creating a space of trust and engagement, families felt encouraged to share more and more photographic objects, and experiences of their photographic practice and thoughts, as the research progressed. It was not unusual when meeting families for follow-up sessions to find they had been reflecting on their practices and thus had more to share in order to elaborate their stories further.

This section started by making reference to the aspects of a story. At a basic level, the cadence of the voice and body language critically for moral narration, and if stories are told through the written word, we must recall that written language is a highly codified visual representation of the spoken word. Stories are told through different and coexisting media. Photographs can trigger memories and are often incorporated in the storytelling process. However, the photographs themselves also have a biography: one that shows how our understanding of photography evolves over time. What we photograph is subject to change as well as how we practice photography.

One of the reasons that speaks for the need to undertake research like this is the fact that digitally connected migrants are technologically proficient users and early adopters. The initial analysis of the material showed a strong emphasis on distribution and exhibition of photographs for specific audiences, all of them within the circle of reference. Past and present seem to be equally connected to the photographic practices of the families analysed. Although remembrance and representation were also mentioned, connection, kinship-making and talking arose as a more important theme altogether. The picture-

worthy (Okabe & Ito 2003) moments named in the field show a relation to connecting in the present as a routine, food and spontaneous moments were mentioned very often. However, in line with previous investigations in the field of family photography, events and visits were still prevalent.

As I will later demonstrate, the emergent story is about transition: in mediation, in place and space, and in the circle of reference. My data analysis indicates that transnational families are early adopters of technology because, among other things, they use it to transmit (dis)affect. These practices would serve to push other remote family members to improve their ICT literacy and to move toward early adoption of new technologies.

4.3. Writing Other People's Stories.

> *"A researcher listens selectively, remembers fragmentarily and recounts in a way that suits her or his purpose" (Bold 2012, p.65)*

Writing other people's stories is foremost an ethical commitment. Personal stories are appealing, because in their specific richness they open up a space for identification and empathy on the part of the audience. However, personal stories are also political. They are embedded in bigger pictures. They respond and are impacted by social and cultural conditions. As a narrative researcher it is my responsibility to find the balance between the personal and the political so that my work does not reproduce hegemonic structures (Ewick & Silbey 1995). External validity of narrative analysis depends on how widely the elicited intersubjective meanings are spread (Elliot 2005). The specific sharing community here has been identified as Irish-Spanish and while not being the most numerous migrant category in the Republic of Ireland, they are organized and strive to raise a political case out of their individual lives.

As mentioned before, Spanish parents founded ASPI (Association of Spanish-speaking Parents in Ireland) in 2012. Spanish residents are also organized through CREI (Consejo de Españoles Residentes en Irlanda), Marea Granate Dublin and more informally through *Google* and *Facebook* groups such as

“Familias españolas en Galway” and “Españoles en Dublin”. More recently, Spanish families have started to campaign for the rights of their children to receive free education of Spanish language and culture through the ALCE (Aulas de Lengua y Cultura Española) framework. Also, one of the founders of ASPI and CREI is now social media admin of the Irish Naturist Association. This is another example of how on the one hand transnationalism is about individuals relating to each other independently of notions of state and nationality, and how individual lives are fundamentally political on the other.

This section is structured chronologically, referring to time spent in the field into the sections of pre-fieldwork, fieldwork and post-fieldwork, and thereby following the Line of work of C.W. Watson (1999). A partial account of the work undertaken in the pre-fieldwork and fieldwork phases has been provided above (section 4.2). Below, the more reflexive aspects of these two phases will be discussed, along with their implications and resonances during the post-fieldwork phase, which will be discussed at the end.

4.3.1. Pre-Fieldwork

Long before visiting an activity organized by ASPI for the first time, I started to observe and reflect on other people’s family photography related practices. This helped me make progress with my field note taking technique. Paying attention to the way people in my immediate surroundings use photography pushed me to develop a certain sensibility and empathy, which greatly benefited the fieldwork as such. As Wolfinger (Wolfinger 2002) puts it, knowing what is worth of annotation is a skill developed over time that is comprised of tacit knowledge, background and interpretation, as well as of salience or writing down by interest and relevance. Note taking is a systematic and comprehensive process whereby both preconceptions and the researcher’s own circumstances play a part. Thus, a writing process that fosters a critical engagement becomes crucial to unveil the impact of circumstances and assumptions.

The fieldnotes I started to take became a space for analysis (Gibbs 2005), where facts and numbers encountered sensory impressions, personal

responses and insider language (Chiseri-Strater & Sunstein 1997, p.73). Some of my first written observations were very short: "*August 2012, 4 Spanish mothers. Meeting in the park with their 8 year old daughters. The mothers regret not to have their photo cameras with them to capture the hug among the children, who have not seen each other for a long while due to the summer holidays."* They evolved over time into more descriptive accounts. During my annual visit to my hometown in Spain, I was invited to have a relaxed lunch with my sister in law's family. I had met some of them before and certainly I had heard of them through the years, but there had not been any occasion to formally meet them.

> *"We are all watching the album on the dining room table after we have finished lunch but we are still waiting for coffee and dessert. On the commode there is also a photograph of the wife's mother. In an envelope there are several photos. The envelope is not kept together with the album. The envelope contains photos of the children. I asked where and who or how these photos were made. The wife answers that photographers used to knock on doors. Some comments are made about period clothing and hairstyles. Somebody points out that the photographs are in a very good shape for being that old. I ask how the photographs are stored. The wife tells me that she keeps them "straight [estiradas]" in the envelope. It is time to put the photos away. The older son is still looking at one of them and the wife asks "could you give me that back?" as she holds the envelope in her hand. She perfectly knows which photos go in which place (album, envelope, etc)."*

By writing and reflecting about this particular meeting, I develop my own interpretation of what was going on. *"The motive behind this lunch is to celebrate that my sister is pregnant and that the baby is bringing the two families together in an indissoluble way"*. For years I had asked my sister's partner to let me photograph how his family manually makes chorizos every January. A few months after this lunch, I was finally invited to make chorizos with them and thus to continue the process of family making.

Family photography – or otherwise called snapshot, amateur photography – has repeatedly been described as boring, uninteresting and lacking depth (Flusser 1983; Dubois 1990). It is often said that family photography often occludes repressive realities by playing the game by its rules (Holland & Spence 1991; Chambers 2001). These arguments can be understood as examples of "performative understanding of incomprehensibility" (Loenhoff 2011). Stereotypes and repetition hide the remarkable negotiation of dominant ideologies that take place in the family album (Rose 2010, p.8). In order to unveil the complex effects of these albums, family photography needs to be accessed from its centre, empirically, and holistically – as opposed to the work with archival material as has been highlighted by Langford (2001, p.199). As stated before, intersubjective and tacit knowledge about family photography as a practice can only be accessed from the centre, not from the margins of observation. This reasoning led to a research design based on ethnographic and narrative work. It also prompted questions of cultural and social empathy with research participants. It was felt that a shared cultural and life experience background was needed in order to breach the gap between researcher and participants. It is in this regard that the collaboration with ASPI (Association of Spanish-speaking Parents in Ireland) emerged in the first instance.

ASPI was founded in early 2012 by a group of Spanish mothers living in Dublin. Before setting up this non-profit socio-cultural and recreational society, their founding members, along with others, were very active in a still existing internet forum for Spanish mothers living in Ireland. When I first met the auditor of ASPI in October 2012, around 100 families were members of the society of which 80% were Irish-Spanish and the rest were either Spanish-Spanish or mixed nationalities families with no Spanish background. The membership has grown since then and ASPI counts 200 families in its ranks today (ASPI 2015). Accordingly, the name of the society changed recently. The acronym ASPI used to stand for Association of Spanish Parents in Ireland. Now, ASPI stands for Association of Spanish-speaking Parents in Ireland. The society organizes a range of diverse activities catered for families with small children in particular and aimed to encourage these children to speak Spanish.

The initial contact with the members of ASPI was done by email in the summer of 2012. The nature of the research as well as the foreseeable collaboration with families for the study was the object of those emails. I introduced myself as a doctoral student based at NUI, Galway, who was interested in how Spanish families living in Ireland shared photographs with their geographically distant relatives. The initial email communication was rather scarce due to the summer holidays and to the fact that I was an unknown face for the members of ASPI. However, I was invited to attend one of their activities once they were to resume in the autumn. Consequently I visited the weekly toddler group meeting on the 25th of October 2012 and met ASPI members face to face for the first time.

As I entered the room, I asked for the coordinator of the toddler group, who I have been in touch with via email. She wasn't in the room at that minute and thus I started chatting with other mothers first. I briefly introduced myself and explained the objective of my visit. Although we chatted animatedly, I could feel some distance. On the one hand, I believe this was due to the language I was using to explain my research. In favour of scientific objectivity and professionalism, I was using very technical terms and elaborate sentences to explain my research. After the meeting I reflected on this aspect and noted down my need to find a greater balance between carrying out a professional research study and making it accessible for my prospective research participants. On the other hand, I realized that in spite of being Spanish myself and living in Ireland, I was perceived as an outsider due to my lack of mothering experience. Furthermore, I was asking these families to be willing to share with me their everyday photographic practices and letting me visit their homes, but I did not disclose any personal information about my life. A change on these two regards proved to be not only productive for the research but also beneficial for the construction of a relationship of trust and empathy with prospective research subjects.

> *"First meeting with ASPI – October 2012, Spanish Toddler Group, Pearse (Dublin). Participants of the toddler group have known each other for a while. No dads. Some of them were reticent to meet me and found my research strange. They kept looking at me and keeping an eye on the conversations I was having with other participants. Later I learned that they both are part of the CREI [Consejo Residentes Españoles en Irelanda] and thus they consider themselves public figures somehow. This status prevents them from sharing photos of their families online. Some participants are interested in my research and in how I had ended up in Ireland."*

In this first meeting with ASPI, a Spanish anthropologist was also in the room. She was researching aspects of motherhood and attending ASPI activities for that purpose. Observation was her primary method of research. I became aware of her presence in the room because she wasn't interacting with either the toddlers or the mothers. I thought she was somebody's friend or relative, and thus she was just visiting the weekly meeting as part some holidays in Ireland. At some point one of the mothers asked her to take a photograph of the group and the interaction looked natural but distant at the same time. At the end of the session, one of the mothers introduced us both and we talked for a long while about our research projects. Later on, I reflected on the conversation and on what I had seen during the meeting of the toddler group.

> *"She is not intrusive at all. She doesn't even take photos of her research because she thinks it is too intrusive and because she doesn't want her data to end up being used for some odd and dubious end. However, she was asked to take photos of the participants of the toddler group using the camera of one of the mothers. […] We discussed the question of ethics for a while. She is specially clued in and concerned about the right of children, as usually the parents are the ones who speak for them. I explained that I am struggling with that because I want to use photos for my research and children are very likely to appear on them. I explained her about my three-stepped consent process and she*

seemed positive about it. She advised me to be very clear with the families when explaining how and for what ends the photographs could/would be used."

Watching the Spanish anthropologist working urged me to reflect on the details of the practice of doing fieldwork. Questions about attitude, closeness and responsibility became more tangible and my reflection focused more on the concreteness of my study. By talking to her I realized the prospective misuses that both verbal, but especially visual data are prospectively subjected to. At the time I was in the middle of devising the consent process for the capture and posterior dissemination of visual data with the participants, and her input was very insightful. The focus of her work was children and their rights, which later permeated my consent process. In a draft version, parents were asked to inform children about the particularities of the research project and how their participation would impact their children. However, following the wise advice of the Ethics Research Committee at NUIG, I later prepared an information sheet for children older than 8 years of age, in order to ask for their assent, thereby respecting their individuality and input. The last section of this chapter is dedicated to give a more complete and critical account of the ethical aspects of the research study. The consent and assent processes are explained in detailed there.

The second time I attended one of the activities organized by ASPI, things went a little better. One of the founding members of ASPI invited me to visit the Friday activity she organised for children in a local library. We both thought it would be a good idea for families to get to know me through repeated visits. It was clear that I needed to establish some common ground before being able to move on with the research itself.

The space was more inviting for conversations to emerge. *"There are two sofas and two comfy, soft chairs on a circle with a table in the middle on the corner of the room. It is better decorated and it looks to the river"*. After having been introduced to a group of four mothers by the activity organizer, I talked about me and my interests before starting to explain the research project. Following the

reflection on how to talk about my research, *"I tried very hard to explain everything in a very plain way without being condescending and while informing all of them in a clear way"*. I spent the rest of the afternoon with this group of mothers and at the end we all walked back together to the train station.

> "*One of the mums is very new in Ireland. She arrived three months before. She comes from Madrid but has lived in Barcelona for a long time. Due to this, she has experience in using photography to keep family bonds alive. She told me she didn't use to send many photos to her parents. They are not very tech-savvy and thus they were using the phone more. She thinks that this might change now with her living abroad because of the high cost of international phone calls. So far, her parents have set up a Skype account and they are having their first experiments with it. She told me as well that she realized last summer that she didn't have any photos of her children with her dad (their grandpa). Then they used the chance of a summer family gathering to take this photo and a bigger group photo of the whole family. […] She said that since she has a camera phone she photographs her children more often. Other mums, who were sitting next to us, nodded as she told this. I need to specifically address the use of camera phone and WhatsApp or similar apps."*

On the back of my head, Emerson's et al (1995) warning resonated: methods determine data. His guidelines for looking and writing helped me structure my observations and my fieldnotes. Furthermore, his suggestion of finishing the writing process by asking yourself what you have learned in the field in relation to your research question, provided me with an ongoing reflective space about the interplay of methods and theory. This became the platform from which to start the research design.

After this first visit to the Friday library club, I made use of my qualification and experience as a recreational activities educator and started volunteering for ASPI. I devised several leisure activities for children between 4 and 9 years of age, which had an element of family photography. These activities were carried out in the context of different weekly or monthly activities organized

by ASPI, thus allowing me to get in touch with different Irish-Spanish families. Before and after the activities, I would talk to the parents about my research and distribute information sheets. It was the coordinators of the activities especially that got to know me little by little and some of them not only agreed to participate in the study, but also started to recommend some other families to participate as well.

During the time I volunteered for ASPI, I learned two things above all. First, I found out how to use an accessible but professional language when talking about my research. Narrative researchers need to learn how to talk to participants (Hollingsworth & Dybdahl 2007). From the theory to the fieldwork, language was taken into account in this research. Second, I learned to achieve a balance between disclosing information about my personal life and maintain the necessary working atmosphere suitable for a qualitative ethnographic study to take place. My Spanish nationality helped me greatly. Further analysis of the balance between closeness and methodological distance is offered below (section 4.2.2.).

Volunteering for ASPI both attained rapport building with the community of Spanish Speaking Parents living in Ireland, and provided me with fruitful, intuitive insights about the photographic practices of Spanish-Irish families. In the course of an autumn, a solid foundation in terms of trust and mutual understanding was achieved from where to start the fieldwork per se. During this time participant observation and field note taking were crucial tools to develop a sense of the field and of the challenges ahead.

What happened during this period not only informed the development of the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the selection of participants, but it also set in motion the snowball required to locate potential participants for the study. Through word of mouth and my participation in several activities organized by ASPI in the course of five months, eleven Spanish-Irish families were recruited to participate in the study. Furthermore, awareness gained through informal conversations with ASPI members brought me to sketch several areas to delve into during the interviews. The researcher handout for the narrative interviews

was partially developed in response to the comments of the pre-fieldwork phase. As mentioned before, as the study progressed, the participants themselves signalled areas worth to examine in greater depth, which lead to the addition of one more research question and the transformation of one of the follow-ups into a semi-structured interview.

The visualization of the 'circle of reference', the first narrative interview with an element of photo-elicitation and the tour of photographic displays at home were tested twice before starting the fieldwork. During these test, I observed a certain "stiffness" on my part when it came to posing the questions, which I tried to overcome in the fieldwork by starting the meeting with an informal conversation with the participants about the research and about their photographic practices in very general terms. My interviewing technique was somehow lacking quick reflection about the stories told. Although I knew I would naturally improve as I performed more interviews, I designed what I called a "researcher handout" to aid me in the interviewing process. In this handout I highlighted the areas of the research that I was hoping to address with each step of the process on the one hand, and the aspect of the interview technique itself that I needed to take into account. Thus keywords such as place, temporality and sociality appeared on the handout, as well as concerning questions such as: how people were placed in relation to each other, or how people were placed in relation to the photographs. Additionally, this handout included a short structure for the writing of fieldnotes, in order to make sure to always reflect on how the interview processes went and how my performance had possibly impacted the elicitation.

In this section, an account of the processes occurred before the start of the fieldwork has been given. I have critically described how observing peoples' photographic practices before starting to work with research participants aided me in devising a well-tailored research design for the purpose of the study. Also, the challenges that arose during this intuitive process of observation, during the first meetings with potential research participants and during the test of the research design have been identified. The strategies put in place to overcome these challenges have been elucidated as well. The following section is dedicated

to the process of the fieldwork itself. A detailed account of the achievements attained during the eighteen months of fieldwork with special emphasis on the challenges and processes emanating from the research itself, follows.

4.3.2. Fieldwork

> *"A crucial aspect of fieldwork lies in recognizing when to be unmethodical", (Wolcott 1995, p.13)*

The fieldwork started with two families with small children. I had met them through my volunteering in ASPI. As planned, we first discussed the research in general terms and they were provided with the participant information sheet. A few days later, they got in touch with me via email and we set up an appointment. This pattern was repeated with all of the rest of participants. In half of the cases, participants were recruited through my involvement ASPI and word of mouth. Facebook groups, word of mouth and a short collaboration with a group of Spanish native speakers teaching Spanish in Belfast were the means employed to engage the remaining participants. In total, 11 participants were recruited: three young (late twenties to mid-thirties) childless couples, four families with children, one family with teenage children and three single people. Two of the participants decided not to continue with the study after the first interview: one of the families with children and one of the single people. An eighteen month fieldwork period was undertaken with the remaining participants.

An overwhelming feeling invaded me the first time I visited one of the participants' homes. Naturally I had expectations and preconceptions of how much material the participants would be willing to share, but confronting the field broke most of these down. *"(…) I feel I am not prepared enough and that I won't have time enough to be aware of everything, to register all, to deeply talk about their photographic practice (06.12.2012)."*

The relationship with the participants evolved over time and it was a topic that I would constantly reflect on in the fieldnotes. At the start I felt the need to demonstrate participants that I was aware of the cultural differences within the Spanish state. Actually, it was through one of the participant families who decided

not to continue with the study that I learned to use the Spanish state instead of Spain. Especially the families participating in the study used to welcome me to their houses by offering me a hot drink and something to eat. A natural relationship of gift giving and gift receiving developed quickly, which lead me to experience a certain level of distress: how well was power balanced in these relationships? Was I being too intrusive with my research? Drawing onto my experience volunteering for ASPI, I started sharing fragments of my own family life with the participants as *"(…) a tool to develop rapport and empathy with them (28.01.2013)"*. For a while I felt troubled about how natural the interactions between participants and me seemed at times, but later I realized that part of the art of being in the field is asking questions while following the organic conversation flow and being spontaneous (Wang 2014).

The majority of the time only one member of the family took part in the interviews. However, there were instances in which other members were present and participated in the conversation. And one of the couples with children decided to always engage as a couple in the research process. In this case I necessarily reflected on the conversation flow and on the turn-taking. This observation was extended to the rest of participants, as I considered how much of the interviewing time was filled by my own voice.

The process of reviewing the visual material with participants was very rewarding and insightful. It was the first time that the participants had access to an output of the research and they were generally eager to discover what was going on behind the curtains. The consent process had accounted for all the family members living in the same household and for geographically distant family members who were identified as key by the participants. However in the course of the investigation, several photographs were shared which depicted other people beyond this group including additional geographically distant family members and friends. The rule followed was to blur faces belonging to anyone who hadn't been asked for consent or assent to participate in the study. One participant openly expressed her/his desire to have every face in the photographs shared during the study blurred. As explained below, this was in fact an option

explicitly articulated in the consent forms. Other elements of the photographs were occluded because in the view of the participants they revealed too much information about themselves. These included identity cards appearing on the frame when photographing wallets and background elements when frames on display were photographed during the house tour.

During the fieldwork, I often went through the materials already collected as part of a re-immersion process that always started a few hours before meeting the participants. This process allowed me to maintain and improve my relationship with the participants in terms of rapport and trust, two factors that gradually gave me access to more elaborate stories about their photographic practices and their circle of reference. After I had met with all participants at least once and they had shared with me at least three to five photographs during the photo-elicitation exercise, I realized that an array of topics mentioned by some of the participants coincided with the theoretical concepts I had explored. These themes were: authenticity of the photographic image, feelings and emotions when taking, storing, sharing and viewing photographs and distance and ubiquity of digital images.

The images already collected reflected some of these topics not only in terms of content, as for example Celia's son's photograph taken and shared while he accidentally tangled a toy car in his hair, but also in terms of display, like Gala's daughter's prom photograph which Gala sent to his brother, who in turn sent it to their cousin, who, mobile phone in hand, visited Gala's mother who was impatiently waiting to see her granddaughter's photograph on the night of her high-school graduation ball. The fieldnotes contained many references to emotions about conducting the interviews, and also to feelings of worry expressed by participants in relation to storing their photographs, sharing them online and producing paper copies. Additionally, one participant expressed his concerns with the circle of reference constructed during the first interview. In his view, it was static and there were no tools to express dynamism in the relationships represented by it. His constructive criticism was taken on board and together with

the emerging topics mentioned beforehand built the core of the 4th follow-up meeting with participants.

4.3.3. Post-Fieldwork

Once the fieldwork was over, I started listening to all the interviews in order to become familiar with the entirety of the data before attempting to start the analysis. For the first cycle of coding I took into consideration the audio of the first and second interview with the participants as well as the fieldnotes. As explained before, in these two first meetings narrative interviews and visual explorations took place. During the initial meeting, a visualization of the circle of reference or circle of intimacy was constructed. Three to five photographs selected by the participants served as guides for the subsequent narrative interview with an element of photo-elicitation. The second meeting featured a narrative interview about photographic practices and a visual exploration of photographic displays at the participant's home. fieldnotes were taken immediately after the meetings with the participants.

Occasionally, ideas were jotted in situ, however I found it interrupted and disrupted the interview process at times, thus I opted to concentrate my attention on the interview and to write once it was over and I was on my own. Initially, I listened to all first interviews with participants, which resulted in a descriptive coding of them. In this first approximation to the data, the communicative context of the interview was taken into consideration by paying attention to the tone and cadence of the voice as well as to the silences in the conversation. General observations about participants' relationship with photography were made also. Afterwards a description of the photo-elicitation exercise followed in which the content of the photograph as well as the contexts of production, distribution and reception were outlined.

Then, it was time to examine the visualization of the circle of reference/circle of intimacy of all participants and note any variations. As explained before, the first visualization is a depiction of the circle of reference as such, while the second visualization represents the circle of reference of people whom participants share

photographs with, the photo sharing circle. And the third visualization depicts the circle of people who participants share photographs with at least once a month, the habitual photo sharing circle. There were changes between the first, the second and the third visualization in all cases but two, in which the first, second and third visualizations remained unvaried.

After a general examination and comparison across cases, it was decided to look closely at four cases. The concept of family used in the research was very inclusive so that in the sample there were families with children and childless families as well as single people living in shared accommodation. Two unifying patterns were employed to select the families. First, the four families chosen had children. However, the age of the children was diverse. While Pedro's and Maria's children were just over a year old and three years old, Gala's and Dario's oldest daughter had just turned eighteen when the fieldwork started. This range of ages would serve to explore photographic practices of families at different stages regarding parenthood/childhood. The second pattern was the number of years that the transnational families had been living in Ireland. When Gala moved to Ireland almost 25 years ago, being digitally connected with family abroad was not an option. But back in 2005, when Pedro and Maria arrived in Ireland, digital technologies of communication and of image production were already accessible. Thus, while Pedro and Maria could be considered native digitally connected migrants (Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014). Both the number of years living abroad and the age of children in the family would allow for an exploration of the photographic practice in relation to newness, a factor that was already signalled by Bourdieu as a catalyst for photographic production in families (Bourdieu et al. 1965).

In addition to number of children and number of years living in Ireland, nationality was taken into account for the selection of the four case studies. Three of the families selected were Irish-Spanish but one of them was Spanish-Slovakian, which would enable a tentative contrast between the two groups in terms of on-site support network. In summary, these families presented not only common factors but also differences that would allow for a more horizontal exploration of themes

and for a reasonable comparison across cases. The last unifying factor that led to the decision of exploring the photographic practices of these four families further, was their socio-economic statuses. Although Pedro and Maria were renting in Ireland, they own a property in Slovakia. The other three families selected live in a house that they own. In terms of occupation, all, Pedro Maria, Yessica, Dylan, Celia, Carlos, Gala and Dario were qualified white-collar professionals. Although only two of the women were working outside the house during the fieldwork, the other two had done so before becoming mothers and had the intention to go back to their careers later in their lives.

Both the audio file of the first interview with the four families selected and the fieldnotes taken were coded according to the six categories mentioned before (place and space, actions related to photographic practices, photographic hardware and software, feelings and emotions, experience, circle of reference). Plurals and synonyms were grouped before creating a word cloud for each of these categories. The word clouds were the first hierarchical coding process undertaken.

Figure 3. Word-clouds first interview: audio plus field-notes. Four families with children. Most outstanding words for each category.

1. Moods: missing, joy, to like. Estados de animo: echar-de-menos, alegria, gustar.

2. Actions related to photography: to take, to send, to look at, to keep up to date. Acciones relacionadas con la fotografia: sacar, enviar, mirar, mantener-al-dia.

3. Devices, objects and software related to photography: photograph, mobile phone, resolution, camera. Aparatos, Objetos, Software relacionado con la fotografia: fotografia, movil, resolucion, camara.

4. Places: house, Spanish-city, Spain, Irish-city. Lugares: casa, ciudad-española, España, ciudad-irlandesa.

5. Circle of Reference: children, cousin, friend, mother, close-friends, Spanish-family. Circulo de Referencia: hij@s, prim@, amig@, madre, amig@s-intim@s, familia-española.

6. Events: holidays, celebration, looking at photographs, first-time.
   Eventos: vacaciones, celebracion, ver-fotos, primera-vez.

The comparison between the two groups of word clouds highlights some changes. In the category of feelings and emotions, welcoming appeared in the second set, which reveals the perception of the fieldwork by the researcher. More importantly, “keeping in touch” emerged as a strong emotion linked to the photographic practices of these four families. In the category of “actions related to photographic practices”, “send” remains as a big topic, while the more general verb use occupies a prominent place when all the fieldnotes are taken into account. When analysing the first interview with these four families, there was a clear gap between “to take”, “to send”, “to look” at and the rest of the words. However, when all the fieldnotes are considered, after “send”, “use” and “look at” there is a group of actions that appear to be at the same level: “buy”, “gifting”, “download”, “upload”, “organize” and “show”. This group is very descriptive of the kind of actions that these four families associate with their photographic practices.

Photographs dominate the category of photographic hardware and software in both cases. However, when all the fieldnotes are considered, “Facebook” stands out clearly. In this category, there is also a big gap between “photographs”, “Facebook” and the following group of words: “smartphone”, “paper”,

“Whatsapp” and “album”. So the mobile phone is still important, but the camera doesn’t occupy an important place anymore. Ireland and Spain stand out in the category of place and space in both sets of word clouds. The interesting part here is the transformation of “house” into “new-house”, which is probably due to the fact that three of the families were preparing to relocate by the end of the fieldwork. This fact also impacted on the category of “events”, in which “moving” appears once all the fieldnotes were coded. The circle of reference is dominated by “children” in both cases, followed by “friends”. However, when all the fieldnotes were considered, the specifics of friendship and kinship relation decrease. Thus “friend” and “close friends” become plainly “friends”, while “Spanish-family” disappears in favour of the more general category of family.

The assisted coding with NVivo started at this point. The first step goal with NVivo was to analyse the set images from the first interview in the context of the audio. The approach followed builds onto Hedy Bach (2007) analysis technique, which alternates contextualization and specificity. For the first coding cycle, she proposes to become familiar with audio files. This is done first in an intuitive manner while noting recurring words or themes. Then, the progression of themes over time is explored and one starts looking at the images while listening to the audio files. I found this process very enlightening because it made me aware of absences both in oral and visual accounts as well as of the interplay between the two. The first coding cycle was undertaken while in the field and involved listening often to the interviews, reading the field-notes and looking at the photographs already collected. I did so in order to prepare for follow-ups meetings with the participants, as this re-immersion process increase my familiarisation with the context of each of the families, which in turn improved my relationship with the participants in terms of rapport and trust.

The second coding cycle started once the fieldwork was over. According to Bach, during this iteration, one doesn’t look at audio or images, but at “field texts”, which are the synergetic result of taking audio, visual material and meaning in context negotiated with participants into account. Then, specific

questions lead the analysis, to which in a first instance I added Bach's three keywords for visual narrative research: time, place and camera work.

- Time, place and camera work
- Content
- What does the photograph communicate?
- What is missing in the image? What is missing in the oral account?
- What are the participants trying to tell?
- Who needs to know this and why? (Public and private dichotomy and debate)

Figure 4. Parameters for the second cycle of analysis

The specifics of how to tackle the question of what an image communicates as well as what participants want to tell, were heavily influenced by Rose's work on visual content analysis (Rose 2001) and Bell's work (Bell & Bell 2012; Bell 2013b) around the materiality of objects – which in turn follows Edwards', Hart's (2004) and Batchen's (2004) approach to photographs as objects in the world. Bell's initial question was how to translate the viscerality of objects into text. Accordingly, she developed a series of strategies to achieve this. Objects, here also photographs, bring the visual and the verbal together. They are pointers to intimate connections and feelings, which can be explored through them.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of participants' preferred reading with researcher's interpretation – and ultimately abstraction – allows for a space of showing and withholding to emerge, where we can understand from within. Specifically when coding the images of the photographic display house tour, attention was drawn to patterns within sets of images in line with Crang's and Cook's work (Crang & Cook 2007). An answer to how photographs are shared needs to give account of the devices (hardware and software) employed in the process. However, the aim is to beyond a list of most used gadgets, therefore the relation between material mediation and communication needs to be explored also. The voice of the participants is located in the oral accounts, in the images and in the constellation of actions carried out with the aid of objects in the frame of photographic practice. A useful tool to map out the fluidity of material

mediations in the photographic practices of Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland, is Chalfen's (Chalfen 2005) home mode of communication model and Lehmuskallio's (2012) "heterogeneous paths of images" subsequent update. Together with the circle of reference, they both offer a visualization of how photographs are shared with people these families care about.

There are two main big pictures in this research. First, the fluid concept of family employed. The sample included child-free families and families with children, as well as single people living in shared accommodation. The common denominator of all these familial forms is the fact that they are all transnational, namely that they regularly employ auditory and visual means to mediate their presence to other family members. Their emotional ties stretch over time and space. Diverse media are put in place to cope and breach distances apart. A closer examination of the material attending to issues of nationalism could potentially reveal how these transnational families form and understand their identities in terms of state boundaries. However, the goal of this research is different. Here is where the second big picture comes into play. The research design and ethnographic work has been implemented to elicit tacit and intersubjective knowledge about contemporary non-professional photographic practices. As discussed in the first chapter, there are a series of promises and fear associated with the digitization of photography that this research set out to explore empirically. The second big theme is thus the understanding and relation we have with photography and photographs today. In other words, the second big picture of this research pertains to contemporary functionalities of the photographic medium.

Figure 5. Final aggregated list of themes

Total	Theme		Total Sub-theme
230	Actions		41
	Actions	Display and Exhibit	77
	Actions	Circulation and Distribution	43
	Actions	Appearance and Body	27
	Actions	Archiving	17
	Actions	Not Showing	13
	Actions	Receiving	6
173	Circle of Reference		126
	Circle of Reference	Household	24
	Circle of Reference	The Public, Everyone	13
	Circle of Reference	Pets	10
154	Time		24
	Time	Past	63
	Time	Present	36
	Time	Recent Past (last month)	26
	Time	Future	5
155	Picture Worthy		4
	Picture Worthy	Events	69
	Picture Worthy	Routine	19
	Picture Worthy	Food	18
	Picture Worthy	Spontaneous	15
	Picture Worthy	Visits	14
	Picture Worthy	Landscape and art	8
		Children	8
143	Photographic Practice		2
	Photographic Practice	Remembering	34
	Photographic Practice	Talking	28
	Photographic Practice	Kinship Making	26
	Photographic Practice	Contact	24
	Photographic Practice	Representing	17
	Photographic Practice	Stories	6
	Photographic Practice	Forget, loss	4
	Photographic Practice	Hobby	2
65	Place and Space		56
	Place and Space	Distance	9
47	State of mind and moods		47

4.4. An ethical Framework for the Study of Media Pragmatics.

Digital photography allows for an ongoing visual account of our happenings to emerge, as we link communication with pictures. The growing link between photography and mobile technologies seems to have transformed the former into a medium of interpersonal and intimate communication. The understanding of (digital) photographic practice, not only as a tool of representation but also as a mode of communicative engagement, is an original feature of this study. It explores how the digitisation process has opened up new and ubiquitous configurations of spaces of familial interaction in line with the constant and rapid development of multinational and multicultural social environments.

Within an ethnographic approach to the research, eleven families were followed for a period of 18 months, allowing for emergent themes or directions to be incorporated in the fieldwork and vice-versa. This line of inquiry involved a long time spent on location preparing the context to start the fieldwork through informative sessions but also through volunteering in activities carried out by the Association of Spanish Speaking Parents living in Ireland (ASPI), conducting the fieldwork and keeping in touch with families. This all has provided a solid foundation for the conclusions based on the time spent, the rapport built with participants and the relationships formed thereby. Visual material was gathered as part of the fieldwork with families. A key aspect of this research is its ethics. Working with families and accessing visual material produced by their members requires careful planning and ongoing reflection. In this section, a few lessons learned from importing social theory and methods into a media studies thesis will be elucidated and explained in relation to the fieldwork.

Most of the issues regarding confidentiality were dealt with through the three phased consent process (see further elaboration in 4.1.1.). First, participants were asked to consent to be audio recorded during the interviews and for their photographs, previously selected by them, to be scanned and/or copied by the

researcher for the sole purpose of the present research. During the realisation of the study, gathered information was stored anonymously and verbal data was anonymised. Secondly, participants had the option to be named or to remain anonymous before the information was released to the public domain. This applied to both verbal and visual data. Therefore, when participants wished to remain anonymous, faces on the photographs and other personal identifiers were blurred.

The study took place in neutral and safe venues provided by ASPI as well as in public places and participants' homes. In the case of home visits, a buddy scheme was put into practice by letting two people know my location at the start and at the end of the home visit. The study included participants whose first language is Spanish. All information given to the prospective and actual participants was written both in Spanish and in English (information sheet, consent form, advertisement materials). Interviews were conducted in the first language of the participants, although at times participants themselves changed from Spanish into English or vice-versa, a change that I followed too.

The study accessed families through the keeper of the family's photographic archive. Family conversations in which children were present occurred rarely. In any case, there was no recruitment and/or one-to-one interaction between persons from vulnerable groups and myself. Adult family members who do not actively participate in the study agreed on giving the active participant the right to share photographs in which they might appear. Children did not actively participate in the study. However, access to photographs in which children appeared was gained. The following clause was included in the first consent form in order to minimise the impact of the research onto those children's lives: "I confirm that I have informed my children about the study and about our participation in it". Also, an information sheet for children older than 8 years of age was written both in Spanish and English. This way, their assent about the participation of their guardians/parents in the study was ensured and always co-obtained through their guardians/parents.

All verbal based data were anonymised. Participants received different names, which served to identify electronic documents gathered within the study. Personal identifiers were not included in the derived data in order to ensure anonymity, unless participants gave specific written consent to be named. As explained before, any release of data gathered within the study will happen only after the participants have been informed about it, have had time to review the material and to ask for modifications to be undertaken (with these being in fact fulfilled) and signed a final consent form for the release. Adult family members who do not actively participate in the study agreed that the active participant would review materials prior to public release and would ask for modifications if needed.

There were several moments in which some participants experienced certain light discomfort (participants were remembering difficult personal situations such as the death of a beloved one or a period of sickness or absence). The interview was stopped immediately and it was the participants' choice to continue with it after a few minutes. It was expected that by talking and reflecting on family photography, participants would gain a better understanding of how and why visual communication helps generate family knowledge and negotiate feelings of (dis)affinity. As mentioned before, participants did gain a deeper knowledge about their own photographic practices through the process of reflection triggered by the interviews. The analysis will explain this point in more detail.

4.4.1. The three phased consent process

The most controversial issue of this ethnographic study was to ensure the transparency of the collection and posterior use of visual data in participants' homes. Although participants themselves selected the photographs shared with the researcher and these photographs have already been filtered (participants were asked to select photographs that they had previously shared with distant family members), the fact is that this study has access to verbal and visual private material, which will be publicly available in the context of

academic publications. Certainly, the research could have taken place by looking at publicly accessible online family photo albums and other family photographic collections in line with Pauwels' work (2008). However the access to tacit knowledge would have been very limited. Moreover, questions about the function of photography and of photographs couldn't have been posed and the observation of everyday digital photography in action today would have been limited to public outputs. In summary, working with archives or with readily available family collections on the Internet would have substantially changed the research question.

In order to work ethnographically, gain access to private images and be able to disseminate the results of the investigation, including the visual material for academic audiences, a consent process was implemented. All participants gave informed written consent of their voluntary participation in the study. They had been informed about the purpose and scope of the study and they were aware of what was involved in their participation. Also, all participants knew that they could withdraw their participation at any time without any consequences. The participants were reminded of this at every stage of the consent process.

The three phased consent process was formalised by three different consent forms[35]. The first one followed the information session and detailed the general process of research in terms of ethics and confidentiality. This is how participants agreed to participate in two interviews and four follow-up sessions, to have their voice recorded, to show and share some of their family photographs and to have these photographs scanned or re-photographed by the researcher. Furthermore, participants were specifically informed about the possible publication of the outcomes of the research in the context of the dissemination of academic knowledge. However, at this stage, participants didn't yet transfer the control over their stories to the research. Accompanying this first consent form, a family member consent form was signed by any adult member of the family whose images would be shared within the scope of the

[35] These forms can be found in appendix 8.1.

study but who would not actively participate in the interviews. A similar process was fulfilled by underage family members older than eight years old, who received an adapted information sheet and agreed to have their images shared for the study by a process of assent.

The second consent form focused on the access and production of visual material based on their display of family photographs at home. Participants authorized the researcher to use existing photographs of their family and take photographs of their family photographs. Image work gathered during the study has been obtained under the premises of being given as a gift and used only for the stated purposes on the information sheet and consent forms. Therefore the right to personal and family privacy, image right and right to honour was not violated. Participants also granted the researcher the right to use this visual material for the study as well as for dissemination in academic materials, which might be available to the public. The visual material is to be used as it was taken/found or with modifications that participants could specify freely.

Three options for the modification of visual material were pre-indicated in the form. These were:

- blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of me, principal participant
- blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of my family
- blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of my children

The final consent form for the release of information was presented to the participants after the process of visual material gathering had ended. Participants reviewed a draft of the visual material pertinent to them and they were asked to correct it or modify if necessary. By signing this last form, participants granted the researcher the right to use information from recordings and or notes taken in interviews as presented to them as a draft copy. Furthermore, participants agreed or not to be identified by name and/or by photograph in the project and related materials.

The totality of the consent process was approved by the NUI, Galway Research Ethics Committee. The employment of this three phased consent process did not only ensure the confidentiality of the data shared by the research participants, but it also allowed for a continuous process of co-construction to occur, which is fundamental to the narrative method of inquiry. Moreover, the stepped implementation greatly helped reinforce rapport and trust between participants and researcher. Likewise, transparency and structure led the process of gathering and storing research materials. It is expected that alternative research interest such as migration and visual culture, emotional dimensions of photography or questions of transnational identity can be addressed with the material gained, in the context of a subsequent investigation[36].

So far, this chapter has reported the implementation of the research design. Narrative interviews with an element of photo-elicitation and a visual exploration of photographic displays of family photographs were the backbone of the visual narrative inquiry of this study. Access to the research material was gained progressively as the relationship of trust with Irish-Spanish families was fortified. The fact that I am also a Spanish national living in Ireland definitively impacted the research process. The next section gives account of this impact.

[36]After the completion of this study I will remain in possession of the raw data for a period of five years, as I plan to continue researching this very topic in other multi-national and/or multicultural contexts. Of special interest and relevance to the specificity of this research project is my interest on continuing the research with families in Spain that have seen one or more of their members emigrating. Undertaking a study with "the other half" of the story would enhance the results of the present research. On this grounds permission to remain in possession of the raw data until 2020 was granted the NUIG Ethics Committee.

4.4.2. Power and Collaboration in the Field.

On the one hand, I share a very similar cultural background with my research participants. We all have been born and raised in the same country. Although we all come from different parts of Spain, the fact that I had lived with people from different Spanish regions was beneficial both in initial conversations and later during the research when more concrete cultural and social settings were discussed. On the other hand, my migrant past and present is something that I share with the participants. Once families knew that I had lived in Germany for seven years previous to my arrival in Ireland, their perception of me changed. I saw and felt it.

At the beginning, the migration background worked as an ice breaker to explain my interest in the Irish-Spanish community and in photography across space. Later on, participants shared anecdotes and memories related to the perks and losses of living abroad knowing that I was able to walk in their shoes to a certain extent. Moreover, the shared cultural context implies a similar understanding of the practice of photography. As briefly mentioned in the introduction, thanks to my multicultural group of friends and to my endless curiosity regarding family photography, I am well aware of the cultural differences in the field across countries.

In the complex art of eliciting stories, the following factors have been identified as key factors: negotiating meaning with spontaneous questions both from the researcher to the participants and vice versa, ensuring confidentiality, motivating participants by sharing professional stories, having similar interests as participants, and making supportive comments (Harper 2002; Lapenta 2006). During my time volunteering for ASPI, I established common ground with future participants through sharing stories, interests and experiences. While a shared cultural background and life experience was an a advantage in creating a relationship of trust and empathy with the research participants, excessive closeness to them and the object of study would have been disadvantageous for the study. Narratives are socially constructed in a conversational act, thus both the intentions and interpretations of participants

and researcher are important and need to be acknowledged. Through reflecting on this very issue before and after the meetings with the participants, I was able to identify and discern their voices from my voice. Moreover, the employment of the three phased consent process enabled a continuous and honest discussion with the narrators about the research process, who were able to confirm or amend preliminary conclusions.

Issues of power are always at play when working with research participants. The control of the conversation is ideally negotiated and shared between researcher and participants. Initially, and due to my status as an expert with regard to family photography, participants expected me to lead the conversation. However, they held a substantial power over the conversation as they were always in charge of what to share for the research. In addition to this, the participants of the study were the experts with regard to the photographic practices taking place within their own families. While I was able to draw some comparisons with my own experience, which aided me in eliciting stories and comprehending fully what was being shared with me, I never took for granted any of the practices described. On the contrary, sometimes my task was to go back and ask for clarification in order to unveil the intersubjective and tacit knowledge around family photography that I was looking for.

Obviously, the relationship with the participants evolved over time. A substantial part of my field note-taking was devoted to the sensorial and emotional aspects of each meeting, in an attempt of reflecting on how the changing relationship between participants and me was impacting the story. Disclosing my personal family situation in Ireland significantly impacted my relationship with the participants, especially with families with children. Initially I had introduced myself as a single, professional researcher. However, my situation, as it is often the case, evolved over time. Few months after my first face-to-face interaction with members of ASPI, I started to consider myself part of a new family. My partner and I had moved in together. He is separated

and half of the time he takes care of his two children. Thus, we became a patchwork family and I half-entered the club of motherhood.

This development impacted on my skill set especially regarding empathy and identification processes with participants. References to my newly acquired responsibility were made at times during the interviews, although I decided not to take much notice, as I was overwhelmed myself by it. With time, however, I started to appreciate the comments and see certain stories and anecdotes shared with me from another point of view. Also, I realized how some participants shared their photographic everyday with me not more but differently. The *official* confirmation of my new motherly status happened in spring 2014, when I was invited to participate in the Internet forum for Spanish mothers in Ireland. Initially this forum would have been a great tool for me to get in touch with families easily, but I was not granted access on the grounds of not having children myself. Later however, I was considered motherly enough to belong to the group. My patchwork Irish-Spanish family has also been cordially invited to belong to ASPI, even though we don't speak Spanish at home. Again, self-reflection has been the tool employed to keep track and acknowledge this process.

> *"Little by little I have redefined myself from being a single student in her late twenties to be part of a family with two children. I have learnt to disclose some information about my personal life as a strategy to gain rapport and trust from my participants. It is a tricky point this one because I do not want them to be my confidants or my shoulder-support but I feel they need to know more about myself in order to disclose more information and feel at ease. I still have doubts about the kind of relationship that we have (Field-notes, September, 2013)".*

The developments that I reflected on at this point indicated the manner in which following meetings would unfold. Until this point, the meetings had always been clear cut from a more in depth interaction with the participants, other than my involvement in ASPI and in the Spanish class. However, something changed and participants started to ask me to stay overnight in

order to interact more with the other family members and to get a better grasp of what their photographic practices look like. On the one hand, I welcomed this development, but on the other my initial sense of insecurity returned. Was I asking too much of my participants?

> "*When I read how other researchers spent so much time with their participants and even sleep at their participants' homes I always wonder how they manage to discern between research and friendship. (…) My research does not advance when I do not focus on the specific goals I have set for the session. I need to go over the goals, the structure of the meeting, notes from last meeting and audio/visuals if available to be able to be flexible and improvise while having a clear mind and the sharpness needed to gently direct the conversation and deepen in areas of relevance. This is my method. This is my systematic approach. (Field-notes, October, 2013)"*

During the second half of the fieldwork, and due to the fact that I was working more intensively with participants living in Galway, some of the follow-up meetings took place in my office at NUIG. I lived moments of emotion with participants as they disclosed very personal feelings and information to me, which always were in direct relationship with photographic practices. The issue of privacy structured many of the conversations, possibly as a result of the Snowden affair. Also, the need for clarification, both on my part and on the participants' side, became more common. It may be due to a great specificity of my questions as I was trying to elucidate more concrete examples and patterns. The ways of communicating with participants also spreads during this phase of the fieldwork. *WhatsApp*, Skype and traditional phone calls and text messages become familiar ways to set up appointments. Before, the entire communication had always been via email. One of the first participants recruited expressed her desire to stop participating in the study because of a lack of time. I responded by very politely asking for a last meeting to have a sense of closure of her/his participation.

> "*I am confronting my errors and talking in a very open way to Y today and while I consider this visit part of the fieldwork I have no intention of taking any photos or*

> *recording of our chat. I have the devices with me (…) but I need to focus first on re-connecting with Y. (…) Y had to pick up his/her child at the nursery so we walked and continued talking. (…) Back at home, the cosiness of a cup of coffee shared over biscuits opened up a space of more concrete topics: my research, his/her participation. The child was having lunch and he/she also participated in our chat. I talked to the child and asked him/her about his/her friends, the summer in Spain and the food. A feeling of complicity was generated. I felt closer and freer. I felt I could count on Y again for the research. Y must have felt the same because she asked me then what she/he could do for me." (Field-notes, February, 2014)*

The last meetings with the families were very emotive. After a six month gap, I returned briefly to their houses and we picked up the conversation right where we had left it. The usual gift-exchange took place first, only then did we move into the research. An overwhelming feeling of gratitude was a constant during all the last meetings with the participants. And I wanted to make sure that they understood how much I appreciated their participation and dedication. Also, I needed to transmit a sense of continuity. The research was not over for me; in fact I still had a long way to go. They weren't accompanying me on this leg of the journey, but we will surely reconnect again once this individual challenge ahead of me is complete.

5. PHOTOGRAPHIC EXCHANGES OF TRANSNATIONAL AFFECT

The rise of digital media has been framed as the end of photography - as if it were the end of photography's raison d'être, a claim of truth widely ascribed to the medium. The goal of this research is to offer an understanding of how digital photography is integrated into everyday practices of transnational families and to subsequently discuss how this impacts our understanding of the photographic medium. Some insights into contemporary practices of kinship-making in transnational families are also offered[37]. These observations are aligned with the non-media-centric media studies approach by which this investigation is guided. Therefore, media is explored "[…] alongside other everyday practices and within social processes" (Moores 2012, p.11).

In this analytical account of the work carried out by Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland, digital immediacy and the production of place will be the first item discussed. While space makes reference to spatial configurations where signification processes can potentially occur; place incorporates people and their interactions. Place is loaded with meaning and values (Massey 1996; Agnew 2011) and it is thus central to the theoretical exploration of photographic practices in transnational families (Rose 2010; Pink 2011a). The making of place is one of the key outcomes of family photography (Rose 2003; Villi 2016). As previously discussed, Pink understands place as an event (Pink 2011a) that it is inextricably linked to actors and their characterizing movements. This research looks at mediated places in particular, an important item to address. Place is understood as a mediated event. Physical places, memories and sensorial experiences, as well as the mediation of such

[37]Watters' work with transnational families in Ireland has advanced the knowledge of family migration and the production of places of home in terms of space through the concept of landscape (Watters 2011). He applied visual participatory research, using photographs specifically, to empirically explore his research questions. Unlike in Watters' study, family photography here functions as a case study by which the digital and three concrete predicted expectations or fears derived from it – obliteration of space, greater and easier connectivity and memory loss are empirically explored. After all, this research is rooted in media studies, not in cultural geography.

concepts, are considered a part of place as mediated events (Jensen & Waade 2009).

The concealment of distance is one of the key outcomes that we seek to achieve through digitization processes. However, a practical and empirical exploration of what happens when distance is obliterated has remained largely unexplored. The analysis of the field-work within this study, focusing on Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland, is an attempt to answer this question of obliteration through digitization.

Rose had already pointed out that photographic objects extend the home beyond the house (Rose 2003). However, what happens in places that are mediated on a daily basis? Why are they relevant for transnational families? These everyday practices are the focus of this chapter. The analysis of the field-work suggests that these places offer transnational families the possibility to engage in affective and intimate interactions. Accordingly, these places are used to advance kin keeping and the reaffirmation of the family as an institution. In this chapter, we will examine how photographic exchanges challenge normative conceptualizations of kinship and also contribute to the socialisation of children in larger family units.

What implications does this have for photography? Does it compel us to understand the medium differently? The emerging thesis of this research states that the truth claim of photography that has discursively defined the medium for centuries is either taken for granted or perceived as unimportant. At the same time, the exchange of photographs among users, i.e. their circulation or distribution, ingrains them with relevance. Creating greater and easier connectivity is the second expectation ascribed to the digital that has been empirically tested in the field. Connectivity, or connectedness, as well as distance and presence, are at the heart of Villi's (2010; 2014; Villi 2016), Lehmuskallio's(2012) and Gomez-Cruz's (2012; 2012) work.

Within the study of transnational Spanish families, the photographic medium was very often associated with connection, communication and networking

among participants, while its indexical character was either taken for granted or consciously subverted. The control over the distribution of photographs, however, was a major preoccupation for all of the families interviewed - again, touching upon issues of connectivity, communication and networking. A recurrent theme linked to these discussions is the ephemeral, which is also highlighted as a distinctive element of digital photographic media. Paul Grainge's approach to the ephemeral coincides with three recurring themes emerging from the fieldwork: circulation, value and storage. As a result, these three axes will guide the narratives below of four Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland and their various photographic practices.

All three analytical accounts are linked by one theme: control over the distribution of photographs. The first account deals with the mediated production of place or the process of ascribing value to space. As mentioned before, the transformation of space into place involves considering how people and their values interact in such a space. This first section could also be read as an engagement with the emotional dimension of (digital) photographic practices by transnational families. Recall how Edwards (2009; 2012) highlights the affective dimension of photographs and their power to create places of (dis)affect. The parallels between her work with analogue photography and this research on digital family photography suggest a strong sense of kinship, particularly with regard to the emphasis on the affective dimension. The empirical work corroborates this likeness and hints at a communicative function that is activated by photographic exchanges – namely, the phatic.

The second section focuses on the processes of inclusion and exclusion set in motion by photography exchanges. Participation and absence in family photographic practices is related to the place-making event and thus, to the (im)possibility of communicating (dis)affectively. It has already been suggested that agency is distributed among actors and devices in a context of networked photographic practices (Gómez-Cruz 2012) and the analysis below sets out to investigate how this works at an empirical level. The concept of affordances is employed, alongside speech-act theory, to explore agency in everyday (digital)

photographic practices. The already elucidated understanding of materiality - the synergy of subject, place and the materiality always embedded in socio-cultural and historical contexts - underlies this discussion of agency. Lehmuskallio's paths of images in heterogeneous networks (Lehmuskallio 2012) serves to map patterns of transnational family photography. As such, this second section deals with questions of technology and mediation more specifically than elsewhere in this thesis.

One of the most discussed consequences of digitization is data loss. The third and last section of this chapter compares established understandings of family photographic practices with contemporary stories from the field. The collision of both serves to demonstrate the context of mélange and suggests leaving the distinction between analogue and digital behind, in favour of a more experiential understanding of family photography. It is from this theoretical foundation that all discussions about the digital, and the changing role of photography within it, are raised in the last chapter of the thesis.

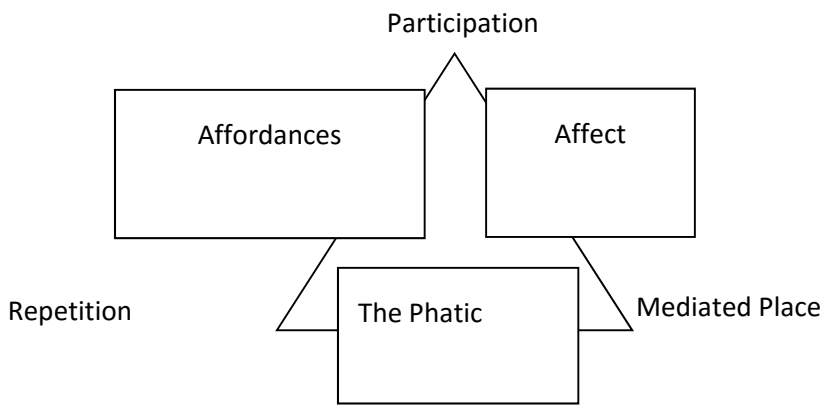

Figure 6: Whose practice? Who controls the practice? Frame of analysis based on Pink's (Pink 2011a) *and Rose's* (Rose 2010) *definitions of practice.*

As outlined above, investigating photographic practices presents a series of challenges. In order to understand transnational families' practices, ethnographic work combined with a narrative inquiry approach constitute the core elements of the methodology. Furthermore, an extensive process of reflection, whereby special attention is given to the position of the researcher, is carried out.

The interpretation of the photographic practices analysed is without a doubt a crucial but difficult task. However, visual narrative analysis, framed by the discussion of the digital, migration and family-making, have been deemed appropriate by participants. Part of giving voice to the storytellers, as a fundamental characteristic of narrative inquiry, is to ask for feedback and discuss interpretations. This process also helps determine the significance of the practices to the participants, as does the analysis of their visual and verbal expression.

While in the past, photographic practices were mainly ascribed to specific social groupings – in particular, the middle-class – contemporary contexts include a range of contexts and events. Pamela Chepngetich Omanga's

ongoing doctoral dissertation is a good example of this connotative shift. She explores photographic exchanges among distant relatives in the context of refugees in Dadaad in North-Eastern Kenya (Chepngetich Omanga 2016). The yearning for familial connection despite being great distances apart goes beyond race and class. For example, the 2014 World Press Photo of the Year discloses images of "migrants in transit from such countries as Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, seeking a better life in Europe and the Middle East". These includes images of migrants raising their phones to the night sky attempting to catch an inexpensive digital signal (Stanmeyer 2014).

Despite this specific, transitory context, differences in contemporary transnational media use are often associated with occupation and places of residency (Madianou & Miller 2012). Not only is internet coverage in remote areas much worse than in urban hubs, but cost tends to be much higher too. Although participants of this study sometimes voiced their concerns regarding the cost of technology[38], ICT literacy has more often been mentioned when explaining limitations with media usage, mediated interactions and principal control over the distribution of photographs. Whether there is a relationship between these factors and class is beyond the selected scope of this doctoral dissertation.

One of the flaws most commonly attributed to qualitative research is the prospective lack of potential for transference. The research stories below are relevant in their own right as they shed light on the concept of mediated relationships. More specifically, family studies in Spain could benefit from this empirical research that features families from different cultures within the Spanish state, whose migration narratives have responded to political and economical discourses of both prosperity and recession. Furthermore, the field-stories can be considered in relation to traditional models (stem and

[38] Although more competitive offers have been released by providers in the last two years, Spain has one of the most expensive Internet costs in Western Europe (see EU data on retail prices for fixed broadband ISP services and mobile Internet on http://www.ispreview.co.uk/index.php/2012/11/europe-release-study-of-broadband-internet-access-costs-in-2012.html), especially mobile broadband (Dijk 2002, pp.60–63, 78, 102, 403). This was a fact pointed out by several participants as an impacting factor on the lack of use of ICT by their peninsular family members.

nuclear) of the family in Spain (Reher 1998), and their re-configuration in contemporary contexts of remoteness and connectivity.

A unifying pattern led to the selection of four families whose photographic practices have been analysed and are presented below. In accordance with the contemporary elasticity of the term 'family,' a diverse set of family constellations were included in the sample: couples with and without children, as well as single people living in shared accommodation. The following four families were exemplary because of the age range they cover (both parents and children), as well as in terms of how long they have been living in the Republic of Ireland (from seven to well over twenty years). As initially discussed by Bourdieu et al. (1965), the presence of children has a unique impact on photographic practices. Children were both a unifying and differentiating factor in these four families. At the start of the fieldwork, all families were composed of a couple and two children. However, the ages of all eight children varied considerably – the youngest being one-year-old while the oldest had just turned eighteen.

In the following three sections, we will get to know Maria from Slovakia and Pedro from Spain, both who were living in urban areas at the time of the fieldwork. They were the only family with no Irish citizens amongst them. The inclusion of this family further emphasizes the validity of the study as it provides a case of contrast. Along with them, there were three Spanish-Irish families – two of them living in urban spaces and one of them in a rural area: Gala and Dario. They were the last to accede to participating in the study and, coincidentally, the family that had lived in the Republic the longest. All four families were recruited by snowball sampling, but Gala and Dario clearly represented the saturation point of the fieldwork research (Bertaux& Thompson 1997, p.14). Even during the initial information session, it was clear that their testimonies were consistent with the situations, actions, relationships and processes described by the earlier families studied.

Processes of kinning are the focus of the next section. More concretely, the relation between photographic practices and the socialisation of children in

larger family units is explored. Also, the coexistence of analogue and digital photography starts to be examined. The technological chaos of production, storage, display and distribution, at once overwhelms and captivates transnational families. Perhaps both the anarchy and variety associated with photography today does in fact foster creativity and encourages users to find their own paths. But perhaps families also hold onto conventional representations of family life and uses of photography. By focusing on the event of place, this first analytical account reveals both tacit and explicit strategies of inclusion and exclusion set in motion by photographic exchanges.

Our second set of stories unveils the relevance of concrete material and contextual conditions when serving transnational families to attain specific outcomes. To examine this more fully, we will look at the example of images that appeared on the refrigerator door of one of the families. The concept of affordances is used to explore agency in a context of connectedness and remoteness. Visual accounts of the photographic practices of the families surveyed are provided in this section as a means to reflect upon the operational roles of networked cameras and networked images.

The third section of this chapter addresses the issue of digital data loss. Processes of archiving and storage are set in focus because the concern with both loss and undesired permanence of digital photographs structures practices of transnational family photography. Anticipation linked to remembrance and distribution is the keyword of this third section. Further links between analogue and digital photographic practices are noted, and a more experiential understanding of the medium emerges as an approach to better comprehend the force behind photographic exchanges.

5.1. Transnational Places of Communication and (Dis)Affect

To begin, allow me to introduce you to Pedro and Maria.

It was a cold and rainy winter morning when I first visited Pedro and Maria at home. We always met early as it was the most convenient time for them. The long commute for me was always rewarded by a cup of tea and something to eat upon arrival. Pedro and Maria are very welcoming and generous. He comes from Spain and she from Slovakia. Ireland brought them together. They met on the island in 2005. They have three children, although I have met only two of them, as the third one was born after the fieldwork was over. Both Maria and Pedro participated actively in all the interviews, which were mostly conducted in Spanish. They both are fluent in English, Spanish and Slovakian. Nevertheless, especially at the start, Maria would change to English, and she became more and more vocal as time progressed. With regard to making appointments for the interviews, and also in relation to the distribution and archival duties of family photographs, the organising and planning duties fell to Pedro. Maria approached their family photography more intuitively and spontaneously. However, she appreciated and valued the orderly and methodical manner in which her husband managed the family photos, as did their connected family members in Spain and Slovakia.

Image 1: Photo-canvas hung on living room. Self-made. By August 2014 Maria and Pedro were no longer living in Ireland.

Maria and Pedro were very thorough in the visualization of their circle of reference. They consulted with each other as well as their mobile phones to make sure that everyone was represented as a token on the board. Their circle of reference was very full – so much so that almost none of the black background was visible. When Maria and Pedro moved onto visualizing their photo sharing circle and their habitual photo sharing circle, pieces of cardboard were gradually removed. This matched my expectations of the exercise, which were based on pilot interviews, personal experience and observations from my own social circle. Other participants of the study also took away tokens when progressing from visualizing their circle of reference to depicting their photo sharing circle.

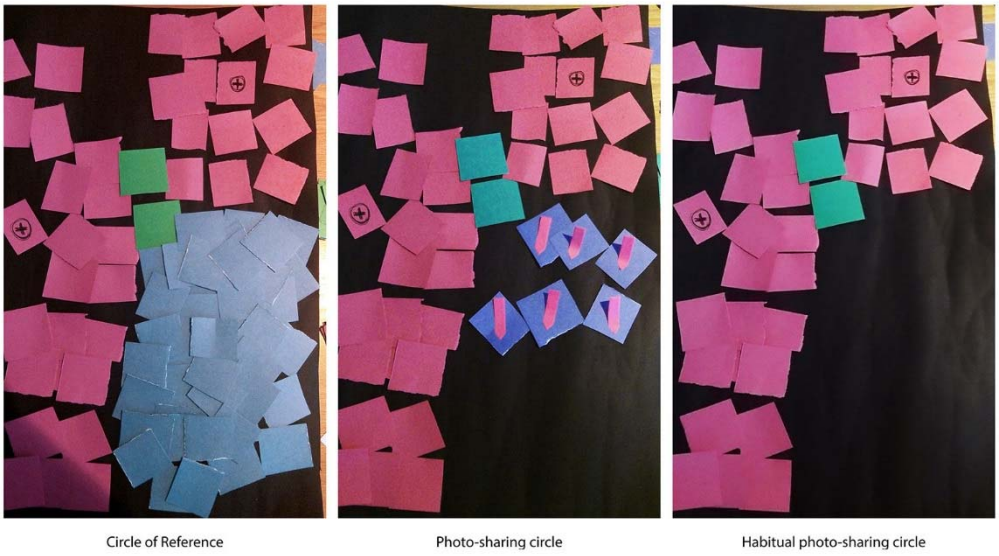

Figure 7: Circle of Reference. Pedro and Maria.

The circle of reference was helpful for two main reasons. Firstly, it allowed me to have clear insight into the personal relationships of the participants and the hierarchy of those relationships. Secondly, this visualization provided an opportunity to engage with issues of audiencing and control. Although the colour pink was chosen to represent "people whom the families share daily life with", participants equated this with family. Similarly, the colour blue was

associated with friends, even though it was meant to specifically designate "people whom they do not share daily life with but who are close". The keyword for green was acquaintances and for brown, it was pets. Neither was modified by participants. The negotiations of categories that were deployed during the exercise were also taking place in the act of distributing their photographs.

Both Maria and Pedro pointed out a flaw in this method: there was no room for in-between statuses or more dynamic relationships, such as close friends and also family members who they were close to but still further away from their immediate family in intimacy. Although I use the word circle, this doesn't mean that everyone in it is equally distant to the centre. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Maria and Pedro wanted to clearly show how some "people who are close but whom we don't share daily life with" actually felt as a family; thus, as "people with whom we share daily life with". In this context, "daily" did not literally refer to every single day. Participants perceived of this term more as a reference to affective bonds. Maria and Pedro also referred to the colour pink as the family one, and to the colour blue as the one to indicate friends. They created hybrids by adding strips of pink to some blue tokens in order to mark significant friendships. These distinctions came up later as well during the second interview when we were discussing the subject of to whom they would send photographs of their children to – specifically, those taken in more familial intimate places, such as the bath or the bedroom.

> *Maria: It depends, if they [their children] are au naturel or in their pyjamas…*
>
> *Pedro: That is true, if the children are naked for example. I do not like to send photos of the children naked via Internet. From the waist up that is ok. I mean, if they are in the bathtub and you can't see it, ok. And I am careful that they are not exposed. But it gives me the creeps, you know. And then those photos in which... So it is somebody's name day and you go to sing to her/his bed and everybody is in their pyjamas and they have bad hair and so on, well I might send those photographs to parents and siblings and that is it.*

Maria: And to one very good friend. Yes, somebody who knows me but not the neighbour.

Thus, media usage turned out to be different when sharing photographs with people they had qualified as pink, compared to the act of sharing photographs with people they had qualified as blue. As stated before, the phatic function of communication is employed in this research to explore patterns of digital photography use and devices linked to the practice. The phatic is anything that enables or distorts communication. As discussed before (section 2.2), its enabling character is about establishing a common ground through which further interactions - deeper engagement - can be facilitated. Maria would send a photo of her children in pyjamas and bad hair "to a good friend but not to the neighbour". Such a relationship proved too impersonal to disclose such an intimate moment, as Maria and Pedro reckoned. However, Maria and a good friend of hers could readily share this photographic moment of intimacy. Furthermore, if we follow the thinking of Malinowski, the communicative exchange between Maria and her good friend socially binds them (1923). It creates ties of union. Photographs, along with the communicative context, are embedded in a mode of action and fulfil certain social functions (Malinowski 1923). For phatic communication to have an impact, the communicative exchange needs to be rooted in customary behaviours well-known to participants through experience. Communicating at a phatic level both helps to the construction of experience and presupposes a common ground on which to build relationships. The phatic is both subjective and variable, as well as intersubjective and constant (Jakobson 1974, pp.1–48). Phatic acts are repeatable as they establish conventions within a community of users to which they conform. These conventions create community and presuppose a certain, shared code of empathy or intersubjectivity.

At a related level, these negotiations produced in this exercise, which were also reproduced when talking about media usage, could be read in terms of kinship making. Franklin and McKinnon (2005) stress the twofold character of kinship: inclusion and connection, as well as exclusion and rupture. The circle of reference, and the subsequent representation of the habitual photo-sharing

circle, offer a visualisation of these processes of inclusion and exclusion. Although in the first instance, inclusion and exclusion exclusively refer to photographic exchanges – as aligned with previous work in the area of family photography (Hirsch 2008; Hirsch 1981; Slater 1991; Rose 2003) – family photographs articulate belonging and are tools of socialisation. Weston (1997) proposes commitment as a theoretical category to explore kinship and family formation, a factor that is present in the narratives below. As they unfold, we will see that continuity, which can be interpreted as the commitment of keeping in touch, is a seminal factor of the photographic practices of transnational families. Smart and Shipman (2004) elaborate further on this point by highlighting cultural and historical variations, building on Beck and Beck-Gersheim's individualisation thesis (2002). They empathetically relate these differences with "the experience of migration, transnationalism and geographical distance" (Smart & Shipman 2004, p.506).

This theoretical argument has recently found resonance in work with transnational families and their use of a range of media (Madianou & Miller 2012). As mentioned above, media pragmatics in diasporic communities is an under-researched area (Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014), especially in Europe. This thesis seeks to fill this existing gap. Contemporary debates on kinship and family led Gabb to conceptualize family "as an ongoing and interactive process which is contingent upon the mutual understandings of family members and is moreover contingent and negotiable rather than normatively defined" (Gabb 2004, p.5). Also, family results from an ongoing process of negotiation - ongoing as a commitment and negotiation as a variation in responding to individual and collective situations of proximity, distance and propinquity.

Jamieson argues that love and care are expressed much more strongly through actions (Jamieson 1999). Plummer also links intimacy to action, while locating intimacy not only in the realm of the sexual, but also in of the act of family making, all while stressing the dissolution of the private and the public (2003). This is an idea that resonates in recent debates about digital photography (Lasén& Gómez-Cruz 2009) but can be traced to earlier sociological debates

about the public (Sennett 1986). In this research, intimacy is understood as a plurality of the ongoing practices of interaction, affinity and affect - as well as exclusion and rupture –through which kinship is constructed. Intimacy needs to be produced and endlessly renegotiated, since bonds and ties no longer depend on rules, but on feelings of affection (Jamieson 1998). In turn, affection is based on affinity and interaction, rather than on normative frameworks. Affinity is a constant that is continuously put into question and endlessly renegotiated (Gabb 2008, pp.16–7, 64–5). Thus, photographic practices of transnational families can be understood as mechanisms of both the disclosure of intimacy and the formation of intimacy (Jamieson 1998, p.2, 159). As we will continue to see, the photographic practices of transnational families are essentially a series of repeatable and customary acts, whereby affect is mediated and places of intimate interaction are constructed.

Although Maria's and Pedro's discussions were mostly informative, and thus rich in existential processes (Hyvärinen 2008), there were already several instances during their first interview in which body language and noises – particularly laughs – played a deeply telling part. They drew predominantly from their personal experiences, without speaking on behalf of other family members. They perceived and conveyed the relationships of their circle of reference as normative and thus, additional labels to the classic ones of aunt, cousin or parents, were not often employed.

My position in the research as a Spanish migrant also living in Ireland, as discussed in the previous chapter, may have contributed to the lack of accessory labels by Maria and Pedro. The shared common ground and understandings of family roles that we have, as Spanish migrants, accounted for their sparse elaboration on familial relationships. As we will see later with a different family, when these family roles were perceived as non-normative, further elaboration was generally offered. In summary, apart from marking distance in their discussions – thereby, excluding me, the researcher – from their phatic community, the lack of verbal and existential processes denotes assumptions made about family roles and family relationships (tacit and

shared knowledge about what each of these relationships means and involves).

Image 2: Detail of Pedro's and Maria's hand-made family collage.

On the door of their living room, Pedro and Maria have hung a collage of houses depicting all of their family members. They 'live' in the attic together with their children. The grandparents live one floor below them and the aunts and uncles, with the respective cousins, live on the first and ground floors. Every night before going to bed, Pedro and Maria's daughter says good night to her relatives, greeting them by name, as depicted on the collage.

> *Maria: We don't do this now very often. This was more for when she was one year old or one and a half years old and she started to recognize people. Right now it is more Skype. She asks me to call XY.*
>
> *Pedro: But for example now her aunt is going to come [for a visit]. Her aunt [is coming] from Slovakia in two weeks. So by next week at the latest, we will start telling her 'You know what, your auntie XY is coming'. And even if they talk in Skype, they won't be talking that often. But the photograph ... we show her the photograph at least once a day before she goes to sleep. And then*

> *when the aunt is here you realize that she is sort of familiar with her, she knew who was coming.*

Pedro's and Maria's accounts were always more informative and descriptive than sensorial and behavioural (Hyvärinen 2008; García 2013). More interestingly, we can see how in the excerpts above, a sense of agency is associated with photographs. Photographs are a tool, an instrument that allows Pedro's and Maria's daughter to become familiar with her geographically distant relatives. As new media environments are gradually incorporated into the routines of everyday life (Miller 2010, p.108), such as the collage of houses and the Skype calls, they are constituted into places, which are continuous with pre-existing ones (Moores 2012, pp.6–8). Pedro and Maria's family collage represents and constitutes a place. The extended family shapes and defines the *locale* (Agnew 2011) of the home place for Maria, Pedro and their children. The collage is part of the ideal setting where everyday activities take place. Moreover, the collage itself, with its multiple photographs, enables everyday participation in place-related affairs (Agnew 2011, pp.23–4). Social solidarity, collective action and a sense of belonging is produced and negotiated – partly through the collage.

Image 3: Pedro's and Maria's family collage.
"But the photograph... we show her the photograph at least once a day before she goes to sleep. And then when the aunt is here you realize that she is sort of familiar with her, she knew who was coming".

The three-dimensional place proposed by Jensen and Waade(2009) is complemented by Pink's emplaced place-making event. Sarah Pink's work in the field of digital and locative media cites photographs as resulting from and contributing to place-making events in which everyday activities and trajectories become intertwined(Pink 2011a; Pink 2011b). Note that the category of action is also part of a place-making event, defining the

particularity of Pink's approach as events being embedded in the spatiality of the contexts in which they take place. Action and space are compelled into dialogue. Place-making is a contextual and relational event, and its mediation attends to the physicality of places in the world, as well as to the conceptualization of places in our minds. Photographs often mediate the everyday life of transnational families. Both are interwoven. They are apart of the human element of place known as "sense of place" (Agnew 2011). While Pedro and Maria make use of photographs to familiarize their children with remote relatives, they also use them to share the place where they live, their home, with remote relatives. It is a two-way street.

> *Pedro: When we moved, I took photos of the house and I sent them to the whole family. And I also made an excel plan to show here is the living room, here is this … So that they could see how everything was. And they were these sort of panoramic photos where you can see all, so that you get an idea of everything. And then there is a software that you might know, it is called Sync. With it you can upload many photos and then the software arranges them, all over the place to say this… geographically I guess. It is a bit like when you are on the street view of Google maps. […] So then you can have a walk around the house […] It was a virtual visit. But I did not do it in this house, for this one I only sent photos.*
>
> *Patricia: And have your parents been here after?*
>
> *Maria: Yes, and they came and they were saying 'I know this', 'ah, this is that thing'.*
>
> *Pedro: Yes, curiously enough they felt … It was like familiar for them.*

The extensions of home places beyond the house, and the generation of third spaces of interaction, seem to be of crucial importance for Pedro and Maria – even if only because face-to-face situations among distant family members are not commonplace for them. Rose has recently made the case that the digital does not have a significant impact on photographic practices of families, and instead, digital techniques are characterized as being *only better* for snapshot

photography (Rose 2014). However, her observations are not the outcome of a new type of engagement with current users. Neither did she work with transnational families. While Rose states that stepping up into the digital world of photography was not a priority for the families she worked with, the opposite is the case for transnational families, or digitally connected migrants (Madianou & Miller 2012; Ponzanesi & Leurs 2014). They are early adopters of technology, which they use to overcome the physical separation of beloved ones. This is not just a matter of "*only doing better"* snapshot photography, as Rose puts it (Rose 2014), but a crucial change in the social function of the medium, as the incorporation of photography into everyday life changes its pragmatics. As we will continue to discuss, connecting, talking and sharing experiences remotely-but-immediately are prominent keywords associated with the use of digital photography by transnational families. This is not to say that memory-making and celebration – as older keywords linked to the practice in seminal works (Bourdieu & Boltanski 1965; Hirsch 2008) - have dissolved. They are just sharing relevance with the newer ones.

As evidenced so far, contemporary photographic practices mix analogue with digital as well as rather durable carriers, such as paper, with rather ephemeral ones, such as digital files. Underneath this variety lies the versatility of digital technologies, which allowed Pedro's and Maria's relatives to virtually visit their new apartment in Ireland, and enabled their daughter to see her aunt regularly and almost in person. But as Pedro himself implied, the collage of houses fulfilled a different need. The printed photographs were a constant presence in the house. The materiality offered not only durability but also stability, a crucial factor when it comes to socialising Pedro's and Maria's children into the larger family unit. It's important to remember here that our working definition of materiality as a synergy of subject, place and material, is always embedded in concrete socio-cultural and historical contexts. Face-to-face interactions and real-time mediated ones, via Skype and similar software, take place. However, printed photographs have also provided these children with the constant presence of their extended family in their daily lives. They literally see them every day, more than once, as they enter and leave the living room. One could

argue that these tangible photographs transmit a sense of ontological security because, as analogue objects, they exist in the world and hold a degree of permanence.

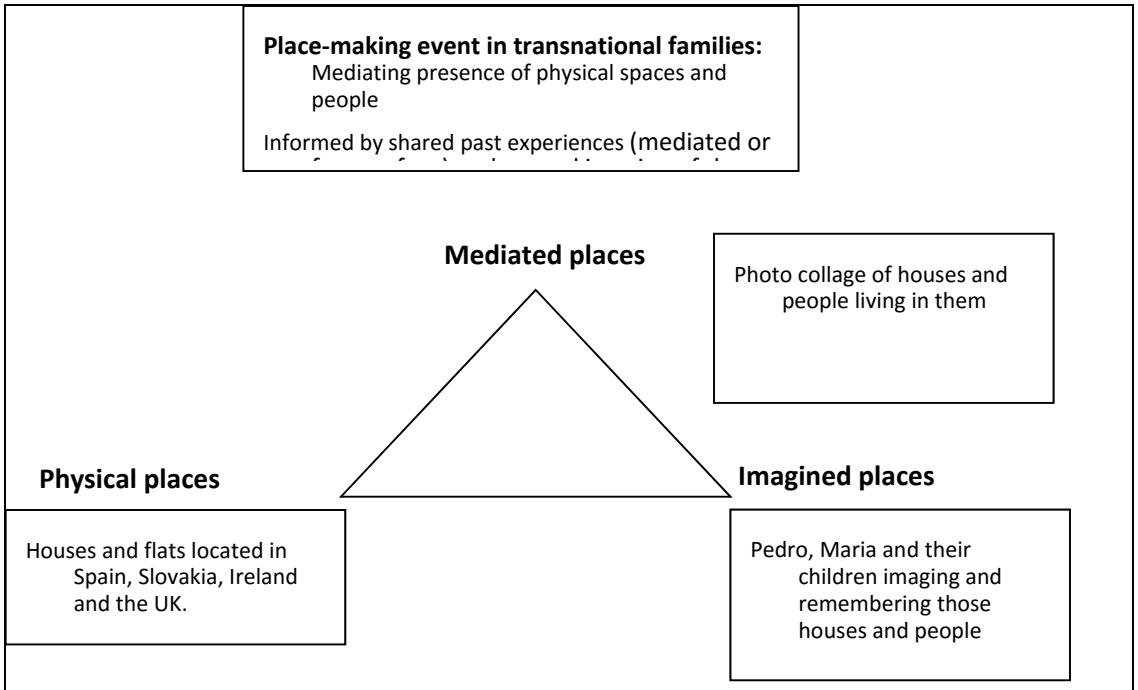

Figure 8: Place-making event in transnational families. Pedro and Maria. Inspired by Jensen's and Waade's work on mediatization of place (2009).

Before moving onto a discussion of media, materialities and affordances, it's important to first discuss the second family in this study. Celia invited me to her house for the first interview. It was a Saturday morning and it was busier in her house than I had anticipated. After introducing me to her husband and children in the kitchen, the three of us talked about the research and their participation in it. Their daughter joined us at the end of the conversation and gave her consent. I had about fifteen minutes to get organized before starting the interview and at the same time, their otherwise normal Saturday morning routine played out around me. Celia makes very good coffee, which she tops with cinnamon, and it's deliciously strong-but-sweet smell, filled the kitchen. This memory now seems to epitomize all of our interviews, which were as lovely as they were productive and allowed for a type of interaction that, in as much as they were empirical, were also warm and familial.

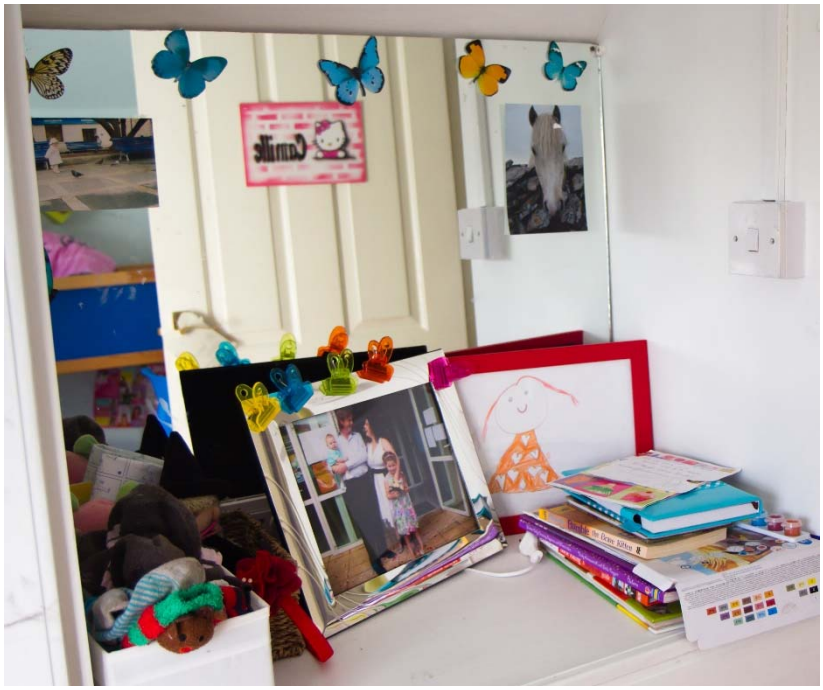

Image 4: Photo frames found in Celia's daughter's bedroom.

Celia often made use of existential verbal processes (Hyvärinen 2008) in order to introduce me to the members of her circle of family and friends: "Son cuatro años entonces realmente de relacion" ("There has been four years of relationship really"), "Son una pareja que son amigos de mis padres de toda la vida" ("They are a couple who have been my parents' lifelong friends"). The existential verbal processes, besides managing closeness and distance in Celia's telling, serve to externalize tacit knowledge about the significance of specific people in her circle of reference. Contrary to Pedro's and Maria's assumptions about meanings and values associated to roles such as uncle, cousin or good friend, Celia explained, in detail, the relevance and meaning of the relationship that she maintains with some people in her circle of reference. It has been noted that these detailed explanations correspond to relationships Celia perceived as non-normative or non-customary. As a result, even though I also share with Celia a cultural and social background as a Spanish migrant living in Ireland, clarification was offered. This tacit knowledge was verbalized at times and, as we shall see, embedded in visual examples at times and in body language at others. Explanations were always embedded within the context of photographic practices.

More behavioural processes appeared as the interview progressed through expressions of affection: “Fernando es un cascarrabias de tres pares de naricespero le tengo mucho cariño” (“Fernando is a total grouch but he is very dear to me”). Also present was expressive telling: Celia repeatedly laughed when showing me photographs, adjusted the volume of her voice to re-live moments of excitement shared within her circle, and used sounds and body-language when words fell short. Hers were accounts that would connect the past with the present, and specifically, through the action of sharing photographs. The personal and affective context was clearly important for her. During the first interview with Celia, as well as beyond it, I had the impression that I could slowly-but-surely place myself in the middle of the events she was talking about. Through her telling, Celia inserted me in the midst of her photographic practice and I began to understand not only how she communicated with her circle of reference, but also the importance of her camera phone in this process.

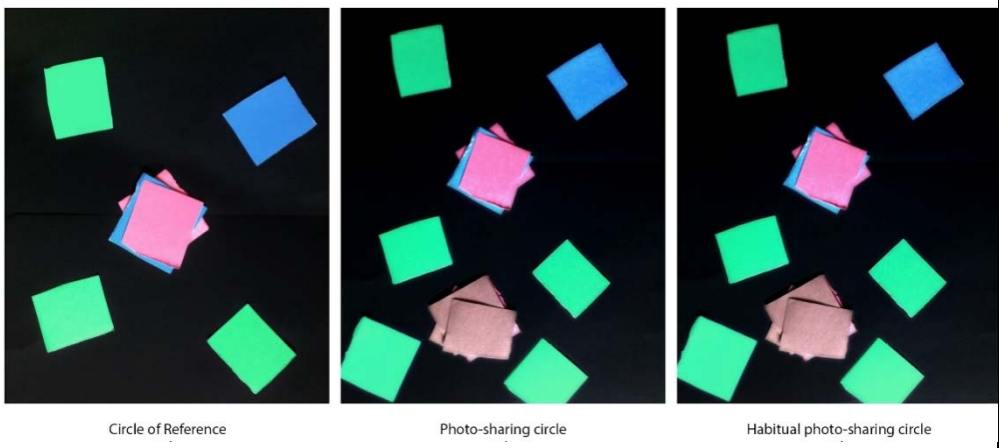

Figure 9: Circle of Reference. Celia

Celia’s photographic practice happened almost exclusively on her mobile phone. During the interviews, she would review *WhatsApp* conversations, look at her *Google* photo gallery and show me features such as an automatic phone-to-print shortcut she found useful. However, she rarely prints photographs. Celia showed me photographs taken solely with her camera phone and told

me the stories behind their reception, such as the following babysitter hair event.

> *Celia: This is R, who is part of the intimate circle. She was the babysitter of the children during the first years of my son's life. She is the nicest. She has WhatsApp. She was here but she went back to Barcelona. Her mother died. She went back because her best friend passed away and few days after, few weeks after, her mother perished, who had been very ill. And she is such a good young woman! I am very lucky with the people who enter my life. She is really the nicest. And I consider her part of my circle. And yes, whether you like it or not I gave her the responsibility of taking care of my children, so it has to be more than just paying somebody. So, she sent me this [photo] because she had something done with her hair. So I asked her to see it and she sent it to me.*

Celia said she had never missed Spain but ever since she became a mother she treats photography as an important tool to incorporate her relatives into her children's everyday life, and vice versa. Although Celia referred to her children most of the time when talking about the photographs, some of the examples below give account of how the images are also relevant to herself – for her own relationship with her family in Spain. Celia brought up her cousin in relation to the first photograph that we looked at together in her kitchen. Her cousin lived at Celia's in Ireland for over nine months. During that period, their relationship strengthened greatly and ever since, they have kept in touch regularly – mainly through phone messaging. "It's been four years since [she lived with us]. Four years of relationship really. […] I send her loads of photos, mostly of the kids so that they have a relationship. I like to keep her posted on our day-to-day lives. For example, I have also sent her photos of the recent snowfall," Celia said. Her relationship was illustrated by a virtual turtle hug Celia's cousin had sent her not long before the interview.

Image 5: A virtual (turtle) hug.
The image reads: Something is telling me you need a hug, here it goes! This is Celia's statement about the virtual turtle hug. "A sort of an umbilical cord has developed between us since then. For example the other day she sent me a WhatsApp and she said 'How are you cousin, I love you' and I told her 'aww, you knew I needed your care today'. That is the kind of …"

The context of this image was explained by Celia in detail. In order to understand the affective force of the turtle hug, Celia deemed it necessary to inform me about the relevance of her relationship with her cousin. Only then was the turtle hug image filled with meaning and value. This exchange, and the wider context of Celia's photographic practice, can be read in phatic terms. She said, "I send her loads of photos, mostly of the kids, so that they have a relationship". These photos thus contribute to the creation of affective bonds, establishing a common ground between Celia's cousin and Celia's children. The photographs allow them to share experiences like "the recent snowfall". Furthermore, I would add that by sharing the history of their relationship with me I was allowed to peek into the phatic community and feel some of the affective force attached to the turtle hug and to the photo-kiss discussed below. When I asked Celia to elaborate more on the outcomes of the exchange of photographs with her cousin, she told me, "A dialogue always takes place after sending photographs" but it doesn't necessarily entail more pictures. "It depends. For example, another day, I was a bit '*all over the place'* and she sent me a photograph blowing me a kiss".

In the context of phone camera photography, Villi conceives of distance as a source of *punctum* with transience, in contrast to the *punctum* of time, which is permanent. The transient photograph resembles then "(…) a fleeting act of communication" (Villi 2014, p.55). This kind of mediation impacts how we communicate ritually[39]. As our lives play out before us, we choose to give visual account to our intimate moments, anticipating the reaction of our family and friends. We share these snapshots immediately with them – some of whom live far away from us – and thereby, establish ephemeral connections. One conclusion drawn from this is the fact photography in transnational families is increasingly used to communicate over space rather than time. As mentioned before, Celia's relationship with her cousin is very special because "(s)he is a way to unite both landscapes". Although she no longer lives with Celia, she is present in the spaces and places that they once shared: "Sometimes as I am walking on the street I remember [her], or I see something and it reminds me of her". We are not stung by a definite loss anymore but by a temporary one, as Villi (2014) proposes. We take more pictures and we share them more often. Thus, the content of the pictures loses relevance, while through the act of sharing and receiving, the exchange itself is brought to the foreground. These exchanges are gaining both in frequency and relevance. And as they do so, they bring about a fundamental consequence: a sense of continuity to the relationships, which are thereby mediated. The dialogues in which photographs are embedded have no foreseeable end, despite being continuously interrupted. And in this context, the content of the images is secondary, as it is through the act of sharing photographs that immediacy and contiguity are generated.

[39]In Bourdieu's framework, habituality depends on the familiarity and immediacy of the corporeal experience. Habitus is composed of both mind and body. "Habitus are these generative and unifying principles which retranslate the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle" (Bourdieu et al. 1991, p.634). Belting remarks the importance of the ultimate carrier of images: the body. Images are in interaction with the medium or the supporting tool on the one hand and with the body as the ultimate and necessary enabler of the experience of viewing and understanding images on the other (Belting 2001, p.51). Against this background, Villi has explored how mediated presence enables the experience of being socially present although being physically absent (2016).

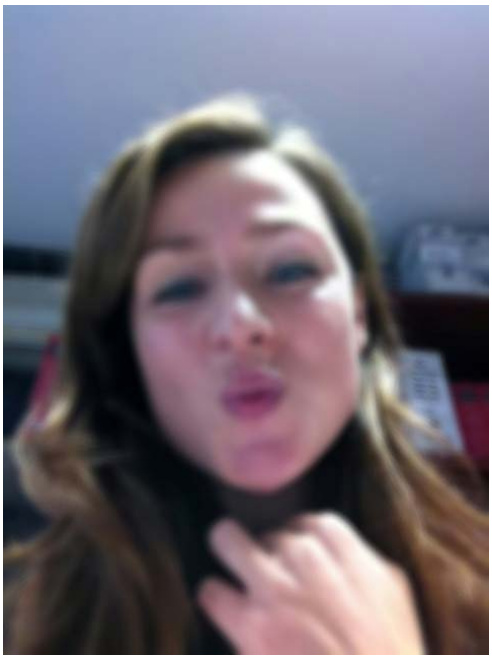

Image 6: Celia's cousin photo-kiss. "She sent me this because she knew I was down that day".

Later in the same interview, Celia described her cousin as being a part of a larger *WhatsApp* group, also including Celia's mother and other relatives and friends of the family. However, Celia's cousin was more often mentioned in relation to other exchanges that involved just the two of them, such as an ongoing joke about being busty or a mediated interaction about a Friday dinner of candy and treats.

> *Celia: [talking about her son] (Laughs) He (Laughs) Well … look, he has a toy car, one that starts off when you press the wheels and I don't know why he put it on his hair (Laughs).*
>
> *Patricia: So, was it stuck on his hair?*
>
> *Celia: Yes, it was stuck. (Laughs) So, then before we took it off we all were laughing hard and then we took the photographs (Laughs) and then we sent them to my mother, my cousin… who else did I send the photograph to? Ah, there is somebody who is a friend of the family. They are a couple who have always been friends of my parents. So, he is a total grouch but he is very dear to me. And now that my father is not here, I told him 'Let's see whether you make a good grandfather' also because he knew my father very well […] so then I sent*

> *him the photograph too […] And I know he has received the photographs but he doesn't answer because he likes more to receive. But every now and then he sends me photographs. For example, the other day he sent me one, what was on the photo he sent me? Ah, yes. He sent me a photo of my mother, my brother, my aunt, my brother and his wife eating a cocido to tease me. It was on St. Patrick's Day. It is because they call it the Carlos' cocido because every time he [Carlos, Celia's husband] visits my mother cooks it for him [...]*

For Celia, *WhatsApp* photography is about maintaining a dialogue with people who are a part of her daily life but are geographically distant, even though they are not necessarily family members by blood or by legally sanctioned kinship. Reading this practice in phatic terms, *WhatsApp* photography for Celia would be an instrument that allows for the formation of bonds. The relationship of contact, thereby presumed and created, goes beyond normative conceptions of kin. The performed communicative act allows for the assembly of a community. The use of camera-phone photography for this goal is part of the renegotiation of conventions and patterns of activity, which are formative of the phatic community. Experiences are shared in a mediated environment. The third places of interaction emerge in the context of mediation, affordances that allow phatic moments of communication to occur. Affect is mediated and the tacit knowledge that sustains the phatic community is presupposed and updated to the context of mediation (of presence and absence), as well as to the materiality of the media employed.

Incorporating her children in this dialogue is an important part of the practice. The 'grumpy' friend of the family Celia was talking about ('Fernando') sends her photographs every now and then, but they are always either of Celia's mother or they depict Celia's children. As an *abuelopostizo* ('artificial' grandfather), Fernando performs family on the photographs, mainly photo-collages or photo-manipulations of old photographs and of holiday snaps. He sends these to Celia. Whether using photography as a trace of a shared meal with Celia's mother (which is something very important to Celia, as we shall see later) or by calling into question the truth claim of the medium by digitally

altering the images, these photographs help Celia and her family to connect and to relate to one another. Through this use of photography, the bonds created between Celia's children and Fernando, despite their distances apart, are constructed and reinforced daily just as much as those between Fernando and Celia's family in Spain, and with Celia herself.

> *Celia: This one for example is with Fernando. He sent them to me and he asked, "Who is this one, your younger or your older child?" and it was my oldest as a baby. And this is Fernando [Celia shared her mobile phone screen to show not a photo of Fernando, but the photo Fernando had sent, a photo of a baby].*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, so he copied the photo onto his phone and then he sent it to you.*
>
> *Celia: Yes, he did it. Yes, he did it.*
>
> *Patricia: It is solarised or something.*
>
> *Celia: Yes, he had cropped it and then he has put something on top. He loves this stuff.*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, my grandpa is the same. He sends loads of Power Points with family photos and landscapes. He loves it.*

When Celia was skimming through the photo gallery on her mobile phone, she found a photograph of me. At this point, I had been volunteering for ASPI for about six months and I carried out an activity involving photo albums in the monthly family club that Celia used to organize. The photo was taken then. Celia told me she hadn't sent it to anyone but that she had talked to her extended family about the project. In fact, I encouraged participants to do so because during the research, they would share photographs depicting some of their geographically distant relatives. Thus, from an ethical point of view, I believe it was important for indirectly involved people to know about the project. Several participants asked me to send them the information sheets in Spanish so that they could share it with their families. As Celia and all the others started to share moments of their family photographic practice with me, I started to insert small comments about my own practice. When they talked about a concrete carrier, a technology, or a process, I occasionally

mentioned that I used these too. To me, these small insertions worked as reinforcements to their telling and to the development of a trusting rapport. As time progressed, participants disclosed more details about their photographic practices.

Digital technologies have obscured processes of production, distribution and storage, subverting the truth claim of photography. But at the same time they also urge us to interact with the medium in a seemingly easy way: with the simple swipe of a finger or click of a mouse, we show that we care. We use snapshots to mediate affection. Photographs visually mediate affect. As one of the fundamental characteristics of photography, immediacy has been explored above. Villi (Villi 2016)states that often fleeting communicative acts, such as sharing spontaneous snapshots of children, provide non-places and spaces of telecommunication with relevance and value. Digital photographs are shared as both objects and as experiences (Van Dijck 2007, p.114) in photospaces[40] and possibly beyond. Seemingly, we want to interact across distances and create third places to do so. Place, in the context of digital and locative media, is conceptualized as an event contingent upon movement, by which everyday activities and trajectories become interlinked (Pink 2011b, pp.5–9). Photographs are outcomes of these movements and are thus emplaced. Celia shared her cousin's kiss with me, placed me in the middle of a Sunday family gathering in Spain, and cheered me up by sharing a 'turtle hug' she had received a few days before.

On the one hand, ongoing photographic exchanges contribute to create a sense of family, of togetherness (Rose 2010, pp.43–5), and as illustrated above, they are also strategies for the socialisation of children into larger family units. On the other hand, the very immediate and ubiquitous character of these exchanges creates reciprocal expectations (Rose 2014, pp.83–4). The principle

[40]Although Villi defines the term photospace as "the telecommunicative space of camera phone communication", he also points out that other networked cameras (devices used in order to produce pictures that "can be shared, shown and archived with the aid of a vast array of interoperable software operations", (Lehmuskallio 2012) entwine photography and telecommunication. Thus, both photospace and visually mediated presence (the emulation of "the experience of actually being in a remote place or with a remote other", (Villi 2014) are not confined to the mobile phone only.

of reciprocity thus seems to be perceived as more important and valuable than the photographs themselves. There is a yearning for continuity in photographic practices, which is perhaps a response to the interruptions of distance and absence Villi talks about (2014). When Celia was looking for photographs to show me, she reviewed *WhatsApp* conversations. The photographs were part of ongoing conversations. In an early exploration of user-generated content for web 2.0, Lev Manovich argues that the emergence of social media impacts the original function of media, as well as the way we talk about media. Infrastructure and software are the two key factors that impact media conversations, as it is through them that conversations gain a sense of continuity and are spatially dislocated – spread. However, as illustrated by the stories of Pedro, Maria and Celia, social functions of digital photography are emplaced. The photographic exchanges give rise to places of interaction, which are geographically dispersed but socially concrete. Manovich's approach to space seems to disregard the human and social elements constitutive of place, which are crucial to understanding how digital photography is used by transnational families, as well as how it plays an important role in shaping the discussion of how social media shifts the social functions and understandings of media in general. Our perception of time and space has been deeply impacted. Manovich also points out how some conversations in the web 2.0 happen through images or video (Manovich 2009, pp.327–8). In the field, transnational families often associated the words talking, connection, turn-taking and dialogue with their photographic practices. Celia, along with fellow participants, used these keywords when they reflected on the functions of the photographs exchanged.

> *Pedro: My sister is more prone to send photos. But that is not the norm. The norm is that it [the photo] leads to a conversation 'Hello, how are you doing?' And then you talk about other things.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *Maria: Usually they do not answer with photographs. They write a small comment like 'ah, that is so cool' or 'that is beautiful'.*

> *Pedro: Not by email. I mean, when I send photos per email they never respond with photos because it is more difficult perhaps. Well, you have to transfer the files from the card and so on. So, I never ever receive photos by email. But when I send the photos on WhatsApp, which is something you don't see (addressing Maria) because it is me who has the smartphone, sometimes they answer me with photos. And it is always a photo of their children. It might a photo of two months ago, but it is of their children.*

Celia, Pedro and Maria state that an exchange of snapshots is not very likely to happen when they send photographs to friends and relatives via mobile phone or email. However, the act of sending the photograph gives rise to further interaction. The photograph becomes an excuse to talk about something else – to engage in a conversation. As illustrated by the practices elucidated so far, family photographs are used for communication. Members of a family do not necessarily share a single camera anymore but they still share certain places devoted to familial engagement. Photographs often mediate these places and/or contribute to their emergence as family sites.

The photographic practices of these transnational families offer accounts of two contemporary phenomena of digital photography: the search for immediacy and the growing need to overcome spatial distance due to migration. The first argument developed in this chapter states that the act of sharing photographs is an event by which third places of familial interaction are generated. This mediated production of place brings people together as it is a way of temporarily obliterating physical distance. The acts of mediating interactions in these third places of familial interaction could be described as *tele-cocooning*. A *tele-cocoon* is: "(...) a zone of intimacy in which people can continuously maintain their relationships with others who they have already encountered without being restricted by geography and time" (Habuchi 2005, p.167).

Digital photographs, when shared, create a collective sense of togetherness despite real life distances. Moreover, they are intrinsic enablers of interactions

between people across space, which in turn contribute to the strengthening of intimate bonds across distant spaces. As a result, these photographic practices and their outcomes contribute to the socialization of children into larger family units, as discussed. Furthermore, kinship can also be negotiated and developed through photographic practices (Chambers 2001, p.89; Bourdieu & Boltanski 1965). Let's recall here when Maria contrasted her good friend with a neighbour in the context of sharing more intimate visual depictions of family life, such as photographs taken in the bath or of people in pyjamas. Other examples mentioned above were Pedro's and Maria's houses collage, Celia's babysitter and Celia's parents' lifelong friend, Fernando, acting as a grandfather.

> *Celia - talking about her artificial sister-in-law (cuñada postiza): With her for example, the way to keep in touch, although I don't know if you are interested in it, we have made a blog about cooking so then we take cooking photos.*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, well that is ok.*
>
> *Celia: It is a way of maintaining the relationship.*
>
> *Patricia: I will ask you for the address of the blog.*
>
> *Celia: Ok, well so far we only have a couple of things. She has published some and she has added her sister and her sister-in-law also.*

Sharing photographs and the exchanges fostered therein can be seen as a response to the ephemeral nature of the connections made available via digital means, such as camera phone photography. However, as a pair, the ephemeral and photography have a long history of interaction. Evanescence and its representability are the subject matter of photographic media. Fixing moments in time and embalming them to be retrieved later are classic functions ascribed to the medium. As an extension of man, photography is said to prolong human memory (Ruchatz 2008). Following Villi (Villi 2016), fleeting communicative acts are fundamental to the emergence of third places of interaction. However, while the collage of houses is permanently placed on Maria's and Pedro's living room door and thus rests a part of their home

environment (they see it every day), Celia's photo-kiss is temporary, uncertain and at the same time linked to a very specific experience and moment in time. The printed photographs of the collage are instruments of remembrance and memory and as such, there is a quality of certainty to them. The photo-kiss is an instrument of immediacy and experience, and as such, can be called temporary. By embedding networked images in a never-ending conversation or dialogue, they are imbued with a sense of continuity, certainty and security. The socialization process fostered by networked images doesn't cease – it is just briefly interrupted with the promise that it will be quickly resumed. Thus, the act of sharing photographs with people who you care about is as important as what they depict.

In this section, the concepts of immediacy and the mediation of place have been explored and the following argument has emerged. As an event, the act of sharing photographs gives rise to mediated third places of familial interaction. This mediated production of place is a strategy for the temporary erasure of distance and for the enactment of ephemeral connections. It was suggested that these mediated third places of interaction could be described as *tele-cocoon*s or areas of intimacy, where relationships can be cultivated without spatial or temporal restrictions (Habuchi 2005). Note that Habuchi refers only to the development of relationships that had already started in face-to-face interactions. However, as exemplified above, connections across space can also be created when *tele-cocooning*.

> *Pedro: […] I think that then, don't you [addressing Maria]? Well there is a time when children are afraid of strangers in general and she [Pedro's daughter] was less afraid of her family. I think that somehow, in the same way as she [Maria] was saying before that her family perceived this house as a familiar place, her family was more familiar to her [their daughter] because she had already seen them [Maria assents].*

In summary, sharing digital photographs helps sustain long-distance relationships and foster intimate interactions in spite of spatial distances, as exemplified by the transnational families surveyed. The analysis of the

processes of sharing photographs has established the first step towards an understanding of the photographic practices of transnational families. Celia, Pedro and Maria have clearly stated a self-censorship strategy with regard to images of naked bodies. Although photographing their children in the bathtub is a common practice, as pointed out by Celia “because they are very relaxed”, those photographs are sent only to very few people within the circle of reference. The reason behind this self-censorship or using a more positive term – curation - is twofold: firstly, the intimate character of the photographs, and secondly, the discomfort, even mistrust, felt when sending these via the internet. On the one hand, participants have pointed out shared understandings of different levels of intimacy within the circle of reference. On the other hand, they refer to specific properties of the mediation of photographs via the Internet, which impact their photographic practice. These material mediations “(…) do not determine embodied actions, nor symbolization processes – but it surely seems to have an effect on them” (Lehmuskallio 2012, p.49). In the following section, we shall delve into concerns, restrictions and management of the (digital) distribution of photographs. Mapping the paths of images (Lehmuskallio 2012) and approaching photographs as entities that have a life of their own (Hart & Edwards 2004; Larsen 2009), are the two key strategies employed below to survey regimes of transmission (Grainge 2011)in the photographic practices of transnational families.

5.2. On Affordances and Performativity.

While third places of familial interaction are fluid and ever-changing, they are also ever-permanent, albeit in different forms. An emphasis on emotions, affection and intimacy sustain them and may be the basis for their shifting forms: social networking sites were ideal for Yessica until other tools emerged, allowing for greater control over the distribution of her photographs. New tools offered her possibilities for action where before there were none or they were insufficient. New objects present new affordances. For example, several photographs can be combined into one to create wider views. This is not a new phenomenon but rather, quite the opposite - panoramic and 3D cameras have been built for decades. However, precise and automatic geo-location of photographs is now not only possible but often automatized when using networked cameras and phones. A photo synchronisation application has enabled Maria and Pedro to virtually take their families on a visit to their new home, despite the physical distances between them. This virtual visit has allowed their relatives to become familiar with Maria's and Pedro's new home, which in turn has enabled the geographically distant relatives to feel more at ease when visiting them in Ireland.

In this section, the acts of exhibiting photographs are addressed within the context of the broader photographic practices of transnational families. Processes of production, edition, exhibition, storage and sharing – online and offline – are all taken into consideration. These considerations will elicit a more detailed account of how certain material mediations, or affordances, impact contemporary photographic practices of transnational families.

Photographs produced by the four transnational families analysed can take a number of different shapes. From digital snaps to paper prints and photo key rings, material mediations shape embedded everyday narratives. It is through the relationship between people, objects (things) and other people that systematised characteristics of the world emerge. This implies that there is a shared understanding as conventions emerge and depend upon shared awareness. If there is a system in place – if the world is characterized

systematically – there must be a shared understanding. Conventions (or habituses) are put in place by communities of (dis)affect. However, functionality of things changes over time and is defined by systems, which include artefacts, actions and social contexts (Graves-Brown 2000, p.4-6). Knowing that perception and affordances are two interlinked concepts, we will first examine the conditions of transmission of the photographic practices of these four families. The artefacts employed will be explored within the contexts of their use.

While affordances are inherent in objects, they are also relational and thus, subjected to the personal experience of the perceiver, which can vary from time to time or from person to person. However, when the experiences of the perceivers are framed by a practice – in this case, a photographic practice – variations should be minimised because practices are structured and participation responds to the ability of acting appropriately. This is why affordances and peformatives work so well together. Both are contextual. They are both culturally established and essentially repeatable. Furthermore, they are both intrinsically linked to agency. Affordances are opportunities for action and performatives are actions in themselves. Exchanges of images within the Irish-Spanish families surveyed are actions. The context of expanded new media brings particular affordances along, which shall be explored further below. The frame of practice provides both performatives and affordances with a structure which, while dynamic, is also grounding. It is the interaction between people and things that precipitates change and ensures continuity at the same time.

The circulation of family photographs builds the core of these relationships and is the transversal theme of the analysis. In the previous section, we looked at the constitution of third places of mediated interaction, where affective and intimate engagements among geographically distant participants occur. Processes of inclusion and exclusion have been surveyed using the phatic dimension of communication. At a social level, these interactions have been interpreted as mechanisms for the socialisation of children in larger family

units and for kinship-making. A theoretical move from space to place has served to expose the values associated with these mediated interactions that are a part of the everyday lives of transnational families. Following Grainge's framework to analyse the ephemeral (2011), this section focuses on the distribution of family photographs. Third places of mediated interaction are constituted first phaticity as well as by conventions. In the context of expanded new media, circulation can happen in very diverse ways. By looking at two affordances: publishing - often approaching it through the dichotomy of private versus public (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz 2009; Pauwels 2008) - and indexicality, this section aims to produce an operative framework to talk about (material) mediations, which in turn could be applied to the mediation of place. How does mediation impact such a "sense of place" (Agnew 2011)? "Sense of place" was already addressed when Pedro and Maria explained how they use photographs to familiarise their children with family members within their living spaces.

First, we will look at online circulation and exhibition. Celia's story about her cooking blog and Yessica's strategies to control the widespread use of her photos in and beyond *Facebook* will open the section. The affordance of publishing or not publishing images online underpins this discussion. Secondly, we will investigate photographs shared online but privately. E-mail and messaging apps will be the main focus. In order to frame and locate agency within these different channels of distribution, Lehmuskallio's mapping tool for images in heterogeneous networks will be employed (2012). This will offer a visual account of how diverse the distribution tactics of photographic practices of transnational families can be. An analysis of these paths framed by affordances and performatives will guide the discussion about agency in contemporary everyday digital photography. The third element explored is photographs shared within the four walls of the family house. Questions of mediation and technology are addressed here.

The exploration of how photographs are circulated is framed throughout the section by the affordance of publishing. The discussion follows the line of

thought initiated by Gibson (1979). He stated that different places have different affordances and different participants have different experiences. The exploration of online and offline spaces of distribution of family photos will shed light on their different affordances, while the experiences of different families will reveal a range of possible interpretations. The aim is to articulate a few observations about the real and perceived affordance of publishing, which is always framed by the shared cultural conventions of the families surveyed.

Before starting our analysis of places of photographic circulation, an overview of the practices of these four families must be first addressed. The "home mode of communication" framework (Chalfen 1998, p.215) involves people using cameras to perform and represent normality. The messages are produced for personal use; thus, to be shared within a certain community of family and friends. Almost twenty years have passed since Chalfen coined the term and personal/family photography has changed substantially since. Apart from the emergence of additional communication events (Chalfen's original framework included planning, shooting, editing and exhibiting; Lehmuskallio's update incorporates distributing and archiving, 2012, p.296), there have also been qualitative changes to these moments.

The moment of pre-planning in family photography is slowly fading out due to the incorporation of camera-phones in the everyday life of transnational families. In the following pages, we will see several examples of this. Propinquity arises as an affordance strongly linked to camera-phone photography but not exclusively practiced on *smartphone*s. The theme of representation, widely covered by Chalfen and other family photography researchers (Hirsch 1981; Chambers 2001), is still prominent. Contemporary strategies of shooting in front of and behind the camera, as well as editing and exhibition events, offer evidence of this theme. Representation of normality and propinquity are closely linked: what can be considered more normal than capturing spontaneous routine moments? Formally, spontaneous photos differ from posed, planned ones.

The affordance of propinquity is linked to the qualitative deliberation of what is deemed picture-worthy (Okabe & Ito 2003). Although candid moments (in which the people photographed are clearly unaware of the presence of the camera) have been sought and valued by Western family photographers since the second half of the twentieth century (Hirsch 1981), photographs are not often taken in laundry rooms. The two photographs analysed below– a spontaneous one and a planned one – have not been shared with the same people. The posed photograph was sent to both the Spanish and the Slovakian families, while the Slovakian family members also saw the spontaneous shot taken in a laundry room.

Image 7: Spontaneous photograph of Pedro's and Maria's son in Slovakia	Image 8: Posed photograph of Pedro and his children to mark his son's first bike ride
Short image analysis based on Rose's (2001, pp.54–68) **and Chalfen's**(Chalfen 1998) **frameworks.**	
On camera shooting: one person depicted (the son), laundry room, main person photographed looking into the lens Behind camera shooting: the image is not centrally composed, there is much air on the top and the left foot is almost out of the frame. The washing machine is an element not likely to appear in family photographs. Its branding is the only element on the photograph that indicates a certain buying power, but no elements clearly indicate a particular lifestyle. All of this indicates a certain level of improvisation. **Below - information extracted from interview Shot with digital point-and-shot camera Distribution: paper prints, computer. Shared with family members in Slovakia.	On camera shooting: three people depicted (the father, the daughter, the son), aisle to an elevator, main person photographed looking into the lens (the father), and the bike is an iconic element for the city Pedro and Maria were living in and for their lifestyle. Behind camera shooting: children are dressed for the occasion (heavy winter clothes) and positioned for the photo (the youngest is on the bike although the photo was taken indoors). The image is centrally composed. All of this indicates previous planning and posing. **Below - information extracted from interview Shot with digital point-and-shot camera Distribution: paper prints, computer. Shared with family members in Spain and Slovakia.

Figure 10: Images in heterogeneous networks (Lehmuskallio 2012) - *Pedro and Maria.*

Celia's cousin's photo-kiss underlines the relationship between the candid and the incorporation of novel photographic devices into the everyday. As explained before, Celia's photographic practice happened solely on her camera-phone. A short content analysis reveals links between images, the everyday and emotions. As Van Dijck states: " 'Connecting' or 'getting in touch' rather than 'reality capturing' or 'memory preservation' are the meanings transferred onto this type of photography" (Van Dijck 2008, p.6). The virtual turtle hug, also extracted from Celia's photographic practice, can be analysed alongside the photo-kiss, because while both images are aesthetically very different – one is a photograph, the other one is a drawing – they are quite similar in terms of their pragmatics. The two images are a part of the ongoing communicative exchange between Celia and her cousin. This exchange, as explained above, is endlessly interrupted. However when it stops, the hope and expectation of resuming communication is always there. These two images are used to transmit immediacy and physical proximity. They are a way for Celia and her cousin to overcome their geographical separation. It is almost as if the images allow them to have a brief interaction midway through their everyday lives.

As stated, aesthetically, both pictures are quite different. However, both of them show a certain level of resemblance with another group of images that we strongly link with feelings: emoticons. The photo-kiss is a photographic representation that has been translated into ready-to-consume emoticons available in messaging applications on mobile phones and other digital devices and platforms, such as Skype and *Facebook*. Celia's cousin took a self-portrait blowing a virtual kiss to her cousin and thereby, reinforced the emotional intention of her message. The fact that it is a photograph and not an emoticon adds a layer of intimacy to the exchange.

The second image, the turtle hug, could be interpreted as an enhanced emoticon. It is not readily available through the messaging application that Celia and her cousin were using; thus, its use implies that her cousin searched for it intentionally, which in turn underlines the emotion attached to it. Also,

the two turtles depicted, which stand for both Celia and her cousin, are a graphic way of imagining them engaged in a hug, a situation that is impossible given the geographical separation between both women. A further note worthy element is the incorporation of text into the image. At the time of the fieldwork, the messaging application *WhatsApp* did not allow for text to be inserted into shared images. However, a few months after the fieldwork ended, an update brought about the possibility of captioning all images sent through the application. The strongly linked relationship between image and text was noted by many participants, and the relationship between images and ongoing communicative exchanges continues to be acknowledged and reinforced by media providers.

Although the distribution event has certainly gained in relevance in the context of expanded new media, Pedro and Maria are still attached to paper prints. An array of technologies and materialities allow for different ways of distributing photographs. But why do people prefer one way over another? Lehmuskallio seeks the answer in the affordance of indexicality, which, since its invention, has given photography its raison d'être. Indexicality is activated by certain practices allowing users to treat photographs “as if they were alive” (Lehmuskallio 2012), which resembles the reasoning behind the more spontaneous use of networked cameras, especially of camera-phone photography (Rivière 2005). Speed, user-friendly features, and accessibility were all reasons given by participants when explaining why they took certain photographs (the laundry room one above and the cat yawn below are two examples of this). The affordance of indexicality and propinquity are linked. However, since participants often expressed reluctance when it came to sharing spontaneous photographs of children taken in the bathtub or in bedrooms, there are other elements at play. These images were described as intimate and thus their distribution was constrained to messaging applications.

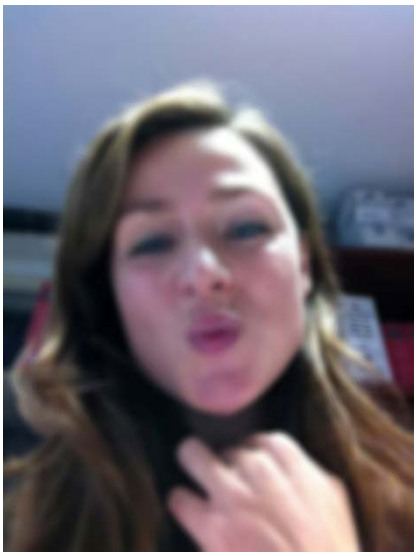

Image 9: Celia's cousin photo-kiss.

Image 10: Celia's turtle hug

Short image analysis based on Rose's (Rose 2001) **and Chalfen's**(Chalfen 1998) **frameworks.**

On camera shooting: one person depicted (Celia's cousin), office environment, main person photographed looking into the lens

Behind camera shooting: the image is centrally composed. Her face is right in the middle of the shoot. The low angle is typical of arm-length photography and magnifies the subject. In this case, it certainly adds impact to the gesture of the virtual kiss. Some of the elements on the photograph point out to a particular lifestyle: white collar labour. Traces of improvisation are transmitted through the sloppy background and the kissing gesture itself. Her hand over her neck seems to be a strategy to cover her neck. It certainly helps the eye to focus on the kissing lips.

**Below - information extracted from interview

As indicated in Celia's telling above, her cousin sent her this photography one day that Celia wasn't feeling that well.

Distribution: camera-phone messaging app *WhatsApp*. Shared only between them both and then within the research study.

On camera shooting: Behind camera shooting:

*Editing: two turtles depicted. They represent one person hugging another one. Both of them are content. The physical proximity and fulfilment of the two turtles is highlighted by the colours of their carapaces as orange and violet are complementary colours.

The image is centrally composed. The background is plain.

On the superior third of the drawing, the caption has been written. It is integrated in the image. It reads: "Something is telling me you need a hug, here it goes!" The words "Here it goes!" are bigger and bolder than the rest of the text. They are an attention grabber, thereby highlighting immediacy and proximity.

**Below – information extracted from the interview

Celia explained that "an umbilical cord" connects her with her cousin since she lived with Celia, her husband and children for nine months in Ireland. When Celia is feeling down, her cousin perceives it and checks with her via *WhatsApp*. Image messages like the turtle hug are part of their mobile-phone exchanges.

Intimacy emerges as a key factor in determining distribution, exhibition and archival events in digital family photography. In general, the indexical character of photographs legitimizes their production in the first place, while their distribution is also tied to the affordances of intimacy and of propinquity. When photographs are treated as active testimonies of our lives, we feel the need to control their journey so that we can control the prospective impact photographs have on our networks of kinship and affection. Thus, spontaneous or formal photographs that conform to widely accepted standards of family photography – for instance, those taken at birthdays and other celebrations, as well as impromptu ones of, say, an afternoon at the park – tend towards broader distribution, exhibition and archival events. More intimate depictions of the everyday, such as snapshots of an evening bath or of a lazy pyjama Sunday, are carefully shared with the few chosen ones and vigilantly stored away. The affordance of publishing allows for these control strategies to be put in place, while the affordance of intimacy enables the negotiation of ties across space. Interactions mediated through photographic practices are actions of social support, for better or for worse.

The spontaneous photograph of Pedro's and Maria's son, which was taken in the laundry room of their apartment in Slovakia, was shared with their Slovakian family members just a week after being taken. Spanish family members received a snapshot via e-mail of Pedro's and Maria's daughter's drawing, just a few hours after it happened. She made the picture to give to her Spanish cousin for Christmas. Both sets of relatives, however, were presented with a paper print of Pedro's and Maria's son standing next to the washing machine. It was one of the first times he could actually stand up on his own. Family, close friends and standard friends received a Christmas card featuring Pedro's and Maria's children sitting together on the sofa. Festive season greetings were written in two languages: Slovakian and Spanish. It was a posed portrait taken in a rush in order to carry on a family tradition started only three years before, as Pedro and Maria explained during the interview. The paper copies were printed 24 hours after the shot and another 24 hours

after they were sent away in the post or given to relatives in face-to-face encounters.

In the first section, it was established that places of intimate interaction - *tele-cocoons* - are generated and negotiated through photographs embedded in dialogues, conversations and exchanges. In this second section, we have started to dissect the affordances of the different mediated places where transnational families interact. The visual depiction of Pedro and Maria's photographic practices above gives a taste of the diversity and chaos associated with the contemporary photographic practices of transnational families. Perhaps choice emerges as the overall affordance of the context of expanded new media. In times of transition, the visible chaos and anarchy of the practices might be the most productive outcome of digitisation.

ICT provide transnational families with opportunities for frequent and constant communication (Lindsay & Maher 2013), which gives rise to third places of interaction where family intimacies of (dis)affect can take place. In analogue times, Chalfen noted that there was no obvious intention to 'publish' mediated message forms produced within the home mode of communication (Chalfen 1998, p. 216). However, the situation has dramatically changed (Van Dijck2008). At times, private pictures are intentionally published in the open (Pauwels 2008). At other times, there is no overt desire to 'publish' photographs produced within the home mode of communication to make them publically accessible. However, there is almost always a yearning for internal sharing within the circle of reference. Different tools to achieve this are employed, some of which bring a component of external 'publishing' with them, such as *Facebook*. Pauwels argues that families are aware of unintended audiences out there, who might see these otherwise private family images (2008), i.e. messages produced within the home mode of communication. This awareness leads family photographers to put in place strategies to deal with unintended audiences in an effort to limit the stress and discomfort caused by the lack of control and the knowledge that affect can often turn into disaffect even within a network of social support.

It therefore appears that ICT affords users the ability to publish mediated message forms produced within the home mode of communication. It is this situation that has transformed users into prosumers. Graves-Brown proposes to explore the relationship between people, things and other people in order to learn how affordances are systematized and made proper (2000, p.6). In the previous section (5.1: transnational places of communication and (dis)affect), the phatic dimension of communication served to identify communities of participation and intimacy. An important element in sustaining these phatic communities is a sense of shared understanding, which is often implicit. That is the case of Celia and her cooking blog.

When Celia talked to me about the blog that she and several members of her family created, she didn't mention any unintended audiences. However, the blog is publicly accessible, and by looking at Celia's habitual photo sharing circle (figure 9, p.133), we realized she was in fact aware that the distribution of pictures produced within the home mode of communication often goes beyond the circle of reference. Note that Celia added green squares when representing her photo sharing circle and habitual photo sharing circle. By choosing green, the colour chosen to represent acquaintances, audiences out of the circle of reference are acknowledged. Furthermore, in Celia's cooking blog, visitors are encouraged to leave a comment (on the right margin of the blog a picture reads, "Thanks for coming and leaving your comments.").

Julian Hopkins, in relation specifically to blogs, defines affordances as "emergent phenomena of particular forms of being-in-the-world" (Hopkins et al. 2015, p.3). What are the specifics of Celia's particular 'being-in-the-world'? The blog was started by Celia's sister in-law, who also invited Celia's sister to contribute to it. They set it up because for them cooking is "intimate, because cooking is something convivial and communal, especially in Spain", Celia stated. The blog opens up a place of intimate interaction among them and supplants face-to-face interaction. As Celia said, "If we were living in the same place, the same city, we would surely meet to organize things and this [the blog] is a way of doing that." Thus, the affordance of publishing allows blog

readers to glimpse into another person's kitchen, and more widely, private domestic life. At the same time, it allows Celia's network of social support to meet up. We might even say that the affordance of publishing produces social presence. There are two elements at play here: the publishing and the shared understanding. The specific mention of the blog certainly impacts interpersonal relations. In order to see this more clearly, the wider context of media use in relation to Celia's blog and to cooking can be examined.

Although posting photographs of people is not the primary goal of the blog, some of the photographs uploaded depict family members, including children. Even though Celia didn't mention it, there is a tacit agreement about censorship (Pauwels 2008) or curation of the pictures posted on the blog. The following passage evinces this.

> *Celia: [...] for example my artificial sister-in-law has uploaded photos of her daughter. The other day my cousin, I mean the father, who is my real cousin, and my goddaughter, well we all shack up together but... They two made a potato tortilla together, although as far as I know my cousin is not into cooking, but well, the two made it. And there are photos of her [Celia's goddaughter] adding the eggs and mixing them and so on. But, well, what would have been amazing is a photograph of my cousin because he was wearing a glorious apron, one of those that make you look like a Greek statue.*

Celia was not present in the kitchen where her cousin and her goddaughter were cooking the Spanish tortilla. She was far away in Ireland. However, she knew about the apron because, parallel to the interaction in the blog, there was an exchange of snaps happening on *WhatsApp* between her and her *artificial sister in-law*. Out of the three elements constituting the regimes of transmission – circulation, storage and value - (Grainge 2011) circulation was mentioned the most in relation to control by participants. The circulation of photographs is vital for transnational families. At the same time, all participants stated how difficult it is to control the spread of their photographs. Lasén& Gómez-Cruz draw a connection between the exercise of control over

audiences and contemporary notions of privacy (2009, p.213). Once on the internet, photographs undertake a journey of their own which is nearly impossible to control. Nevertheless, as seen above, strategies are put in place to do so in an attempt to minimise negative effects of digital distribution of photographs.

Another dimension to Celia's cooking blog and the parallel interaction in *WhatsApp* is the mediation of presence and the illusion of immediacy. Villi argues that digital locative media help to produce not only a sense of presence but also a feeling of togetherness (2016). While this is more obvious in the *WhatsApp* exchange of photographs and comments, the blog as a site also seems to offer a place to engage with others. As Celia stated: "If we were living in the same place, the same city, we would surely meet to organize things and this [the blog] is a way of doing that." The affordance of publishing allows Celia to be in the world in her own, while collective, way. The blog constructs a curated/censored version of cooking experiences which are available to everyone. In the blog, no reference is made to the distance that separates the authors of the recipes. After all, the virtual space of the web seems to have this equalising effect whereby no one is fully present but neither is anyone fully absent. In contrast, the parallel *WhatsApp* exchange between Celia and her *artificial sister-in-law* shows how immediate presence, even in the kitchen, emerges through mediation and mode in which access is restricted. Social support is thereby ensured as well as restricted and thus tailored to existing emotional relationships and experiences.

Generating social presence is part of why digital locative media are employed in the everyday lives of transnational families. When talking about food and cooking, Celia reflected on this very issue, linking it to Spanish culture.

> *Celia: However that way of celebrating all moments, of marking that life in common through food, is very significant and it is something we do very well. It is not about the food being good, but that moment of table talk, of talking together. I don't know if there is such a thing in other cultures, but I imagine there is, but it is a*

> *moment of union and I think that this is one of the very few things about really being present and not all cultures have that. At least it is hard for me because I am always projecting. But that moment of table talk, of talking together, of coffee [drinking] is a moment to be there and it is very well done in Spain. It is a thing that we culturally nail down […] but it doesn't have to do with the photographs.*

Celia finished her reflection asserting that the communal Spanish way of eating together has nothing to do with photographs. However, her blog is a mediated celebration of that very table talk that she was reflecting upon. The blog mediates those encounters and commemorates moments of togetherness, in spite of the very real distances between different segments of her family. Despite the inability to physically share food and company, the blog allows Celia and the other blog authors to share their experiences of cooking in a social way so that the recipes might be duplicated across the Atlantic. Let's look at Celia's comment on the first recipe of the blog: "It looks yummy and it is witty! Also it is an easy recipe for the kiddos to help out with… I know what we are having for dinner this weekend!"

This collective blog does not make use of many affordances pointed out by Hopkins (2015) (for instance, there are hardly any hyperlinks). This is because Celia and the other bloggers are more interested in sharing among themselves than sharing with unknown audiences. First and foremost, they are interested in the generation of collective and communal social presence through their blog. They are also interested in the affordance of publishing, as well as in their individual and collective presentation. I would argue that they are interested in the creation of a place of interaction. Perhaps this blog is a public *tele-cocoon* where intimate interactions do not take place but where, instead, insiders in the phatic community maintain their relationships of contact, where they share a world and obtain therein a sense of external validation.

Figure 11: Photographs illustrating recipes on the cooking blog Celia shares with her relatives in Spain. http://kalistekocina.blogspot.com.es/

The growing practice of sharing family photographs online is related to the simplicity of networked cameras and images, which, on the one hand, makes sharing and exhibiting easier, but on the other, makes controlling the distribution of shared photographs more difficult. There is an opacity associated with digital technologies when it comes to picture generation, display and distribution. At the same time, once online, digital photographs can take on a life of their own: events and small routines are often celebrated online in third places of (dis)affection and intimacy. However, both acquaintances and even the general public, or as participants often put it, 'the people', are often granted admission. It is this point which provoked Yessica's great mistrust.

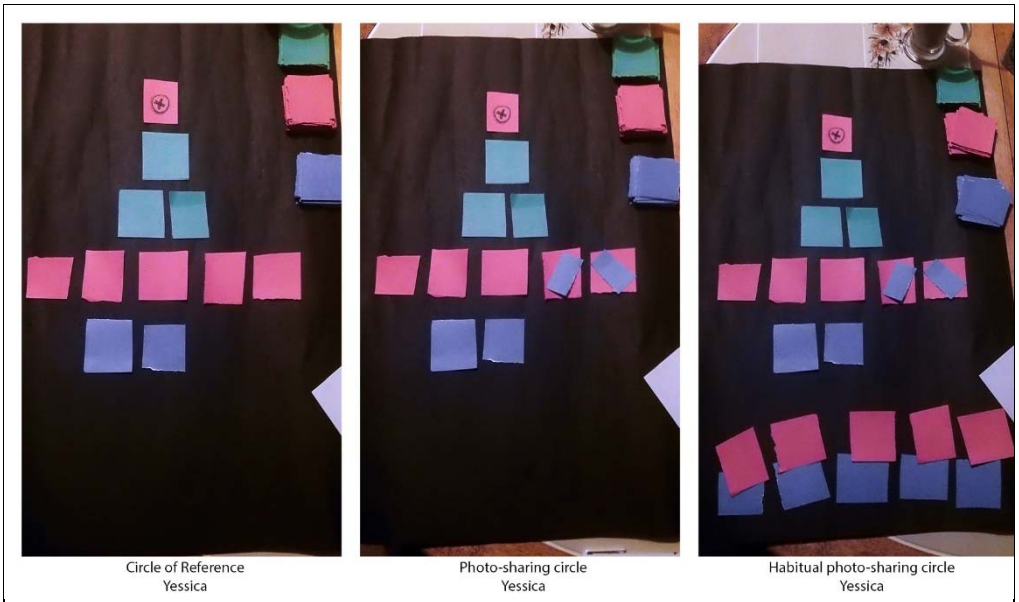

Figure 12: Circle of Reference. Yessica.

At the last stage of the visualization of her circle of references, Yessica added more tokens. Despite her intention of sharing photographs with only a handful of recipients, the images would inevitably be accessed by many more as she was using *Facebook* to upload many of her photos. This initial comment led to a deep conversation about privacy, control and distribution, which was re-visited in detail during the second interview (below) and several times afterwards.

> *Yessica: Not by email. Normal email, no. I would say that among us, well maybe a little less with my brother who lives here [Ireland], but 99% [of the time] what works really well is Facebook. Also there is my brother's daughter who is a teenager now and she has Facebook. [...] but it is getting out of her hands because she already has three hundred and fifty friends and he told her 'you need to do a selection of people who are really your friends and the ones who are not'*
>
> *Patricia: That is difficult.*
>
> *Yessica: She doesn't see it that way. She is fifteen years old. [...] I tried to explain to her, 'Look, I was in the same situation as you are. I said yes to everybody from work, acquaintances, Dylan's friends, and I told everybody yes, but then one day I realized I had more than one*

> *hundred friends and then I said no. So I did my trio and now if you go to my account all I have is thirty, not even forty people, but I know that those persons are either family or people whom I am really in touch with because I have deleted people I don't see'. And some people have told me 'you have deleted me from your FB.'*
>
> *Patricia: Yes, people say that.*
>
> *Yessica: But I answer 'No, it is only that I created another group' so that I evade the question, but really [I would say] 'look dear, I haven't seen you in a year. I don't hear from you and we don't see each other at work anymore and we never became close'. But you cannot really be so harsh with people so I try to pass the buck. But yes, she is fifteen years old so she doesn't see the need to cover her back [...].*

Yessica's strategy of controlling unintended audiences in *Facebook* evolved over time. Firstly, she had two lists, constituting friends and acquaintances, which she used to manage the distribution of her posts, including that of photographs. Worrying about privacy settings and being overwhelmed by the lack of transparency on *Facebook*, in April 2013, five months into the study, she had developed a concrete strategy for dealing with photographs. In addition to implementing a strict policy of being friends only with persons who "are either family or people [with[whom I am really in touch", and not making any of her *Facebook* photographs publically available, Yessica regularly deleted all images she had uploaded to *Facebook*. Every three months, she downloaded all the photographs, erased the photo albums, and updated her profile and cover picture. Yessica also admitted that if she went out of her way to upload the photographs online, she expected people to see them and comment on them, which she in turn would understand as signs of ongoing relationships (Pedro and Maria made similar comments). These expectations of receiving feedback neatly aligns with Rose's and Pauwels' findings (Rose 2014, p.83-4; Pauwels 2008, p.40).

As discussed in section 2.1, Norman's distinction between real and perceived affordances (1988) provides a suitable framework to think about features that surpass concrete media forms, such as publishing. Publishing is a component

of digital intrinsic mediations: blogs, social networking sites, websites, etc. All these platforms or technologies highlight two moments of media use: display and exchange/circulation. This is a radical change with respect to older broadcasting forms and understandings of media use, whereby reception was the previously favoured. While *Facebook* enables connectivity, as posts are easily shared with friends, Yessica perceives *Facebook* differently as for her it enables trespass and meddling. Disaffect is thus facilitated by Social Networking Sites. The affordance of publishing encompasses both affection and disaffection, a fact that has precipitated Yessica to develop tailored strategies to limit its impact. As she put it, "*Facebook* is for recent events. I don't want people having access to my past." However, Yessica also recognized the advantages of exhibiting her family photographs online: "So, do you want photographs? Ok, here in *Facebook,* you have them and it doesn't matter where you are, whether that is Spain or China"[41]. For Yessica, *Facebook* is a platform to share images and accounts of recent events. 'The people' having access to her past was an idea that she related to the possibility of meddling, gossiping and judging. The potential negative emotional charge of *Facebook* troubled her and thus greatly influenced her cautious use of the site.

Pauwels states that the very distances that separate producers from (unintended) audiences generates a sense of safety which "[…] may also imply that the representational account of family life of those people, while more 'constructed', may nevertheless be even more truthful and revealing than directly observable manifestations of family life presented to observers" (ibid. 2008, p.44). This controversial statement, which seemingly goes against much of the work done in the field of family photography (Holland & Spence 1991; Hirsch 1981; Chambers 2001; Spence 1979), might contain some truth. Let's recall here Yessica's preoccupation with social media: "*Facebook* is for recent events. I don't want people having access to my past". By February 2014, over a year into the fieldwork, Yessica had almost stopped posting on *Facebook*,

[41]Yessica might have been not aware of the strong Internet restrictions in China, which in fact affect the use of *Facebook* in the country. However, she was adapting a Spanish expression to the context of online availability.

although she would spend time on it looking at various news items. Instead, her use of *WhatsApp* and Skype increased considerably at this time. "It is a matter of not losing control over the distribution of my photographs," she said. However, it seems that the accurate visual reconstructions of past shared events is automatically and unavoidably offered by *Facebook*, which from Yessica's point of view increases the possibility for judgemental statements to arise. The chance of being emotionally damaged as a consequence escapes users' control.

Online public 'constructions' of family life are seen as half-truths rather than as complete lies. That is why it is important to ask and explore what is being shown as well as what is withheld. Without naming it precisely, Pauwels is talking about indexicality and the truth claim of photography, as well as about immediacy and self-censorship (2008). At the same time, the immediacy associated with Skype and *WhatsApp* also contributed to shift Yessica's media use from social networking to messaging applications. Yessica's story of media use effectively exemplifies Villi's concept of mediated presence (2010) and of distance as the new *punctum* of photography (2014), both points discussed earlier.

> *Yessica: Since we have it [Skype], my mother has had a computer for less than two months only, and we have the webcam. This is very recent, and for her it is, well, the fact that she sends you a message 'are you at home, shall we go on Skype?' I don't know, obviously for her it is about seeing her grandchildren live, even if they are here only for ten minutes and then they go away. But with the computer I can tell 'look at what this slacker is doing' and she sees that. The webcam is very funny. Well, I hadn't used it before at all and it is really like being with the person here. I mean, nothing changes. It is impressive.*

Having addressed the online publication of photographs produced within the home mode of communication, it is necessary to explore ways of distributing them that do not imply – necessarily or customarily – making these pictures public.

When I first got in touch with Gala and Dario, they declined the invitation to participate in the research because they weren't taking many photos. However, a few months after this initial decline, Dario re-contacted me. Gala's brother had recently had twins, and she began receiving and sending photos regularly via *WhatsApp*. While still not a heavy user of social networks or camera-phone photography, Gala began to use both within her family context. She began to communicate via social networking a number of times during the week and sometimes several times a day.

Figure 13: Circle of Reference. Gala

Gala's circle of reference is very interesting because there are no changes at any of the three stages. It would have looked different if the photographic practices of Gala's oldest daughter had been included as she was quite active in social networks. The lack of adjustment indicates that Gala either had the utmost control over the distribution of her photographs, or a total disregard concerning the photographs distributed without her knowledge. In line with previous findings (Lehmuskallio 2012), perhaps Gala negated the impact and certain agency that online shared photographs could have – not only on her but also on her circle of reference.

Out of all participants of the study, Gala and Dario were the ones who showed the least interest in ICT. Coincidentally, they were the oldest participants and the ones who had lived in Ireland, as a couple, for the longest time. In fact, age and generational differences were clearly manifest in their family. Their daughters were the driving force behind the timely updating of both artefacts and modes of use. The following episode showcases discrepancies in the use of photography by three generations: Gala, her daughter (C) and her mother (C's grandmother). Furthermore, it aptly illustrates the journey of the family's photographs across space and different familial carriers.

> *Patricia: And it was during prom night.*
>
> *Gala: Yes.*
>
> *Patricia: Well, yes the graduation. And was it taken here?*
>
> *Gala: No, at a friend's of C, because they met up there.*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, and who did you send the photograph to? Your brother?*
>
> *Gala: Yes, to my brother and these friends I have who live in Galway.*
>
> *Patricia: Ok, so everything was via WhatsApp?*
>
> *Gala: Yes, and I didn't send it to more people because, well, I didn't have their numbers (laughs). But this one has circulated. This one has arrived to my cousin, my mother…*
>
> *Patricia: How?*
>
> *Gala: Through my brother.*
>
> *Patricia: Through your brother. Does your brother send them or when he visits does he take his phone and say 'look, look at C'?*
>
> *Gala: He sent them. He sent them because they live somewhere else and my mother was like crazy - 'please, send the photographs' (laughs). And so he sent them. And this, well, I don't know if exactly this one, yes this is the one I sent. I believe I sent him the ones I took and he sent them too.*
>
> *Patricia: And how does he send them?*

Gala: I think it was WhatsApp too.

Patricia: Ok, so your mother has WhatsApp.

Gala: Well, it wasn't my mother. He sent them to my cousin and then they met and...

Patricia: And your mother saw them?

Gala: Yes, she saw them.

[…]

Patricia: And this one, or one of these, are they in C's Facebook?

Gala: Well, yes. Not the ones I took but the ones that thousands of people who were there took, yes. Those are in Facebook from that night. But not mine. […] I believe I showed this one to somebody from Dario's family or… no… no it was to my neighbours. My neighbours, yes, I showed it to them.

It's important to reflect on how Gala told the story about the travelling photograph. She started by stating that her brother, her cousin and her mother were the first recipients of the picture. From the way she was telling the story, I assumed her mother had received the picture via *WhatsApp*. As it turns out, that was not the case. Her mother had in fact seen the photo on a *smartphone*, but on somebody else's screen: that of Gala's cousin. The photograph had travelled from Ireland to Spain and then twice within Spain. The initial image arrived via *WhatsApp*, the platform used to circulate the photograph. The second time it was shared, however, Gala's cousin was the carrier employed to deliver the message. The process involved digital delivery across space, as well as movement across space and a face-to-face interaction. This is a clear example of place as an event (Pink 2011a; Pink 2011b) and thus, of the strong link between movement and actors in everyday photography. The goal was for Gala's mother to see the photograph because she was waiting impatiently: "Please, send the photographs." The tone and cadence of Gala's voice when she imitated her mother strongly conveyed a feeling of despair – she was so keen to see the images. It was the graduation of her eldest grandchild, and this carried a great deal of emotional importance to her, and with it, a strong desire to see it.

Gala's entire nuclear family actively participated in the production of visual records of C's prom night: "[…] Yes, Dario took photographs with the camera, B [the youngest daughter] [made] the video, which is in fact hers and I did this [pointing at her *smartphone*]," Gala said. The moment was perceived as significant by many others too, as Gala explained: "Yes, well not the ones I took but the ones that thousands of people who were there, took, yes. Those are on *Facebook* from that night." Prom night was perceived as important but not as much of an intimate affair. Numerous photographs from the night circulated in social networks via Gala's daughter. At the same time, Gala shared the photographs with as many contacts as she had in *WhatsApp* and also, face-to-face with her neighbours: "I believe I showed this one to somebody from Dario's family or… no… no it was to my neighbours. My neighbours, yes, I showed it to them." It's important to recall how Maria also used the neighbourly relationship as a means to explain access and to mark the borders of her habitually intimate photo-sharing circle. Moments perceived as intimate and affective are shared selectively: "[…] Yes, somebody who knows me but not the neighbour," she said.

Although Gala didn't archive her digital photographs with a great deal of diligence, she certainly controlled their distribution. Exercising control over the images shared took place both online and offline. Similarly to Yessica's reasoning, Gala did not want others – people who are not part of the social support network – to access those photographs because although she was proud of her daughter's achievement and willing to show how she looked on her prom night, acquaintances, friends and family can emotionally relate to that moment but outsiders, strangers, would not see her daughter as such but just a dress, just the make-up, just another teenager girl celebrating. It was important for Gala to preserve the special character of the moment.

The photograph of Gala's daughter's prom night travelled both digitally and by foot, quite literally. Movement and place are highly telling parts of the story behind that photograph. The following example refers to a single digital platform, *Picasa*, which is accessed by various people from different offline

locations. This example demonstrates how agency is distributed among different actors and devices in a context of networked photographic practices (Gómez-Cruz 2012).

Pedro and Maria have two *Picasa* accounts because one did not provide enough digital storage space for them to store and exhibit all of their family photographs. In early 2013, Pedro was frustrated with the application. Due to design updates, it wasn't working the way it used to, and as a result, he stopped using it for a few months. Specifically, the app would not allow him to share photographs via other social networking apps and links. Instead, only *Picasa* users could access the photographs. Pedro perceived this as an obstacle, but after a few months, he went back to *Picasa* as the app again allowed users to share photographs without bothersome membership restrictions. At that point, Pedro and Maria had stopped spending as much time as they had been on taking, selecting and editing photographs, prior to uploading them online and sending them to relatives and friends. Several factors, which had contributed to that situation, were pointed out by Pedro and Maria. Time was an important one, alongside the growing ubiquity and use of their camera phones instead of their digital camera. In addition, the increased amount of files and hardware devices to deal with became a problem. Although Pedro had a very methodical approach to photography, they had started using their networked cameras more spontaneously, making the sharing and exhibiting of the photographs more spontaneous too. The affordance of propinquity associated with camera-phones had slowly but steadily transformed their photographic practice.

Image messaging applications in *smartphone*s allow for greater control over the distribution of photographs. The affordance of publishing exists but it is customizable. Although social networking sites also offer possibilities to tailor the display and distribution of photographs, the families surveyed raised concerns about the opacity of the customization process. Thus, the real and the perceived affordance of publishing in social networking sites differed greatly for them. With respect to messaging applications, however, both were

perceived as coinciding. The content of the photographs influenced the decision of whether to use one tool over another. Content and affordances go hand in hand. As initially pointed out by Bourdieu et al. (1965) and subsequently explored by others (Hirsch 1981; Chambers 2001; Chalfen 1987), celebrations and rites of passage are common themes of family photography. Prom night belongs to this category. However, the daily toddler bath or a lazy morning in pyjamas, constitute another group: one of emotion and intimacy. Strategies of inclusion and exclusion are found in both types. Awareness of affect and disaffect facilitated by such exchanges was a factor of the practices of these four transnational families. Although from a hypothetical point of view only, Pedro expressed many times their preoccupation with deviant uses of their children's photographs such as those associated with digital paedophilia. While their presuppositions were based on mass media discourses about Internet-based storage as well as online privacy and safety, it nevertheless reveals the double edge character of mediated emotional interactions. While the category of celebration constructs family at a more institutional, normative level, it is also true that mediated moments of (dis)affect and intimacy present the family as a dynamic entity, a result of their ongoing processes of negotiation (Gabb 2004) and the acknowledgment that emotional work is both enabling and disruptive.

Camera phone photography has been linked to sentiments of propinquity. However, in a similar way as the term phone-spaces can be applied to other networked cameras, propinquity can be seen as an affordance that has also superseded camera phone photography. See the next section, exploring in detail how a photograph of Pedro and Maria's children playing in an empty apartment in Slovakia is the result of such a sense of propinquity. Maria wanted to record a fleeting moment, so she quickly grabbed her digital camera to capture an impromptu moment of fun. We will also see that Yessica photographs spontaneous moments with her digital point-and-shot camera. The affordance of propinquity seems to be linked to the discussion of picture-worthiness. Okabe and Ito have shown that the expanded context of new media has influenced themes and motives worthy of being photographed

(2003). For example, camera phones are routinely used to photograph snacks, lunches and dinners (http://pohtpof.tumblr.com/). While in fine art photography, some examples of this practice can be found as early as in the 1970s (Parr & Parr 2013), everyday photography and food have been brought together only recently. Certainly, transnational families seem to be digitally photographing a more diverse range of topics than in the days of analogue photography. The story involving Celia's son and a car, which was mentioned before, is another example of propinquity and "picture-worthiness" coming together under one roof: the *smartphone*.

> *Celia (Talking about her son): (Laughs) He (laughs) well … look, he has a toy car, one that starts off when you press the wheels and I don't know why he put it in his hair (Laughs).*
>
> *Patricia: So, was it stuck on his hair?*
>
> *Celia: Yes, it was stuck. (Laughs) So, then before we took it off we all were laughing hard and then we took the photographs (laughs) and then we sent then to my mother, my cousin… whom else did I send the photograph to? Ah, there is somebody who is a friend of the family. […]*

Figure 14: Visual instant messaging. Celia's son accident with a toy car

In the context of transnational families and camera phone photography, the photographic act itself allows for the sharing of remote experiences, which, once mediated, gives rise to third places of intimate interaction. Tacit and

explicit knowledge structure the repetition of emplaced and embodied photographic acts, while mediated affection creates and sustains relationships in spite of their real life positioning at distances apart. Furthermore, the photographic act itself potentially alters shared realities of the people in the circle of reference. Let's recall here the working definition of mediation that is at the core of this project: "[…] a particular and unique enhancement or performance – in short a repetition – of structure that risks always transforming the media and the actors'' (Lanzeni, Spadola, et al., 2014, p. 12). The repeated exchanges of photographs between Gala and her brother in Spain enhances their relationship as distance is transformed into mediated social presence. The acts of sending, receiving and sharing images form a repetitive structure whereby kinship is enacted.

In the first chapter of this thesis, when exploring the synergy among material mediations and participation in photographic practices, the concept of performatives was introduced as emplaced and culturally established action (Dant & Gilloch 2002, p.60) in which agency is shared between human actors and means of communication. By participating in acts that carry out conventions, these become necessary and part of reality. Yessica expressed it clearly: "*Facebook* for her [her mother] is brilliant. […] Each month, to have photos of her grandchildren!" Performatives respond to conventions so that they are repeatable and transferrable, while customized for each situation. "I like to take photos of the children in the bathtub because they are very relaxed, but I send them only to my mother because they are too intimate," Celia said.

Camera-phone photography facilitates acts of immediacy to emerge and be repeated according to a shared understanding "[…] which will be sought after for itself and which creates the perception of "being together" founded on an affective reality that is shared at the same time and together" (2005, p.183). Fluid third places of familial interaction are continuously generated and continuously interrupted. Yessica almost stopped using *Facebook* once she was able to use Skype with her mother. Celia's cooking blog had not been updated in over a year but she was still very active in *WhatsApp* groups and

one-to-one messaging. Gala stopped making photo albums and printing photographs once they bought their first digital camera. Rivière links these constant dissolutions and emergences to a new understanding of collective communication, based on emotions and feelings, rather than on rationality and information (Rivière 2005, p.184). As evidenced in the practices of the Spanish-Irish families studied, emotions certainly had an impact on media pragmatics.

As discussed before, the act of sharing photographs fosters and creates third places of (dis)affective and intimate interactions within social networks of support. As indicated by Gaver earlier, media spaces "do not seek to recreate and extend the affordances offered by telephones, but instead those offered by co-presence in the everyday environment" (1996, p.123). The act of sharing photographs also creates expectations for feedback, and their mediated fulfilment – or lack thereof - impacts again on the perception and stability of these ephemeral places of intimate interaction, or *tele-cocoon*s. In accordance with the analysis of the photographic practices of these four transnational families, one can conclude that when they share their photographs, despite the physical distances separating them, their reality in fact changes and converges as *tele-cocoon*s emerge.

Kono also approaches affordances through speech act theory (Kono 2009). Language contains arbitrary norms and conventions that guide us and determine the suitability of our actions. It produces and maintains affordances, and their niches, in a circular causal process. Performatives acquire social meaning through emplacement and embodiment as part of the habituses of a particular social group. The habitual act of exchanging images that is a part of the everyday life of transnational families effectively demonstrates this. Camera phone photography is said to be used to fix unexpected and spontaneous emotions, as well as to enhance phone communication per se (Rivière 2005, p.177-8). Gala makes use of the affordance of propinquity of the camera phone. At first sight, the following example involves only a cat and a yawn. But as we shall see, friendship-making is therein facilitated.

Gala: This one I caught her [the cat] yawning and she looks like, do see it alright? If that...

Patricia: No, yes, yes. It is cool. It looks like she is attacking you.

Gala: Yes, that is why [I took it]. It made me laugh. She is yawning and it looks like…

Patricia: And this one was made not long ago from what you were saying.

Gala: Yes, it was made about a month ago. And this is one [of the photos selected for the interview], if you like. And I sent this one to a friend.

Patricia: And you sent it to a friend and why did you take it?

Gala: Right then she was funny and I know she loves cats, you know?

Patricia: Did you take it thinking a little about your friend?

Gala: Well, perhaps. I don't remember right now but it might have been the case. Or I took it because it made me laugh and then I thought 'Ah, I am going to send it to E because she likes cats very much'. And she was the one that brought me the cat because let's say we adopted her because she was on the street.

Patricia: Ah, so she felt sad for her so she brought her to you?

Gala: Yes, well she lives around there in Galway and she feeds all the street cats and at the end she was going to France and she was so small and 'Please, we cannot leave her there blah blah'.

Image 11: Gala's cat and her aggressive yawn

Again, *WhatsApp* was the platform of choice for Gala to share that photo with a specific person. This messaging application affords greater control over the distribution of photographs than social networking sites such as *Facebook*. The affordance of publishing is easily identified and controlled. The sense of opacity of social networking sites is replaced with more straight-forward commands, which afford tailored distribution. Social co-presence is generated and managed for a particular group, excluding any unintended audiences in the process. At the same time, it also affords immediate distribution and the created illusion of social co-presence. As stated, a photograph is linked to processes of creating ties and bonds. This photograph is also associated with having a common ground and having experienced something together. The relationship of friendship continues despite playing out distances apart.

Networked photographs, especially those from camera phones, mediate presence visually. Not only do they mediate physical presence by giving the illusion of being there, but they also mediate social presence by giving the illusion of being there together. A connection is established over distance and the emerged third places of affective and intimate interaction are the purpose and motivation for these sharing acts to take place.

The emplacement of actions, i.e. of performatives, in the context of mediated (co-)presence, is fluid. *Tele-cocoon*s are not bound to physical limitations; they can be accessed on the go, remotely and ubiquitously by nomadic world citizens (Belting 2001). The emergence and proliferation of *tele-cocoon*s would not be possible without technological mediation. Their propagation responds to the need of communicating in time, rather than over time. Moreover, spontaneous and ubiquitous acts of sharing photographs could transform non-places such as public buses or airports into *tele-cocoon*s, which can be temporarily inhabited. As noted above, propinquity is supported by the material mediation of networked cameras. Action seems to be shared among the different elements of photographic practices: participants, structures of knowledge and the event of place.

Although Gala doesn't photograph as often as the other participants do, her practice still includes a variety of platforms, tools and carriers. She has attended evening painting classes, which have inspired her photography to the point that she makes a clear difference between photographing casually with her camera phone and photographing beautiful details and moments for later enjoyment. Although Gala doesn't print photographs any more, some paper prints still find their way to her home, such as the last school photograph of her youngest daughter. The same applies to digital photographs. Gala is not a frequent user of social networking sites, however, although she is aware that some photographs featuring her circulate on *Facebook*.

Gala shares photographs with friends and family immediately after taking the images with her camera-phone. Pictures of the past do not play a big part in Gala's practice any longer, but some of them are still exhibited on mantelpieces at her home and are thus visible to family members and welcomed guests. During the fieldwork, Gala rescued a photograph from the past to show it to me. It was of her daughter and the family dog, who had passed away not long ago. The analogue copy had been tucked away for years, but Gala, her husband and their two daughters brought it back out in order to remember the dog together, not long after it had passed away. As far as Gala

could remember, it was the last time the four of them had sat down and leafed through photo-albums. Since they upgraded their camera to a digital one, paper prints are rare and storage is a challenge. Gala doesn't have a system to preserve digital photographs for the future, although she plans to do so eventually. The storage and archiving of digital family photographs is a theme that we will explore more fully in the last section of this chapter.

The second interview with the participants consisted of two parts. First, they gave an account of the technologies that they used in their photographic practices. They listed devices, software and carriers that they used, then explained why they made use of them. Afterwards, they took me on a house tour, showing me their printed photographic displays, which I then photographed myself. They told me the stories behind some of the photographs hanging on their walls. Sometimes, they showed me photo albums as well. The question posed was why they had chosen to display those specific photographs in concrete locations in their homes.

Yessica took photographs with her digital camera and her mobile phone. Since a considerable amount of her digital photographs were accidentally erased a while ago, she began to regularly print about 90% of the digital photographs that she took. The walls of her house were populated by many paper prints. They were in the living room, on the stairwell and also, on the door of the fridge. On the mantelpiece rested a set of small 10x15 cm copies, most of which are framed, while blown-up copies set in matching frames hung on the stairwell. When writing about houses in particular, Miller proposes the use of the term "accommodating" to talk about the processes of finding accommodation, developing a sense of appropriation or of belonging to where we live. Integral to this term is the ability to compromise in order to meet the other – the thing (in this case the house) – in the middle (Miller 2010, pp.95–99). Displaying family photographs at home is part of this process of accommodating (to) the house. Furthermore, this act of decorating is a way of constructing both the familial home and family itself. Yessica's system of

displaying photographs in the family home is linked to processes of inclusion and exclusion, and thus of kinship-making, as shown below:

> *Yessica: And why in the living room? Because we spend 80% of the time in the living room [...] We play here. Well, I am also a woman, I am a bit … I mean I also like that when people come for a visit … I don't know, but not having photos on a wall is like there is no life in the house. I don't know but that is how I see it.*
>
> *Patricia: Where else do you have photographs?*
>
> *Yessica: In the corridor. Yes, here for example I have the photographs of my sister-in-law's wedding. Up there we have the family, well the siblings anyway.*
>
> *Patricia: These photographs are more formal.*
>
> *Yessica: Yes, that is it. These ones are here because they hired a professional photographer for the wedding and the photographs came out really beautiful and great to be enlarged. So I chose the ones that suited me best, which were the family, my son with the telephone because it is very cute and myself with my son because my daughter wasn't here yet […] and then over there was another of the whole family but I am not sure how but when using the stairs it broke […] so I replaced it with one of us four.*
>
> *Patricia: Of the family now*
>
> *Yessica: MY, MY family now. On St. Patrick's Day.*

In this account, there is a reference to audiences other than the members of the household: "the visits". Yessica displayed photographs on the walls for her immediate family, but also for potential invited guests to her home, who, after entering the house, would first see the stairwell. The photos hanging there were bigger, had been taken by a professional photographer and appeared to be more formal. This is why they were not located in the living room but instead, the entrance area. Any images displayed in the familial home are a part of the home mode of communication and as such, they are shared with people who at least have passing knowledge of one another (Chalfen 1998). The affordance of publishing is contained and structured by the familial home and thus, by the process of accommodating – the house to us and us to the

house (Miller 2010, pp.95–99). The material qualities of walls, mantelpieces, fridge doors, staircases, etc. uniquely impact media pragmatics: agency is distributed among social actors, structures of knowledge and objects. Enlarged copies afford visibility at a distance, while the numerous 10x15 paper photographs that populated Yessica's mantelpiece afforded closeness. Also, these enlarged copies were products of a traditional family photography setting (Bourdieu et al. 1965), i.e. a wedding. Furthermore, they respond to classic patters of representation of family in photography, both in terms of aesthetics (Hirsch 1981), as well as regarding content, i.e. "*MY, MY* family now".

Image 12: "MY, MY family now. On St. Patrick's Day" - Yessica.

The mismatched framed and unframed paper copies of photos were placed on the living room mantelpiece, where Yessica's family spent"80% of the time". Yessica displayed images of moments that cannot be forgotten. These images are repositories of memory and invite the gesture of remembrance first and

foremost. They also evoke a sense of closeness as they serve as testimonies of affection and intimacy. Lastly, they afford physical closeness too, as one needs to be close to the small paper copies in order to see what they depict. The phatic community is constructed through these images as a shared understanding is required in order to comprehend their emotional value. These images refer to emotional moments shared within the circle of reference, as Yessica explained: "For example, this one, it is just silly, but I really care for this photo here. Here E [Yessica's daughter] wasn't even one month old and she is looking at D [Yessica's son] as if she already knew him. I flipped out! Well, I quickly grabbed the camera and took the photograph. I said to myself this one cannot be forgotten".

Image 13: In the living room, small printed copies hold onto intimate moments, which "cannot be forgotten". Yessica adds new printed copies to the mantelpiece display every now and then.

By explaining the story behind the photograph of her two children, Yessica temporarily included me in her phatic community. A journey to her familial past allowed me to understand the significance of the photograph, the relevance of displaying it on the mantelpiece and the importance of not changing it. It is questionable whether such an intimate story would be part of

this research if we hadn't built a relationship of trust and rapport – this itself partially due to my own direct, phatic involvement in interacting with Yessica, her family and her photographs.

Interestingly, most of the families had photographs on the door of their fridges, including families who are not represented here. Yessica's fridge was no exception. In fact, the story behind one of the photographs hung there is quite astonishing.

Image 14: Yessica's fridge

> *Patricia: When it comes to selecting the photographs, how do you say this is a fridge photograph or this is a living room photograph?*
>
> *Yessica: Because I can change the fridge photographs. I don't want to change these ones [we were in the living room].*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, ok. So, these ones are permanent.*
>
> *Yessica: Yes, these ones are permanent. These ones are the ones that have dust and they have their frame from when I bought them and I am not going to change that.*

> *[…] This is how they [photo frames at Yessica's] were made, the moment was like this because of a reason and it shall remain so. So it was. So it stays.*

Although Yessica stated the possibility of change as a decisive factor in determining where a photograph will be exhibited in her house, the fact remains that throughout the whole duration of the fieldwork, one photograph in particular remained outstandingly displayed on Yessica's fridge.

> *Yessica: The Vitoria fiestas were on and we were on the balcony. And it is one of the last photos I have with my dad and it is the last photo that D [her son] has with his grandfather. […] We spend [the fiestas] at Aita's, we say aita for grandfather [aita is a Basque word for father], because my father lived in Vitoria's city centre. So we saw Celedon from his window, just a bit of it, but we saw it! And then as usual we went out to celebrate. But yes, this is one of the last photographs I have of my father […]*
> *We were happy because we were at my father's, because we were seeing him … because we were on holidays and because of the cousin, because D doesn't see his cousin often because they are living abroad […] and my father seems happy too, he is doing funny faces (laughs)*
> *I looked at them when I downloaded the photographs from the camera onto the computer and of course you spend a little while looking at each of them […] And, what feelings? Well the feeling of… at this point we didn't know that my father was ill. It was a feeling of happiness, of Vitoria Fiestas; I don't know how to express it…*
>
> *Patricia: Did you go back?*
>
> *Yessica: Yes, exactly. It was like a bit of aww, now another year of waiting starts, yes another year of waiting … but it didn't happen. The year didn't happen. … But we didn't know at that point.*

There was a lot of emotion involved in Yessica's recital of her story and the photograph was mentioned again in later interviews. By displaying one of the last photographs of her Dad on the door of the fridge, Yessica was making sure

that not only she but also her children and husband – as she puts it "*MY, MY* family now" – would see Aita every day. They would probably do so several times a day, in fact, since Yessica's the fridge was very close to the dining table and they would also have to pass it on the way to the children's playroom. Yessica and her mother also talked on Skype regularly while sitting at the dining room table, as the children played next to them. It seemed that the space is not only for playing as Yessica said, but a place for family living. And Aita's photograph was a part of it. Yessica's mother was alive and the mediation of her co-presence showcased this. They talked on Skype; thus, movement and sound was part of the mediated co-presence of Yessica's mother. They exchanged photographs on *WhatsApp*; thus, continuity and availability were also part of her co-presence. Aita, however, was no longer among them. His image, while depicting him in a dynamic, humorous and joyful moment, was frozen in time. It is almost as if the functional affordance of the fridge, the cooling of food, had been transplanted into the photograph. As animated as Aita was in the image, his presence was preserved, still and silent.

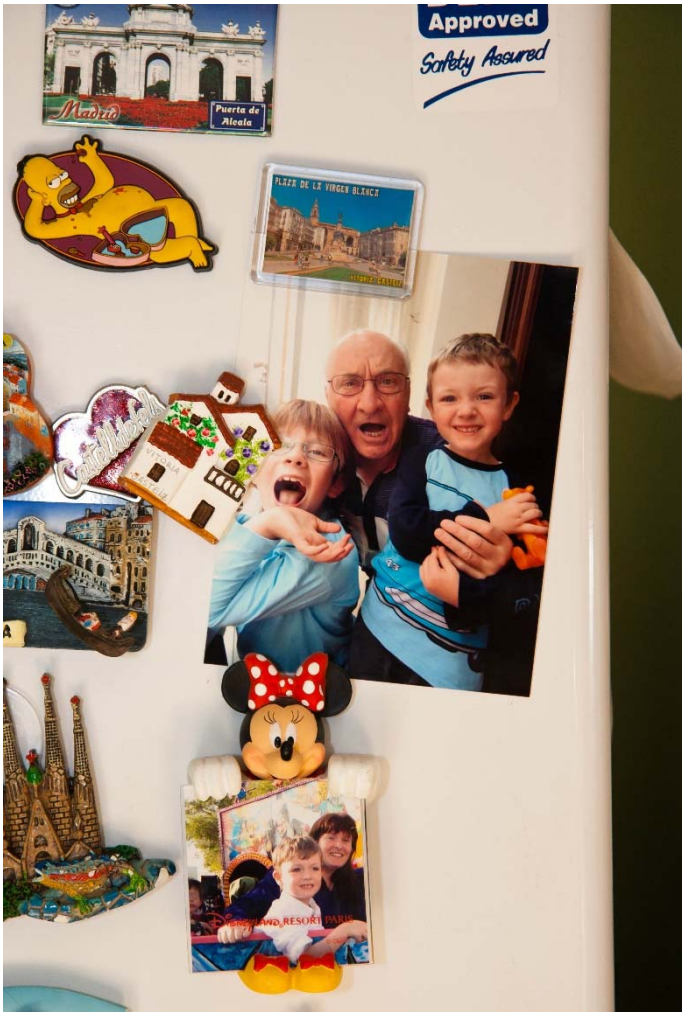

Image 15: "It is one of the last photos I have of my dad", Yessica.

Although refrigerator photos could not be identified as a staple item among the transnational families interviewed, many participants decorated their fridges with photographs and notes - in short, with signs of familial communication. Fridges were functionally used as both refrigerators, as places to preserve food, as well as surfaces to display photographs and other objects. This second element could be read as a perceived affordance (Norman n.d.) of publishing. The fridge affords communication – perhaps even effective coordination – among members of a household. It is "a kind of informal communications centre […] where one can place information in the confident knowledge that one's fellow household members can then have no excuse for saying that they did not see it" (Morley 2007, p.263). This perceived affordance

of communication management is now being utilised by manufacturers to reinvent the fridge as the control panel of the house. This process of feedback from consumers to producers effectively aligns with Morley's reading of fridges as pivotal factors in the constitution of homes as sites of domestic leisure (Morley 2007, p.261). It also aligns with the situations and uses found during the fieldwork. Furthermore, fridges of transnational families give testimonies of alternative uses and processes of accommodating, elements that were not explored in Morley's analysis. For instance, when Pedro explained why he and his wife like to send paper prints to their relatives and friends, the door of the fridge was mentioned.

> *Pedro: So to speak, people look at digital photos for five minutes and they like them but that is it. Then, they save them onto their hard drives and they do not open the photos anymore. But then when you go back, my parents have some [of the paper copies] on the fridge (Maria agrees). So I think it is worth it [to print them] and so we give it more importance.*

The fact that Pedro didn't elaborate on the significance of exhibiting photographs on the door of a fridge speaks volumes about how naturalised this use of the appliance is. Two further examples are discussed below

Celia's notice board is perhaps the most chaotic site of display and communication management that I encountered during the fieldwork. At the same time, it was also one the richest objects of study as it literally contained layer upon layer of visual and written information. The very notice board was decorated with scribbles of trees. However, Celia's notice board seemed to effectively function as a site for internal and practical communication among members of the household. The board was populated by invoices, take-away menus, children's drawings – which occupied a particularly prominent place – and two photographs: a portrait of Celia's daughter as a toddler that was taken approximately seven years ago, and a postcard of the Spanish city where Celia comes from. The latter mediated a known and yet distant place – a place that was inhabited by the Spanish side of Celia's circle of reference but that, in its

mediated form, was also part of the Irish routine within Celia's kitchen. In a similar way, Pedro's parents in Spain displayed paper prints sent from Ireland on the door of their fridge. Both examples highlight the relevance of absence in space in contemporary photographic practices. The nostalgia of times gone by appears intrinsically linked to the spatial distance that continuously separates migrant families. We are wounded by both the memories of past days spent somewhere else, shared with a constellation of people that are no longer physically near and yet are virtually accessible. The event of place with its emotional remembrance and spatial dimensions is integrated into the everyday by means of photographs. A mediated event of place is all that remains after physical distance creeps in.

Figure 15 - - Visual boards in kitchen. Celia's notice boards (left) and Gala's fridge (right)

When family is understood as an ongoing process of negotiation (Gabb 2004, p.5), opportunities to continue with this process need to be made available. As

mentioned before, mediated interactions are crucial for transnational families if only because face-to-face encounters are very limited. The routine linked to cooking and meal sharing explains why family photographs coexist next to the menial tasks and chores of everyday life. According to latest sociological work on kinship (Weston, 1997; Beck-Gernsheim, 1998; Gabb, 2008; Inglis, 2015; King-O'Riain, 2015) a proactive attitude is fundamental in order to create, reaffirm and sustain familial ties. Photographs as aide-mémoires level out the irregular path of participation for transnational families. The combination of everyday life, domesticity and communication make fridges very dynamic sites of exhibition. Temporary absence in space typifies Celia's postcard and Pedro's prints displayed on the fridge, a.k.a. the household communications hub. The efficiency associated with invoices and errands intersects with processes of family-making. The act of keeping in touch responds to the (dis)affective and the chore-like.

At Celia's, a third photograph and a drawing had been buried by more recent layers. On the one hand, newness seemed to be linked to the use of these surfaces for management and internal communication. On the other, the postcard and the portrait had resisted years of original and current information flowing through the notice board. Inhabiting two corners, these two images escaped the utilitarian and dynamic affordance of communication management. Instead, these two pictures served as repositories of memory and instruments of remembrance. The functional and the impractical cohabitated on the notice boards and fridge doors of these families. Conventional family photographs, those which are part of a collection, maintain their value despite the passing of time (Villi 2014, p.55). So had the postcard and the portrait on Celia's notice board. Newness and ephemerality characterize the top layers of ever-changing family notice boards and fridge doors, as invoices and take-away menus are placed and replaced regularly. However, persistence and permanence appear to be linked to (family) photographs displayed in these places too.

The newness and ephemerality that characterises contemporary photographic practices of transnational families is strongly contrasted with the perpetual spatial distance that separate them. As argued before, the embodiment of images in an ever-continuing conversation equips them with ontological security. Recall Celia talking about her cousin: “I send her loads of photos, mostly of the kids, so that they have a relationship. I like to keep her posted on our day-to-day lives. For example, I have also sent her photos of the recent snowfall”. Nevertheless, in the context of home displays, images are often repositories of memory and afford process of remembrance when shared in situ (mediated or not). However, these images not only trigger memories of days left behind but they might also invite the viewer to engage further, to be part of a (mediated) interaction with his/her circle of reference.

Paper prints on fridges, walls and mantelpieces help to transform the houses of transnational families into homes. Spatial and temporal distances are highlighted by the prints and their concrete location within the familial home. At Yessica’s, the ultimate gesture of separation and departure, death, was both remembered and disregarded by the placement of a photograph on the door of her fridge. From there, her Dad looked her in the eye every single day. And so did Yessica. And her husband. And their children. But there was no exchange. It was no longer possible. At Celia’s, most of the photographs were displayed in her living room. Unlike Yessica, Celia and her family spend most of their time in the living room. The children played and watched TV there. The grown-ups watched movies there too, and occasionally, they read and relaxed on the couch. Celia’s living room is unconnected to the rest of the house. From the entrance door, it is the only room to the left on the ground floor. Both the staircase and a corridor separated it from the other rooms.

During the house tour, Celia explained in detail several photographs on display in her living room. All images were several years old, including the first one she described. The photograph depicted a very good friend of hers holding Celia’s daughter. It must have been taken over ten years earlier, as Celia’s daughter was around ten at the time of the interview but only a young toddler in the

picture. Celia met this friend of hers years ago when she first left Spain and they remained in touch throughout their moves. When her daughter was born, Celia visited him because it was very important for her that her friend and her daughter would not only know each other, but also develop a relationship. He had obviously been very significant for Celia and a source of support for many years. The way she talked about her friend reminded me of when she told me about her cousin. Consciously or not, Celia has always put me in the middle of moments and relationships before narrating images. Through her way of storytelling, it became clear to me that Celia had a great appreciation for the contextual factors of her photographic practice. Thus, she was not willing to simply share images with me. She was determined for me to see why those images, and why her photographic practice, were relevant to and influential for her family's life story. Before starting her narration, Celia stopped directly in front of the frame with me. Our eyes were on the frame while Celia extensively narrated one of the three photographs it contained. All three photographs were aesthetically and emotionally connected. They looked like three variations of the same theme: an adult family member holding a toddler, Celia's daughter, and smiling at the camera. Yet all three of the adults in the photos had passed away.

After that, Celia headed towards a wall populated by photographic prints of different sizes. There was a small ledge on the wall, where some of the photo-frames rested. On the corner of the ledge, a photograph depicting three women caught my eye. It represented the different generations of females in Celia's family. It was a photograph of Celia's mother, Celia herself and Celia's daughter as a young toddler. It was taken many years ago during one of Celia's visits to Spain. Next to it, there was a photo-collage made in memory of her deceased father. It contained three photographs of him with his wife and other family members. Similarly to Yessica's photograph, these pictures depicted Celia's father in joyful, dynamic moments. His two surnames were written in big, elegant letters on the photograph, along with the year '2011'. The background looked like marble or granite. Due to my cultural background, I easily realize how comparisons to other places and commemorations of the

deceased could be easily drawn, as these two materials adorn graves in Spanish cemeteries frequently.

A fridge door and a living room wall hold mute images of a time, a place and a sensation that can no longer be attainted. The ultimate distance separates the images from the everyday. Both Yessica and Celia used paper photographs to "give misfortune a place in one's life" (Pauwels 2008, p.43). What Pauwels signals as an emerging function of digital and internet photography should in fact be examined in relation to early photographic practices. In particular, this could include photographing the deceased, combining hair and photographs in displays of beloved ones, and hanging these pictures on the walls of the parlour (Batchen 2004). Photographic practices of transnational families are not confined to either the digital or analogue areas of photography. Certainly, material mediations play a role, but always within a context of use. Yessica and Celia wanted to see their fathers on a daily basis in an accidental, spontaneous way. As such, displaying a paper copy of the photograph in their houses was preferred because the confinement of their fathers' image to an internet site or digital storage implies that seeing the images in the middle of the day would not be accidental, but a conscious, intentional act. Even if these photographs had been stored in a digital frame, the act of turning the frame on would have been intentional.

Digital frames were not the preferred framing device of the families interviewed as they felt that they somehow drained the photographs of their meaning. For instance, Celia expressed her dislike of digital frames on two separate occasions.

> *Celia: I am absolutely not a minimalist, especially if they [the images] have meanings that remind you of something. I mean that they are special and this is the very reason why I don't like digital frames. They don't mean anything.*
>
> *Celia: If you want to see a slide-show, you are better off at the cinema.*

Pedro and Maria had a digital frame at home, but it was not used. I found it in the corner of a windowsill in their home office. When they first got it, both of them used it. Maria used it more often, in a similar way to how she used the display of their digital camera to look at photographs. However, the design of the frame didn't appeal to Maria and Pedro, and it did not fit in with their approach to practising photography. The fact that the frame had to be plugged in for it to work was seen as a hassle. Furthermore, selecting photographs and transferring them onto the memory cards, to then be put into the digital frame, was also perceived as an obstacle not worth overcoming. Lack of customization – for instance, regarding the number of seconds each picture would be displayed in the frame – was off-putting as well. Their complaints were in fact widely shared, as other participants expressed the same frustrations with digital frames.

Pedro and Maria spoke about how his parents use a digital frame every day.

> *Pedro: My mother turns it on every day. She has 2000 photographs on hers (laughs) and she turns it on every day. Every day. And in fact they look at it and they comment [on the photos], don't they? [Pedro addressing Maria]*
>
> *Patricia: And where do they have it? In the living room?*
>
> *Maria: In the kitchen.*
>
> *Pedro: On the dining table. In the kitchen but where they eat.*
>
> *Patricia: So it is quotidian. It is interesting because I don't know many people who own a digital frame.*
>
> *Pedro: I, well I would like to have it handier like my mum.*
>
> *Maria: Yes.*

Image 16: On the windowsill of the room Pedro uses as his home office, I found a digital photo frame. It was disconnected and not used.

Digital frames seem to walk the line between the analogue and the digital. There appeared to be some value regarding how these devices retain the formal display of paper prints, while offering some of the advantages linked to networked images. However, most did not appreciate the sense of indecisiveness attached to digital frames. Families signalled a lack of portability, few possibilities of customization and the hassle of file transfer as hurdles and thus, reasons not to incorporate digital frames into their photographic practices. Beyond that, Celia strongly believed that digital frames emptied her photographs of meaning. The stream of snapshots shown in a loop over and over again did not conform to her understanding of how and why photographs should be exhibited at home. However, Celia regularly exchanged photographs through *WhatsApp*. For her, the difference between these two forms of exhibition was that in message applications, images are always embedded in a conversation, while that is not necessarily the case with digital frames. However, as Pedro stated, his parents comment on the photos as they appear on the screen of their digital photo frame; thus, embedding them in a conversation. The stream of images trigger comments. It is almost as

if the photographs were taking turns in a three-way conversation between the couple and the digital frame. Message applications such as *WhatsApp,* however, seem to be less present. When an image was shared and thus, appeared on the screen of Celia's *smartphone*, she knew that somebody had intentionally sent it. In this way, the image still retained "the magical meaning" that Celia attributed to photographs, and the sense of permanence and certainty Yessica talked about with regard to the frames on her mantelpiece.

> *Yessica: This is how they [analogue photo frames] were made, the moment was like this because of a reason and it shall remain so. So it was. So it stays.*

Paper photographs call for practices different to the ones enabled by networked images. Printed copies of digital photographs seem to still respond to contexts of analogue photography, such as framing and exhibiting on walls, mantelpieces or fridge doors. Networked images, on the other hand, can be displayed both on mantelpieces, by means of devices such as digital photo frames, and/or in online places, such as blogs or social networking sites, as well as on offline screens of all sizes. Furthermore, networked images enable photographs to overcome distance immediately (Villi 2010; Villi 2016). Van Dijck goes further by stating that digitization hasn't given rise to the tendency of associating photography with the everyday and communication. Instead she locates this within "[…] a broader cultural transformation that involves individualization and intensification of experience" (Van Dijck 2008, p.7).

Image 17: Pedro's parents also make conscious efforts to keep kinship alive in spite of distance apart. In addition to displaying photographs on the door of their fridge, as Pedro observed, they turn on their digital frame every day and look at photographs while they eat lunch or dinner. Also, every birthday and name day of a member of the family is marked by a laminated slide, such as the one Pedro's daughter received for her birthday a few days before my third meeting with them.

The analysis of the photographic practices of these four transnational families has revealed, so far, that the intensification of experience is one of the goals leading their practices. However, the issue of the individualization of the photographic practice hasn't been so prominently referred to by participants. At times, they made clear who was behind the lens or the keyboard and at which times. Although at the start of the fieldwork, these families tended to send photographs, especially camera phone images, to one person at a time, a few months after the use of groups to share photographs became commonplace for all four families (a trend that was also true for the other participating families).

Photography has always been a tool used by families to remain in touch despite temporal or spatial distances. Sometimes, the sense of touch is literally embedded in the photograph, by means of adding a lock of hair for instance

(Batchen 2004). At other times, photographs become a part of utilitarian objects that we are compelled to touch, such as mugs, key rings and t-shirts.

> *Maria: We made my dad a t-shirt with an ultrasound when S (their first daughter) was born, but we don't do much of this. We don't do mugs...*
>
> *Pedro: Once, once we did another t-shirt for him with his two grandchildren, but nothing else.*
>
> *Patricia: What motivated you to do the t-shirt? Why a t-shirt and not a paper photograph? Because he can actually wear the t-shirt?*
>
> *Pedro: Oh yes and he likes it a lot! Well, they were his first two grandchildren and he was very proud so we thought he could wear the t-shirt every now and then.*
>
> *Patricia: The t-shirt is a photo that you don't keep just for yourself; on the contrary you show it.*
>
> *Pedro: Yes, like, 'this is my grandchild!' And it is true that we haven't done any more things but only because we don't have time, we have too much on our plates.*

Image 18: Photo-objects populate Yessica's home. Some of them also travel.

These objects are made to last both in terms of their material and representational properties. On the contrary, *Snapchat* pictures are intended to last a maximum of ten seconds. Gala's oldest daughter, who is twenty years old now, used *Snapchat* often. She thought it was great because the photos were not stored on the phone, so the memory didn't fill up. She often asked her sister to take photos of her back so that she could see how her hair and outfits looked. In this example, the camera phone functions as a mirror and its reflections are similarly non-lasting. As Van Dijck has pointed out: "[A] younger generation seems to increasingly use digital cameras for 'live' communication instead of storing pictures of 'life' " (Van Dijck 2007, p.58).

Family photographs often depict idealised versions of family and family life. However, behind this construction lays an intrinsic human need for producing pictures and the desire to communicate within our circle of reference, to share our perceived reality with those in our circle. As indicated before, mediation, in its many forms and shapes, risks transforming the media and the actors (Lanzeni et al. 2014). The liability for change, and of loss, associated with the digital was effectively expressed by Yessica: "Technology is great but you never know what tomorrow might bring. It is good to sit down and share the photographs. My son and I have done it. It is different. It is very different".

Within the discussion of phatic communication, networked images have been associated with actions such as keeping in touch or talking. However, embedding photographs in conversations is not an exclusive feature of networked images. At times, stored photographs are shared in face-to-face encounters. Yessica and her son sometimes sit down and look at photographs. She perceived this act of sharing the images in close physical proximity with her son as being a very different experience to the one of sharing photographs over space. Although the opportunities to undertake such an activity are scarce for geographically distant members of a phatic community, all participants agreed that sharing photographs face-to-face was their favourite communal way of photographic exhibition. For instance, every time Pedro and Maria visit

her family in Slovakia, they spend hours looking at and talking about photographs.

As previously discussed, the photograph of their son in the laundry room stands as an example of spontaneous photography. It is now time to further explore the narrative about this photograph, as it helpfully emphasizes the strong relationship between images and telling.

> *Maria: Then there is a lot of room and there is no furniture or anything and they were playing, running and they sat down like this opposite to the bathtub. And they were sitting down and I quickly grabbed the camera because I thought the way they were sitting down was funny and they are not like that, together, very often, so that I cannot catch them like that, or do a photo often.*
>
> *Patricia: And when did you see this photo for the first time after having taken it? I mean, usually when you take a photo, yes you see it on the camera display. But I mean, when did you see it again a while after?*
>
> *Maria: With my parents, I think about a week later.*
>
> *Patricia: Did you show them to your parents on the camera or…*
>
> *Pedro: On the computer*
>
> *Patricia, Ah, on the computer. And why did you want to show them to your parents or what did you want you show your parents with the photo when you showed it to them a week later?*
>
> *Maria: That our children are charming*
>
> *(laughs)*
>
> *Pedro: We always show them to Maria's family. Always, every time we go there or every time they come, every time we see each other we show them all photos we have taken since the last time we met. They like it very much and we can easily spend an hour or more talking.*
>
> *Maria: Talking, fighting…*
>
> *Pedro: And it can be around what happened with the photo was taken. They like it a lot. They are quiet and well since we were in Slovakia then a week after, we*

> *were in their house and then we were there looking at them.*

While memory and reality reproduction are classical functions associated with the photographic medium, new media environments are transforming what we do with photography and what we use it for. Dialogue, conversation and connection are keywords often used by transnational families to define the context in which the photographs they share are embedded. These keywords differ from remembering and evidencing; thus, pointing out not to the affordance of indexicality but that of publishing. It is indicated that everyday photography today is much more about the present than about the past. Furthermore, it is suggested that the medium of photography, beyond the sign, strongly transmits a sense of the experiential and the sensorial. Everyday photography partially fulfils the yearning for connectedness in transnational families.

5.3. Memories for today, memories for tomorrow? On Materiality and Remembering

In the first section of this chapter, it was established that photographic exchanges in transnational families contribute to the creation of places where members of a phatic community interact with each other. These places are known as *tele-cocoon*s, and their most salient quality is that they allow for (dis)affection to be transmitted and intimate interactions to occur. The emergence and functionality of *tele-cocoon*s is sustained by the conventional character of the photographic practices of transnational families. In other words, a series of mimicable and well-established acts build the foundational ground from where geographically distant members of a phatic community can mediate (dis)affect and intimacy.

As addressed in the second section, the digitisation process and the expanded context of new media has given rise to myriad mediation tools or platforms – in short, media – from which prosumers choose. A chaos or entropy is certainly present in contemporary photographic practices of transnational families.

However, this factor doesn't necessarily have a negative impact on these practices. On the contrary, specific media forms are employed at certain times and embedded in concrete communicative acts. Through processes of customization, transnational families develop routines that suit them best and afford them the ability to exercise control over the widespread use of their images. In the development of these routines, both the distinct affordances of each media are taken into account, as well as particular experiences to be thereby enabled. The material and technological aspects of singular media come under scrutiny insofar as they promote social co-presence and the generation of social capital.

As a result, transnational families make use of a custom-built constellation of affordances and media that best translate or adapt to their needs, such as keeping in touch in spite of spatial distances, having ongoing and ever interrupted conversations, negotiating kinship. These transnational exchanges genuinely change the everyday of these families as they open up possibilities for affective and intimate interaction in spite of being distances apart. Each of these exchanges is a proactive investment in a relationship of kinship that gives rise to accounts of affection and intimacy.

The socialization of children in larger family units and generations of intimacy across space have been identified as main outcomes of contemporary photographic practices of transnational families. Photographs are used to generate social capital and social co-presence. Overcoming the physical separation of loved ones is not only a central reason for transnational families to use photography like they currently do, but also a substantial change in the traditional understanding or perception of the medium. Photography is used not only to build memories for the future but to create shared experiences in the present (or very recent past if we are very technical about it). As noted above, ephemerality underlies the photographic practices of transnational families. Also indicated above was the fact that impermanent photographs (aka *Snapchat* photographs) are used differently than traditional ones. For instance, they are employed as mirrors to check hairstyles and apparel before

a night out. They can also serve as conversational ice-breakers when sent in the middle of a routine activity, such as an outing with the kids to the nearby park. The definition of picture-worthiness is changing.

The process of digitisation and of convergence, along with the logic of prosumerism and immediacy, have given rise to novel ways of photographing and of using photographs. Short-lived moments are captured; fleeting-but-shared experiences are generated through photographic exchanges; transitory places are filled with meaning. But do users still look beyond the value of the now? Are they still making plans for the future? Do they worry about what will happen to the volatile digital images that convey and sustain emotions today? This next section deals with the last step of Grainge's(Grainge 2011) regimes of transmission – namely, storage. Through stories from the field, affordances and functions of different storage forms are explored and connected with questions about transgenerational memory formation (Hirsch 2008) and digital oblivion.

The expanded context of new media has certainly impacted the everyday life of transnational families at many levels. Quasi and synchronous photographic exchanges have changed the perception of distance as well as the processes of inhabiting spaces. Non-spaces of transition are often transformed into places of intimate interaction through communication technologies. The images exchanged in these ongoing, ever interrupted and frequently either dislocated or multi-located dialogues are saved by default. They overflow the memory of our multiple devices, such as *smartphone*s, tables and laptops. Do they fill up our shared memory too? Do we forget about those images immediately or do we dwell on them?

As indicated before, the emergence of impermanent photographs and of software tools such as *Snapchat* indicate a different approach to photographic images. This is an approach that fosters detachment and the instrumentalization of networked images as opposed to the strong emotional attachment and "magical meaning" associated with analogue photographs. Celia certainly felt that way about photographs stored as power-point

presentations and digital frames. She was certain that her children disregard digital photographs easily because they are constantly surrounded by them. She thought that for her children, cameras were more a toy than a tool of representation, communication or creativity. The understanding of photographs as memory triggers has not been acquired (yet) by Celia's children. While functional toy cameras have been manufactured for over five decades, recent years have seen a great growth of novelty and toy digital cameras marketed specifically for children. Images of the latest popular trends are garishly printed onto plastic covers to create the latest edition of plastic camera toys catering to young children. A *Google* search reveals a recent major trend: Disney's *Frozen*. Major toy manufacturers such as Lego or Fisher Price have also released their own branded models. This trend suggests a strong association of photography with play and leisure time, something that has also been observed as a motif within digital photography, as a consequence of carrying a camera-phone with us all of the time (Lehmuskallio 2012).

Thus far, this thesis has evidenced that networked images allow transnational families to keep in touch despite being distances apart. Sometimes, they are casual; other times they transmit affection. However, they always corroborate and celebrate relationships, despite often highlighting spatial separation (Villi 2014). They aid in the creation of *tele-cocoon*s, which allow for intimate interactions to occur. They foster a new form of being together. Social co-presence is enabled by these photographic exchanges embedded in continuous dialogues. However, these images seem to be forgotten as quickly as they are produced, shared and received. Pedro clearly believes this is the case: "So to speak, people look at digital photos for five minutes and they 'like' them but that is it, then they save them into their hard drives and they do not open the photos any more".

There are two fundamental assumptions in his statement. On the one hand, Pedro expects people to save their digital photographs onto hard-drives. On the other, he thinks people do not look at offline digitally-stored photographs. Both statements were only partially corroborated in the field. Although not in

unified ways, all participating families kept copies of their digital photographs. These were not always stored in hard-drives however. Sometimes, SD-cards were used instead since they were portable, and are not a part of a bigger machine that they perceived as being less prone to data loss. The families did look at digitally stored photographs. This might not happen as often as Pedro would have liked, or it might not be communicated, but participants admitted to going through digital photographs sometimes. When they did so, however, it was usually for a reason: selection. The participants all at times selected images - to be printed, to be deleted, to be copied, to be uploaded, etc. None of the participants indicated that they looked through their digitally-stored photographs in a similar way as they would look through photographs in an album. Folders and files were skimmed through with a clear goal in mind: to select images for a distinctive purpose such as elaborating a calendar or printing copies for relatives. On the one hand, a yearning for remembrance, sharing and telling was thus associated with opening a photo-album and leafing through it. On the other, opening digital folders and scrolling through hundreds of digital photos was associated with being productive and effective in selecting and processing digital photographs to be printed. In the first place, the act was functional as opposed to emotional.

Storing photographs in folders, themselves organized using a naming convention such as 'date_place_event' (the one Pedro used), responds to a utilitarian perception of storage. Filling cabinets replaces memory and intelligence (Bachelard 1958, p.77). Our human storage and retrieval capacity are thereby enhanced. Acting as data clerks, we enter items in a database of family life so that they can be retrieved if necessary. This utilitarian view, although possible and present in analogue family photography, is much more common in the current digital era. Technologies on their own already provide us with indexing categories such as date and location, but also more specific metadata, such as lens aperture focal distance. Storing photographs in albums is reflective of a completely different paradigm – namely, that of orality, camouflaged into literacy as a photo-albums take the shape of a book. In addition, these albums are tucked away from unintended audiences. They are

stored in drawers and wardrobes as they contain unforgettable memories that are sometimes shared but always emotional and often intimate.

Composing a photo-album is an art of its own that has been the focus of research in and of itself. Perhaps Martha Langford's work (2001) is the most detailed and innovative as she maps the production of photo-albums using Ong's theory of orality (1982) to prove that inclusion and placement of photographs on the pages of photo-albums anticipates the narrative telling. Her work fundamentally shifts the understanding of photo-albums from sites of storage to sites of oral transmission, as well as demonstrating the necessity of an empathetic connection between producers and receivers of photo-albums (Langford 2006). This connection has already been highlighted in this research through the phatic dimension of communication, and was made manifest several times when participants shared their photo albums with me.

> *Maria: This is our wedding photo-album. I would like to show you one photo.*
>
> *Patricia: OK*
>
> *Maria: I would like to show you one … You know, we did the photos ourselves. (Maria has opened the photo-album already)*
>
> *Pedro: These are the comments of the photos, you know? (Pedro points to several pieces of paper that are stored in a sleeve on the verso of their wedding photo-album).*
>
> *Patricia: Ah, how good!*
>
> *Pedro: Ah, yes, look at this. We also made this one ourselves. (Maria has leafed through some of the pages)*
>
> *Patricia: You even made your own wedding photo-album!*
>
> *Maria and Pedro: Yes!*
>
> *Patricia: Where did you get married?*
>
> *Pedro: In Slovakia. Our brother in law took the photos and then we printed them after having applied some silly effects to them. This one is a bit cheesy, but …*

(Pedro blushes and his voice changes a bit too, he seems a bit embarrassed) it was for the wedding.

Maria: But we like it because we have a meaning that is that inside our love everything is colourful and outside is colourless, but I like it. And there is another one, an Irish one that if you are interested in it. It is this one. It is a silly one, but … (She showed me a photo manipulation they did about them both and their time in Ireland).

Pedro: Well, it is not so relevant. We were just playing with Photoshop.

Patricia: But at the same time, this is very yours, because, you met each other in Ireland, didn't you?

Pedro and Maria: (simultaneously) Yes.

In this excerpt, it is clear that in order to fully comprehend the motifs behind the editing of Pedro's and Maria's wedding photographs, one needs to know their story as a couple. Where the required context was lacking on my part, Maria filled me in. In an attempt to reaffirm the rapport we had already created, I ventured to decipher the meaning of the second photograph that they shared with me. Pedro and Maria didn't go into great detail about how they selected photographs for their albums because they hadn't made any others since their wedding album. Once they became parents, a lack of free time prevented them from doing so, although Maria hoped to eventually go back to producing photo-albums. As noted before, time and the frequent use of camera-phones impacted their selection process - both of photographs to be printed and photographs to be stored: "We no longer censor ourselves that much," Pedro said.

Yessica didn't censor the content of her albums very much either. In fact, for her, they held "the forty silly photos you take" as opposed to the wall displays and mantelpieces where she kept the images of more memorable moments. Celia, however, carefully selected the photographs that would be the start of a photo-album for her goddaughter. She wanted the photographs to be representative of the time her goddaughter, her daughter and herself spent together over the years of holidays and visits to Spain. The album would act as

a testimony of an ongoing although intermittent relationship. These images, and some snaps she took for a school project, were the only photographs Celia printed in over the year-and a-half of fieldwork. Gala didn't make photo-albums at all but looked at the ones her brother carefully produced. The photographs that he showcased gave purposeful account of their lives throughout the years.

Photo-albums are still compiled with the strategy of remembrance identified by Langford and others (Rose 2010; Hirsch 2008; Chambers 2001). At the same time, they are used to respond to a need for anchorage and continuity that digitally stored photographs don't seem to fulfil. The fear of data loss is counteracted by the printing and storing paper copies. The production of these albums, even if filled with Yessica's "forty silly photos you take", might not respond to some strategies of orality identified by Langford, such as relevance and memorability, but they surely present a stronger sense of sequencing. They are reviews of past events, chronicled. They are not reduced to single images from which a chronological, detailed telling is not possible. Instead, sequenced images have the ability to tell a full story of their own. The pictorial narrative of these less curated photo-albums is probably stronger. However, as Maria's example above would suggest, the telling must be complemented with an oral account, which confirms inclusion in the circle of reference, and celebrates the relationship between viewer and teller, between receiver and producer.

What is very striking about this process of printing and storing without a curated selection is the perception that paper copies are more manageable than digital ones. The material tangibility of paper seems to satisfy the producers and keepers of the family photographic archive, as it offers physical continuity and anchorage. Paper copies in albums are heavy. They demand physical space to be stored and they are more expensive than digital ones. However, they afford quick access, visibility and unmediated retrieval. They have the appearance of being easier to navigate than digitally stored photos. Image management software certainly aids in navigating the many digital

photographs that we store in different devices. However, as stated, the navigation of digital images doesn't respond well to the storytelling aspect but instead, to productive strategies of data localization. Files, folders and hard-drives are commonly organized according to principles of effective retrieval, as opposed to the principles of transmission or of orality that are the backbone of photo-album creation (Langford 2001).

And as expressed by Yessica, sometimes, this automatic software-based classification of photographs is too intrusive. That is why she deletes her *Facebook* photo-albums regularly. Celia felt similarly about *Facebook* but the last time we met, she was delighted with the management tools of her newly acquired *smartphone*. It allowed her to keep an automatic back-up in a protected digital cloud. As opposed to content shared in social networking sites, the images stored in secure digital clouds are stored but not distributed. One keyword term needs to be highlighted here: password-protected content. Theoretically, Celia's automatic backup could not be accessed by anyone except her. Mobile phones featuring built-in automatic back-ups are a logical expansion of their technological capabilities. Already mobile phones are perceived as secure storage as we keep them with us at all times. Furthermore, we often use pin-numbers to prevent unintended access to them.

Celia could easily have produced photo-albums, selecting photographs stored in her phone and those that had been digitally shared with her. These images, and indeed, whole albums, could have been easily printed from her phone. A factor that Celia hadn't taken into consideration was the image resolution of the photographs she'd taken with the mobile-phone. She had been looking forward to printing some of them in large sizes to decorate her new house. However, she looked quite disappointed when I told her that a poster size would probably look very "pixely". Gala and Dario discovered this the hard way. For a period of time, they decided to rely on Dario's mobile phone as their only means to keep visual records of their outings and holidays. They especially like landscape photography and Gala would use some of the snaps for her paintings. Once they realized that the photographs looked good on the screen

of the phone but "pixely" in other screens or if printed, they started to carry their point-and-shot camera with them when they went hiking, or on holidays, or when their daughter celebrated her prom night.

Creating a simple means of printing photographs shared online is a niche that some companies have started to develop. *Cheerz* produces little boxes featuring up to 45 photos that customers can upload directly from their Flicker, *Google* +, *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *Dropbox* accounts, as well as directly from their computers. Importantly, only users' own photographs and those of *Cheerz*'s friends can be selected to be printed and part of a box. This ensures control over shared content and I presume prevents the company from possible legal issues. Interestingly, *Cheerz* imitates the traditional Polaroid aesthetic, a format that famously introduced the instantaneous snapshot in everyday photography. The digital application *Cheerz* allows users to go back in time and rescue shared photographs, many of which were captured 'instantly', and immortalize them in print. This allows for instantaneous networked images to be matched to almost instantaneous paper printing, yet through them, long-lasting paper-mementos for photo albums or frames.

Going back in time is one of the most challenging actions to undertake in social networking, especially messaging applications like *WhatsApp*. We can access the media galleries of these apps and websites in uncomplicated ways, either by user, group or all together, and we can swipe through the latest visual content shared, which is by default organized by date. However, searching for an image that was taken months ago can prove to be an odyssey as many of these applications do not feature any built-in search mechanism. The search is especially challenging for prolific photographers. The older the photograph, the harder to find it in the sea of impermanent images we produce, share and receive.

In short, multitudes of shared images circulate among members of a phatic community as a part of their everyday lives. Networked images are often stored by default, be it on mobile phones, digital clouds or memory cards. Their retrieval responds to the logic of efficiency, which forces prosumers to come

up with concrete storage strategies. Tagging conventions are implemented. However, looking for specific photos that have been automatically stored by any of the platforms used, such as *WhatsApp* or *Facebook*, can be very challenging. During our first meeting, Celia showed me fairly recent photographs she had shared with her circle of reference. She did so using *WhatsApp* on her mobile phone and promised to forward me the photographs soon after our meeting. However, she did not do so and by the time I reached out to her, about two weeks later, she was able to find only some of them. The rest had been buried in the sea of impermanent photographs and messages that had sustained Celia's affective and intimate relationships with her remote phatic community.

The further we move from the present, the harder it gets to find what we are looking for. Bachelard (ibid.) stated that cabinets and files substitute memory and intelligence as places of storage. However, it seems that the memory of files and folder, and the memory of family photographers speak two different languages. The former speaks of efficiency and indexing – the latter alluding to relevance and emotional meaning. When family photographers fail to bring the two together, the added memory and intelligence of folders and filing cabinets becomes an impenetrable maze that threatens to overwhelm and stress us. In the first chapter 'clicking' was equated with caring (Kaye 2006). However, instantaneous clicking works only temporarily. The effects disappear quickly; thus, the ever-resumed nature of digital photographic exchanges.

Material culture is also at the core of Hirsch's postmemory concept (Hirsch 2008). Although her research focuses on traumatic events and the generation of diasporic consciousness among Jewish communities, postmemory is a productive construct that is relevant to the field of transnational families. This is because it highlights the affective force of memory, as well as the strong relationship between the personal and the collective. Furthermore, Hirsch clearly states that the generation of postmemory involves active investment (ibid. 107). Thus, it is through the framework of practice that events of the past are made relevant for the present. Mediation is crucial in this process. Through

(photographic) objects, second generations learn and acquire memories of the first. Although they never experience first-hand what the (photographic) objects capture or represent, the second generations experience the revisiting and reminiscing that first generations go through when looking, touching, smelling and sharing (photographic) objects. This process, which is repeatable and repeated, and thus, a practice in its own right, allows members of second generations to create borrowed memories of their own. These memories are a mix of the moment encapsulated in the (photographic) objects shared with them, as well as of the practice of sharing. In transnational families, this process cannot and is not left to the mercy of automatic indexing and data retrieval. That is why paper copies are still very relevant in the everyday lives of these families. And that is why places of storage matter. This will be further explored below, as storage anticipates repeated sharing.

When it comes to preserving photographs for the future and keeping them organized, Yessica was certainly the most methodical and organized of all participants. This was mainly due to a bad experience she had which highlights the risk of loss within digital photography and storage as society comes to rely on quicker and cheaper photographic practices over more stable analogue forms. Her situation highlights the dichotomy that still exists between the two and how transnational families bridge these differences, taking advantage of both forms.

A few years ago, while copying files and updating the software of her laptop, Yessica lost her entire archive of digital family photographs. The event was very upsetting for her and she especially regrets having lost the photographs of her cousin's wedding and most of the early snapshots of her firstborn son. Luckily, some of the images were recoverable as they had been distributed among family members. From that moment onward, she made sure that no photograph is ever lost again. Apart from regularly printing photographs on objects, such as mugs and calendars, to be kept at home as well as distributed among members of the circle of reference, Yessica began ordering paper prints

of most of the photographs they take (90% according to her) and putting them in physical photo-albums.

> *Patricia: So what is the difference between the photographs you hang on the wall and the ones you keep in the albums?*
>
> *Yessica: Well, there needs to be a selection because otherwise I would like to have them all up, but it is not possible (laughs). [...] And here [in the album] are all the ones… well I could show you an album. [...] For example, these are the forty thousand photographs you take. (Yessica had opened up one of the analogue photo-albums and was showing it to me). And this is D [her son] when he was a day old. And this is my mother […].*

Photographs on the walls and on the mantelpiece are always there to be seen by family members and by "the visitors", as Yessica said. The space limitation forced her to make a selection; thus, she displayed only photographs that were very meaningful. Earlier, Miller's "accommodating" was discussed, which takes place between human actors, the house, and other contextual factors (Miller 2010). Yessica's photographic practice was clearly impacted by the house in which her family lived. The first way in which this is evident is the fact that she distinguished between photographs to be displayed either on walls, mantelpieces or on the door of the fridge, and those to be stored in photo-albums. She did so while anticipating the audiences of her images and the processes of sharing. Walls were reserved for big frames and rather formal depictions of her family. The first room "the visits" accessed was the hall and the versions of Yessica's family they first saw were the posed ones – the ones that reflect traditional values and celebrate collective identity, and thus, are part of the process of her family's socialization into wider cultural forms. It was not accidental that the family portrait Yessica considered to represent "my family now" was taken on St. Patrick's Day, and showed her children and her husband wearing green Irish t-shirts. She, however, wore a blue one, which she felt reflected her difference as a native Spaniard living in Ireland but not being Irish.

The second way in which Yessica distinguished between photos on display was that, within the group of photographs visible in the house, there were those that would remain constant and those she would regularly swap around. For instance, the photo frame previously discussed, containing one of the first photographs of her two children, was permanent. As Yessica said, “So it was. So it stays.” This frame was displayed on the mantelpiece of Yessica’s living room along with several others of the same size. Although some of “the visits” would enter the room, she displayed these photographs mainly for her family as it was used more as a family room than as a living room. The fireplace mantle held other images as well - mostly of her children at play – along with other objects such as their combs and baby powder. These were testimonies of the process of accommodating the living room to the specific needs and dynamics of Yessica’s family.

In contrast, a series of changeable photographs were featured in a self-designed 2015 calendar, which was hung on Yessica’s kitchen wall. As exemplified also by the fridge, the kitchen seemed to have a focus on more mutable displays. These displays were both photographs and objects. They mediated photographic representations of Yessica’s family but were instrumental at the same time. Dates to remember, errands and appointments were written down on the calendar. The morning coffee was drunk using a photo mug. The utilitarian agency of objects and of rooms - after all, these objects are concentrated in the kitchen - was counteracted by populating the walls and cupboards with photographic images of Yessica’s family life.

Furthermore, some of these functional photographic objects extended home beyond the house, including several other personalized calendars that Yessica designed herself, ordered online and gave as gifts to friends and family. As such, representations of accommodated home places that Yessica’s family inhabited became apart of other people’s homes, even if only for a calendar year. The agency of houses and of distance is counterbalanced by these photographic functional objects that still transmit affection and contribute to bring intimacy to utilitarian rooms. Curiously, during the fieldwork,

personalized photo-calendars were often encountered in kitchens. There are other objects that leave the house on a daily basis altogether – only to return. These are the key-rings. As Gala mentioned, they were something "very Irish" and were accordingly present in all four houses of the four families analyzed here, but in none of the other participant's houses (child-free families and people in shared accommodation did not possess photo key-rings, although they did have other photographic objects). The most striking of all the key-rings depicted a pregnant Yessica and her husband next to the crib where their first child, and then their second, would sleep. It is a very intimate photograph that regularly leaves the house and that is potentially seen by intended and unintended audiences. But keys are very personal items. They open the door to our houses and because of that who can hold them, use them and look at them is very limited. The photograph Yessica selected to feature on the key-ring certainly transmits the idea of belonging and of intimacy. In a sense, the keys and the photo key-ring are like a boomerang. No matter how far away they travel, they always come back.

Place as an event is linked to both agency and movement through space (Pink 2011a). Mediated events of display and sharing are, as we have seen, very diverse in the case of Yessica's family. Photo key-rings move inside and outside of the familial home, photo-calendars travel overseas and digital photographs go from the camera-phone to hard disks, storage clouds and if printed, to photo-albums and shoe boxes. Another example is one of the photographs taken by Pedro and Maria. The first photograph they shared with me was taken in the laundry room of their house in Slovakia with a point and shoot digital camera. It was forwarded through WhatsApp, exhibited on a laptop, printed and distributed among family and friends in Slovakia and Spain, and finally stored on a hard disk. For Pedro and Maria, their apartment in Slovakia represented home because they owned it. The photograph of their child in the laundry room mediated the experience of accommodation and allows Pedro and Maria to share it with their circle of reference (see figure 6, p. 122).

The journey was inexpensive, although not completely smooth. As we have discussed, the process of selection is time consuming and overwhelming for many. The digital stops photographs make along the way before getting to their final destination leave few traces. However, the paper print copies displayed in their house and in the houses of the members of their circle of reference mark places of remembrance. That is why Pedro stressed the importance of printing paper copies as their materiality provided a certain guarantee that the photographs would be seen long after they were taken and shared, as opposed to only five minutes after receiving them.

A third way in which Yessica made distinctions between her family photos was with regard to her storage practices – particularly, the ways in which she differentiated between online and offline digital photo-albums/collections. Her online collection was carefully curated and contained only recently taken photographs. Yessica was not alone in this practice. Gala and Celia rarely uploaded photographs to the Web. Instead, they kept offline digital copies of their photographs. This practice of systematically eroding online photographs – or of not sharing images online in the first place – is in strong contrast with Pauwel's analysis of Web-based family communications (Pauwels 2008). For transnational families, preserving fond memories is not a function associated with online photo-albums. The preservation of memories is instead a function of paper prints displayed in analogue frames and offline digital copies. For these families, photographs are proofs of experiences shared and as such, they are not just clickable: they are constitutive and the result of ongoing relationships. Photo-albums, whether online or offline ones, are considered both tools for storage as well as platforms for further circulation of images. However, accessing them is a privilege reserved for people who meaningfully sustain the relationship. Others do not really matter. As Yessica put it when talking about why she regularly deleted Facebook friends: "…look, dear I haven't seen you in a year. I don't hear from you and we don't see each other at work anymore and we never became close".

Intimacy, images and place have been linked together before. Bachelard distinguishes several different types of intimate spaces. Houses provide a point of entrance to "analyze the human soul" and the "houses of things", such as drawers or wardrobes, and allow for an exploration of the private and the intimate (Bachelard 1958). Family photo-albums are often tucked away in these personal hidden places, where access is granted on the basis of active and emotional engagement. As for family photographs displayed in the house, they celebrate touch-stone moments and indicate a need to revisit them. One example is the first photograph depicting both Yessica's children together. She "quickly grabbed the camera and took the photograph" because "this one cannot be forgotten". Accordingly, the photograph sits centrally over the fireplace in the living room. It helps to transform the living room into the family room, and it contributes to the feel of an inhabited familial space and a place of intimacy. "Not only our memories, but the things we have forgotten are 'housed'. Our soul is an abode. And by remembering 'houses' and 'rooms', we abide ourselves" (ibid.).

As social objects (Engeström 2005), shared photographs allow transnational families to engage affectively and intimately. They create cultural contexts of social life, such as *tele-cocoon*s, because they expand the possibilities for interaction. As seen before, distinct knowledge is developed around shared photographs, which both imbues them with agency and transforms them into performatives. Shared social realities, for better or worse, are both impacted by and an influence on the pragmatics of media.

Pedro and Maria felt frustrated with the substantial changes implemented to the sharing platform *Picassa*. They resorted to other means –WhatsApp and Line – in order to restore their routines of photographic exchanges. Again in contrast with the new functions of Web-based family albums identified by Pauwels(Pauwels 2008), Pedro and Maria did not seek to promote their familial images, and subsequent values and views, to the outside world - this is not to say that their photographs bypassed traditional values associated with family life. In fact, the case is quite the contrary. Their lack of interest in

connecting with unintended audiences or making online friends through their family photographs might explain why the two of them showed no interest in wider social networking sites such as Facebook.

A dedicated link allowing a controlled distribution suited Pedro and Maria's needs, which *Picassa* initially provided. However, once they tried the mobile phone-based alternatives, affording them the ability to share images in a more straightforward way, Pedro and Maria no longer activated the affordance of publishing that the site provided and *Picassa* became a digital cloud for the storage of their photos only. As Pedro indicated, they created a second *Picassa* account because they had run out of storage space but only for this reason. Buying cloud-based storage space, however, was something they would not consider as the price was too high, especially in comparison with offline hard-drives. So along with their collection on *Picassa*, they began keeping a back-up copy of their digital family archive on an external hard-drive located in their home office.

On the one hand, we have seen signs of the home mode of communication extending beyond the private realm of the house and the family. Yessica's Facebook activity, Gala's daughter's prom night photographs, and Celia's blog are a few examples cited earlier. In fact, the latter is a good example of creativity, technical skills, and the advertising of personal capabilities coming together (Pauwels 2008). On the other hand, control is a theme that participants kept bringing up when talking about distributing photographs online. Although many shared photographs on social networking sites and other album-based online applications, camera-phone and messaging applications, allowing one-to-one or group photographic exchanges, seemed to offer the families greater functionality and trust. This was primarily due to the fact that the apps allowed for greater control of the distribution of photographs but also because the process of distribution and delivery were seen as more transparent than the ones offered by Facebook and other social networking sites.

The simplest way to understand this situation is to compare current practices of family photography to a protocol of an epidemic outbreak. At one end, means are put in place to control unrestrained and random dissemination. At the other end, however, an offline archive is carefully developed to make sure that we learn from the past and prepare for the future. Learning is understood as both the process of keeping fond memories alive and of finding ways to share them better. Using the same analogy, even an antidote has been developed to illustrate this. As Lehmuskallio discloses, concerns about the public display of snapshots have resulted in the indexicality of photographs being neglected (Lehmuskallio 2012). Epidemic outbreaks are fought by doing research so that patterns of spread can be brought to the surface. The goal of this is to predict how something will behave under certain circumstances. Predicting is also a keyword in the vocabulary of transnational family photography.

The empirical research with transnational families reveals the relational and repetitive character of affordances, further revealing the circumstances in which certain affordances are activated in the photographic practices of transnational families. In the previous section, a range of tools, platforms and social situations have been visually laid out in order to offer an overview of contemporary family photography. Despite variances within this conversation, revealing a diversity of ways to conduct and organize family photography, there remained a specific set of affordances that kept coming up in the field as objects of discussion. Temporality, durability, storage, publishing, indexicality and predictability have been listed. The latter requires further discussion.

In 1996, Gaver compared the affordances of paper and electronic documents, providing an insightful account of the distinctive contexts of use depending on materiality (Gaver 1996). Although most of his arguments and predictions have since become dated – similarly to the claim of the dubitative nature of the digital (Lunenfeld 2002) - the theme of predictability remains relevant. The affordance of predictability explores existing and perceptible regularities which, 20 years ago were only concurrently emerging with digital and

electronic media. However, through the incorporation of the digital into our everyday lives and routines, patterns of use have consolidated. Others are still in the making – for example, the development of mobile-phone and camera-phone etiquette (Chalfen 2012). Contextual conditions are an intrinsic part of pragmatics and consequently, they are very much highlighted in the ecological approach that frames the theory of affordances. The affordance of predictability thoroughly explores the contextual conditions that activate specific patterns of media practice, such as looking at a photo-albums.

Predictability explains why overall, the families interviewed remained cautious about technology and still referred to the joint affordances of display and of the storage of paper-based photographs. Recall Yessica's statement, "Technology is great but you never know what tomorrow might bring. It is good to sit down and share the photographs. My son and I have done it. It is different. It is very different". Or how Pedro and Maria highlight the short life of digital photos, stating "[…] people look at digital photos for five minutes and they like them but that is it, then they save them onto their hard-drives and they do not open the photos any more. But then when you go back, my parents have some [of the paper copies] on the fridge (Maria assents). So I think is worth it [to print them] and so we give it more importance."

While the affordance of indexicality has not greatly influenced the contemporary photographic practices of transnational families, predictability (or lack thereof) has certainly had an impact. An examples includes when Pedro and Maria stopped using *Picassa* as he could no longer predict who would have access to the content of their accounts. Another example includes when Celia decided not to use Facebook as she could predict the widespread sharing of the content on the site. As mentioned above, indexicality is taken for granted by most users. The results of this research differs with Lehmuskallio and argues that when indexicality is negated, the obliteration is not made based on the force of photographs as traces, but instead based on the power of the uncontrolled and random dissemination of networked images. This paper argues that the affordance of indexicality is always activated by default.

Some prosumers choose to subvert it by undertaking heavy editing, such as Yessica and her wedding photo-collage printed on a mug. Editing allows her to have fun with her photographs and to change them, sometimes in extreme ways, so that they become something else other than just an accurate depiction of reality. Yessica's coffee mug is a good example as it was Pedro's and Maria's wedding photographs were colour was altered to reflect inner perceptions rather than outer concreteness. At other times, however, Pedro, perceived editing it as an insubstantial modification only, and therefore not affecting the indexical nature of the photographs.

In both cases, I suggest examining the editing strategy as a way to produce a better version, or an enhanced form perhaps, of past experiences. Already on camera as well as behind it, we actively choose to represent a better version of our family and of ourselves. This is one of the dimensions of contemporary family photography that hasn't changed dramatically. After all, families have traditionally favoured certain topics, such as celebrations, over others – illness and death for instance. They have also depicted topics in certain ways by posing, situating subjects in the centre of the shot or using backgrounds to reflect social status (these backgrounds can include objects such as houses, cars and landmarks, or more recently, food) (Hirsch 1981). Transnational families today are conscious of such symbolic interventions when they photograph. Underlying their decisions are their assumptions about the medium, revealing a wider cultural and visual literacy regarding family photography: photo-cameras capture reality but only as we perceive it, and photographs are remnants of this perception.

The negation of indexicality might to some extent be based on editing processes, but the decisive factor is the distribution and circulation of images in heterogeneous networks. More specifically, the affordance of predictability applied to the exchange and circulation of networked images explains why the status of photographs as traces is at times ignored. When the spread of images cannot be managed, we exercise our control elsewhere – often, by consciously perceiving family photographs as manipulations and surfaces, instead of

thinking about them as traces and deep insights into our family lives. The affordance of predictability is present in any medium. Expectations are set for each medium specifically and patterns of performance are observed, repeated and modified in an endless (albeit slowly altering) cycle. Family practices, cultural meanings and ultimately, social life are thereby influenced. When talking about photography, the default modus of the affordance of predictability is indexicality. By default, photographs are interpreted as traces. The predicted operative pattern of the medium of photography is to reproduce reality. It is true that the indexical force has an impact on how and when photographs are shared.

However, this raises other questions with regard to the digital arena. Does this indexicality really determine the online sharing of photographs? Have digitization and the expanded context of new media brought about a fundamental change in the indexicality of photographs? Editing possibilities have been substantially enhanced. No special equipment is required to modify colours, exposure or even to do photo-collages. Yessica had not even installed any software on her laptop to touch up her images. She exclusively used online editing services provided by the company from which she ordered her prints and photo-objects. Pedro, conversely, had researched software solutions and learned through different websites editing techniques, such as swapping backgrounds. At the start of the fieldwork, Celia wouldn't have dreamed of editing her photographs. She was an avid analogue photographer and back then, she used to print her own positives, but after becoming a mother of two, finding time to do so was the problem. However, during our last meeting, she proudly showed me the features of her new *smartphone*. With it, she was doing low-level editing, as well as adding text and frames to her snapshots. It was therefore clear that the transnational families edited their photographs often, and specifically, prior to sharing them and more so, prior to printing them.

But when Lehmuskallio and Rose state that the indexical nature of photographs determine how they are shared, they refer to another dimension

of indexicality. It is the sense of emotional trace. The feeling that a photograph somehow retains a part of the people depicted is what both authors identified as a factor dictating their practices of sharing. This "magical meaning of photographs", as Celia called it, is certainly still relevant today. Celia continued her reflection by assuring me that her children do not perceive photographs as magical any longer. It is because there are too many images that are not special, she said. It may also be because they are digital, as her daughter has a special place in her bedroom – the top of her dresser – to showcase paper prints which to her, are certainly more meaningful and perhaps magical.

This case illustrates the fact that the places where family photographs are kept are very telling of the "magical meaning" and emotional attachment associated with them. The affordance of publishing is not limited to networked images. The truth is quite the contrary. Celia's daughter displays two family photographs on the mirror above of her bedroom dresser. Although Gala had consented to the photographic house-tour, she didn't give me access to the bedrooms in her house as she opted to not share these photographs with me. Furthermore, places of storage are an additional strategy to control access. Sometimes, access has to do with protecting and caring for photographs, like when Pedro and Maria moved their wedding album to a "safe location" in their apartment (a wardrobe) as soon as their daughter was able to walk. Other times, safeguarding photographs takes a different meaning as it suggests divisions between insiders and outsiders. "A wardrobe's inner space is also intimate space, space that is not open to just anybody" (Bachelard 1958). Whether online or offline, models of storage speak of different models of intimacy.

This raises the question of whether it is also materiality that really regulates the practice of sharing photographs. Until now, both editing and affection have been linked to the material qualities of photographs. They have also been associated with storage. "The magical meaning of photographs" is thus linked to the sharing community. Material qualities play a role in photographs being objects in the world as they necessarily occupy a physical space and are

concurrently perceived as tokens of affection. An example are the calendars that Yessica customized with different photographs and dates depending on who would receive them. However, digital photographs can also be perceived as emotional tokens. Celia certainly thought so of the photo-kiss her cousin sent her when she was having a bad day. Sharing is seen as a form of caring.

At this point, it is important to reflect on how indexicality might impact the simultaneous storage and sharing of photographs online. Yessica pointed out her discomfort with the fact that people could accurately reconstruct the timeline of whereabouts and events in her family life when she created photo-albums online. Celia's blog featured family photographs that are available for the general public. When she told me the story behind one of the online recipes she posted, she made an important distinction between blog-photographs and WhatsApp photographs. The former are supposed to illustrate the different steps of the recipe. Although technically unnecessary, sometimes people – namely, children – were featured in those photographs. The latter are not prescriptive, but as seen before, emotional. As argued in the first section of this chapter, shared photographs transmit a sense of place (Agnew 2011) that allows for affection to be transmitted. Social co-presence and intimacy are generated when photographs are shared within a particular group, specifically, the phatic community. It is at this stage, at this level of kinship, that the how and what of sharing is determined. Both the former and the latter photographs, the blog and the WhatsApp images, are indexical insofar as they are perceived as depictions of reality. However, while the former doesn't presuppose a relationship of contact, the latter certainly does.

On the one hand, the dimension of trace in the affordance of indexicality, aka the truth claim of photography, is activated by default in our cultural acceptance of photography. On the other hand, the dimension of emotional trace over-and-above the pure indexicality of photographs is highly regulated by the sharing process. The emotional attachment to the photograph, as well as to the sender and receiver, influences two decisions to a significant degree. Firstly, the decision to share that photograph or a different one, or not to share

it with that person altogether, was important. Pedro and Maria would not share these photographs with the neighbours, but she sent them to a very good friend of hers. Secondly, the decision of how to share the image was also important. Pedro and Maria wouldn't share photographs of their children in pyjamas online because "it gives them the creeps." They also would not send them via e-mail, although they were fine with sending them through message applications using their *smartphone*s. The tools employed to share the pyjamas photographs were carefully chosen to ensure that the first decision, who to share the photograph with, remained their decision and not somebody else's, that is, either a prospective unknown third person (unintended audiences) who could further distribute the photograph, or the companies themselves who might hold onto their images unknown to themselves, such as Facebook.

The socio-material and co-present are fundamental elements in the emergence of possibilities of action (Bloomfield et al. 2010). Accordingly, affordances can be both prosthesis or extensions of man in a McLuhanian sense (McLuhan 1964; Van Dijck 2007, p.15-6), and improved versions of human attributes such as memory, as Bloomfield also indicates. Other human and social attributes that seem to be enhanced by virtue of photographic practices are identification/representation, affect/intimacy, inclusion/kinship and connection/communication. New media spaces promise to offer co-presence in the everyday. Effortless publishing, controlled sharing and immediate temporalities create expectations. The pragmatics of *smartphone*s and the expanded context of new media indicate that we can easily receive, return, recopy and retouch photographic images.

Although photo-albums are produced in order to be broadcasted (Langford 2001), sharing these with remote family happens only occasionally these days. However, such moments are highly valued and well-remembered. Yessica could clearly recall the last time she looked at a traditional photo-album with her son. So did Gala. Both cherished the moment and recalled it with a small anecdote. That is the way orality works: bigger tales and moments are broken

up into smaller pieces in order to aid the remembering process. According to the four narratives explored, traditional photo albums are reserved for an intimate circle within the circle of reference. As a result, in their function of socialization of newcomers (Pauwels 2008, p.43), traditional family photo albums are limited and complemented by other forms of display: mantelpieces, walls, offline and online digital copies. Levels of intimacy and affection again play a part with regard to access and action. As performatives, shared photographs are felicitous only for the phatic community. Photographic practices of transnational families are both open to novelty and structured alongside the celebration of kinship. Making rules and enforcing them implies the recognition of the performative power of technologies (Caron & Caronia 2007, p.37).

As agency is distributed among actors, structures and technology, it is unclear under which of these elements the action is under command at times. After all, users often skip reading long and tedious documents, stating the terms and conditions of use of, for instance, social networking sites, when agreeing to them. These conditions of use influence the distribution and reach of uploaded content. Thus, while the indexical nature of emotional traces of photographs surely shapes the sharing process, the affordance of publishing ultimately determines who is in control and therefore, how photographs are shared today.

5.4. The tacit and the intersubjective of digital photography

The methodological approach, the research design and concrete innovative strategies employed in this investigation have allowed for a holistic, systematic and ethical approach to the study of photography. As a result, the distribution of photographs has been revealed as the most salient feature of digital transnational family photography, which is the reason why photographic exchanges have been extensively analyzed and why in the next chapter the implications of these back and forth interactions will be further discussed.

For this research there were three initial hypotheses. First, that photography is increasingly used synchronously (Van Dijck 2007, p.99). Second, that digital photography extends presence rather than memory (Villi 2010; Villi 2014). Third, that contemporary photographic practices surpass the limits of remembrance by focusing on the experiential (Elo 2012). These three theoretical propositions were transformed into questions tailored for the empirical work in the field: how do transnational families use photographs?; do transnational families print photographs?; if so, why?; how do transnational families express affection and intimacy when they are apart? The existence of two different levels of research questions – one set of theory-led questions, one set of fieldwork questions – demonstrates the reflective character of the approach. In doing so, it acknowledges and builds on current epistemological debates in visual sociology (Pauwels 2010; Pauwels 2012; Harper 2012) and visual narrative inquiry (Bach 2007; Bell 2013b), as well as signalling the adequacy of these approaches for interdisciplinary media studies research (Moores 2012).

A core element of the methodology is its holistic and systematic character. Critical distance has been gained through the implementation of tailored visual methods of research: the visualization of the circle of reference, the visual display house tour, the narrative interviews with an element of photo-elicitation and the three phased consent process. At the same time, the position of the researcher – also a Spanish migrant resident in Ireland – has fostered the process of co-construction with participants. It also implied a

commitment to develop and attain a reflective research approach that could offer an answer to the ethical implications of working in private spaces, with private visual material and while observing and participating in practices of a similar nature to the ones surveyed. Systematic and structured interpretation has always accompanied data collection/construction.

The establishment of trust and rapport with participants was crucially supported by an original three phased consent process, which ensured confidentiality, transparency and the systematic accuracy of the research process. The step-by-step nature of this process also enabled a gradual development of trust and rapport with participants. This highly effective research tool allowed participants to exercise targeted control over their contribution to the study as well as nurturing a reflective engagement towards their own photographic practices and towards the research process. Recently, Horst has highlighted the importance and distinctive "challenges involved in navigating the power dynamics between colleague-collaborator and field-work relationship" (Horst 2016, p.19), an element that has been both stressed and critically addressed in this thesis also. Due to its efficacy and clarity, as well as to its potential to afford systematic data collection and interpretation while ensuring a holistic engagement in the field, the potential for the three phased consent process to be employed in other studies is very high.

Mapping concrete examples of photographic practices allowed for the observation of patterns of production, distribution, exhibition, reception and archiving of images. It revealed a vast set of expectations and disappointments linked to the distribution of images. The category of reception was added to Lehmuskallio's classification of "paths of images in heterogenous networks" in order to provide an analysis of the impact of distribution and exhibition modi at the level of affect and kin keeping. A recurrent motif of transnational family photography is to seek moments of connection. Connectivity is what both motivates and curtails the practice: processes of affective inclusion and exclusion are partially fulfilled in *tele-cocoons*.

Participants received a copy of all the visual material gathered. We reviewed it together and they took time to reflect and discuss the material. Afterwards, any modifications to undertake on the material were noted in both copies and the participants signed every page of the researcher's copy. This process ensured transparency and accuracy in the posterior work with the visual material. The reviewing process often led to conversations about patterns and sometimes triggered memories linked to the production, storage, distribution and reception of photographs. Conversations about networks of photographic sharing were also sparked by the review process. I consciously tried to build on participants' remarks by asking them to elaborate more. Some of them also expressed their regrets for not having tidied up their house before the visual tour, which I always made sure to praise as the investigation is about the practice itself, not about dressing it up for researching visitors. However, in my interpretation of the data I was aware of the impact that an outsider researcher has on these issues.

> *"It was very difficult for me to approach the participants and I felt cheeky for doing so. I think that my aura of insecurity was so obvious that it hampered my access to the families. I wasn't sure what to say when explaining my research. I felt compelled to justify myself at all times and in the back of my head I felt I was asking participants too much (…) I have developed strategies for small talk with my target group. How have I done this? Mainly by listening" (Field-notes September, 2013).*

When I started listening to the interviews it became clear that there was a certain disparity in the themes addressed by participants. Some of them engaged directly in some themes when others didn't. At times the discussion took directions that I hadn't anticipated. After gathering all these unexpected turns and themes I compiled a set of questions, which featured all keywords associated with the digital that had came up in the interviews. The fourth meeting with each family was subsequently designed as a semi-structured interview covering those topics. This flexibility is both inherent to the process of narrative research and crucial in the co-construction of data. They allowed

participants to gain some insights into the research as well as confidence in sharing their practices for the study.

Ultimately, this reflection brought about a further clarification of the research question. Photography was revealed as a cultural and social practice grouped in concrete forms and systems. The combination of the visual and social produces a synergy that impacts, perhaps even sustains, affective interpersonal relationships. Two strategies were implemented to reveal the dynamic link between patterns of practice and visual affect: being familiar while analytical with the data (Bach 2007). Only then the progression of themes over time is interrogated accompanied by a structured engagement with visual and audio files. This process reveals the absences of oral and visual accounts as well as the interplay between the two. A review of the theoretical concepts employed to develop the research question and research design took place at this point. The first, relatively long, set of codes was grouped first in a non-hierarchical way. It was then when the images from the first interview were taken into consideration and the list of categories was expanded by two. One category was sub-divided and a new one was added in order to house allusions to the circle of reference.

1. Place and space
2. Stages or moments of photographic practices
    a. Actions related to photographic practices
    b. Photographic hardware and software
3. Feelings and emotions
4. Experience.
5. Circle of Reference

Figure 16 .Final intuitive set of codes

Having found a myriad of photographic objects in the field, they were interrogated from the perspective of affect. What affects were these objects sustaining? Disaffects emerged in the form of unintended audiences, opaque distribution channels and ephemeral storage. The images produced in the field constitute an exploration of the materialities of transnational family

photography. And as discussed above, the line between analogue and digital is blurred by the successful co-existence of paper with electronic images.

Images and audio were analysed together using NVivo and following Bach's (2007) and Crang and Cook's (2007) approach. Together, images and audio or field notes become field-texts in which the meaning is negotiated between participants and researchers. The specifics of Bach's method include doing a content analysis of the images, followed by asking what the photo communicates before doing a negative analysis of the images (out-of-frame) and of the narrative. Images were coded according to their relation to the photographic practice of participants. Thus visual elements such as composition, light or colour were only coded when they were mentioned by the participants during the interview because the level of research analytical abstraction still needs to let the voices of the participants emerge.

The "Pictorial Communication Framework" (Lehmuskallio 2012; Chalfen 1998) was slightly modified by adding the dimension of time and the dimension of the circle of reference. The latter allows the tracing of trajectories of specific photographs shared. It extends the categories of distribution and exhibition by including audiences. The former enables an exploration of patterns as processes and actions that are part of the practice of family photography that unfold over time. The category of time also allows for the continuous reflection on the actuality of shared content and thus to further explore the relationship between the here-now and there-now / there-then (Villi 2014). A more detailed account of each coding cycle and its particularities is provided in the appendices.

The exploration of photographic practices of Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland has functioned as a case study whereby speculative theories about the impact of digitization on the photographic medium have been empirically addressed. More field research is needed to further develop a social theory of pictorial media that accounts for continuities in the past as well as for future possibilities. For instance, as revealed by Fortunati and Taipale, the national context is an influential variable on how women use mobile phones (2012,

p.547). This present study has the potential for generalization as both women and men participating in the study, however, further research would be needed to determine the extent to which the negotiation of national belonging in transnational families impact on their media pragmatics. Undoubtedly, methodologies that explore both context and content in a collaborative research approach will allow a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay of visual communication and affect.

Photography beyond representation poses challenges for both scholarly discourses and users. Researchers need to tap into the tacit knowledge of communities if we are to first, understand ongoing shifts in the practice, and second, respond to them.

Throughout this chapter the point has been highlighted that the photographic practices of transnational families rely as much on shared conventions and individual experiences as on perceived opportunities for (inter)action. Family photographs gain their force thanks to a sense of phatic communion, as all performatives do. Furthermore, by responding to both the logic of the trace and of the externalizations (Ruchatz, 2004: 88-90). Family photographs escape the dichotomy of objectivity/subjectivity. Likewise, affordances also escape the simplistic, binary logic of being seen as true or false. Affordances in the context of family photography have allowed us to explore how the elements that transform a snapshot into a family treasure, a photo message into an expression of love, or a Facebook group into a little piece of home. Photographic practice contributes to the formation of spaces of familial interaction that overcome the physical dispersion of family members.

The four narratives presented throughout this analysis chapter have enabled a thorough exploration of particular context of contemporary photographic practices in transnational families. The next section will move from the specific into the general, by means of more closely addressing the big themes thus far identified: control, distribution and connectivity. The relevance of long-distance communities, and specifically the impact of instantaneous time affecting the generation and negotiation of kinship within them, will be

thematised first. Building onto this, the pragmatics and ontology of photography as a medium of the everyday will be surveyed - materiality and visuality beyond vision are the two core ideas that will be developed in this section. Finally, a journey through the contemporary politics of memory will lead to a consideration of visual montage – in users' minds and outside of them – as a contributing factor towards the persistence of paper copies and of albums as the preferred outcomes of family photography.

6. Digital Photography and Transnational (Dis)Affect

The digitization process has brought about important changes for media in general and for photography in particular. The last twenty years of photographic discourse (Lunenfeld 2002; Wyss 2000; Gunning 2004; Amelunxen 1997) have evidenced the need to develop a new theoretical framework for the study of photography. Questions regarding the ontology of digital photography in comparison with its analogue counterpart have been posed and discussed, yet the results do not fully account for the novel (and ever-evolving) uses of the medium, which this research has sought to remedy in some specific ways. In particular the fieldwork within this study evidences that photography functions today as a tool of connection as well as a tool of representation. These new functionalities of photography have been traced back to the phatic dimension of communication, referred to here as novel pragmatics. This research proposes a hybrid theoretical framework for the contextual study of digital photography, allowing for process of emotional communication and kin keeping, to be holistically addressed[42].

[42]Other scholars have also noted the need to develop a new way of thinking and researching photography. From Batchen(2000) to Edwards (2012), the emergence of a study of media pragmatics is well under way (Dirmoser 2005; Krämer 2009; Schürmann 2005).

6.1. Digital Family Photography: between screen and paper

While memory and reality (re)production are classical functions associated with the photographic medium (Holland & Spence 1991; Hirsch 2008; Pauwels 2008; Hudgins 2010), new media environments are changing this. In the digital era photography and the everyday intersect abundantly and this entanglement has accordingly received ample attention by media and communication studies scholars (Couldry & Hepp 2013). Cameras and digital displays are ubiquitous and populate domestic settings around the world. Digital media allow individuals to visually mediate their everyday lives in ways that were unimaginable only a few decades ago. In doing so, digital photography is now becoming coupled with dialogue, conversation and connection, expanding previous perspectives based foremost on indexicality and the question of trace. The pragmatics of these novel conceptualizations of photography have given rise to diverse new scholarship. Some authors have chosen to explore online digital photography (Gómez Cruz & Ardèvol 2013; Lasén & Gómez-Cruz 2009) or the evolution of tourist photography (Larsen 2009). Others have focused on how the digitization process impacts on political, religious and collective senses of belonging, such as nation and ethnicity (Watters 2011; Oiarzabal & Reips 2012; Ní Chatháin 2011; Fortunati & Taipale 2012). This thesis builds on this but also departs and differs in specific ways.

Digital photography is now used to mediate social and physical co-presence, in ways never before seen. First, this context results in an increased use of digitally visual interactions in which presence coexists with absence. Second, these interactions do not dissolve into the memory of their human participants but quite the contrary. For the most part digital images are now automatically stored (such as with Facebook and, more recently, Google Photos) so that they have the potentiality to return anytime. This dormant element of the digital is the main source of distrust towards new media in general and digital photography in particular, as the analysis of photographic practices of Irish-Spanish families reveals. Third, the realm in which these interactions take place is also expanded: visual records are uploaded to online platforms. Coping

mechanisms are in turn developed, which respond both to the novel public character of family communications (Pauwels 2008, pp.34–7; Lasén & Gómez-Cruz 2009) and the partial transfer of agency from human actors to digital media.

The point of departure was an exploration of the impact of the digitization process on contemporary understandings of photography. It has been argued that two intrinsic elements of the digital, transience (Murray 2008)and ephemerality (Grainge 2011), have an enabling character for (dis)affective communication, which previous scholarship had failed to recognized. In order to fully understand the coupling of digital photography with connectivity and communication, the field of study was narrowed down to family photography, which offers a series of advantages over wider approaches to contemporary digital photography, while also building upon them.

First, family photography is an established area of research where media studies and social sciences have intersected for decades. Second, ties of kinship delineate perimeters and nodes of connection that impact the pragmatics of digital photography. As discussed in chapter five, these entanglements can be accessed using visual methods of research such as the visualization of the circle of reference and the photographic tour of photographic displays. Third, contextualization and compartmentalization allows for a deeper engagement with the novel pragmatics of digital photography that more generalized approaches do not allow. Fourth, and strongly related to the third point, an empirical exploration of contemporary digital family photography both verifies and fleshes out theoretical propositions – specific to this research, to propositions concerning phaticity and (dis)affect. The research design of this study advances this methodological knowledge base, but more importantly it effectively responds to emergent patterns of use within digital family photography. As such it accounts for the novel functionalities of digital photography, what I call pragmatics, which as previously suggested and which shall be more fully discussed, deal with questions of the phatic and phaticity.

Digital family photography is impacted upon at any given moment by a myriad of factors specific to the medium and subject matter: infrastructural particulars, such as quality of Internet access; technological developments, such as facial recognition software, and of course socio-cultural factors, such as marking singular moments in the life of families and networks of social support. In addition, availability and use of new media are also impacted by media literacy[43], migration and buying power (Sarvas & Frohlich 2011, p.159; Madianou 2014). The cost of technology is one of the determining factors of contemporary photographic practices, which set these in relation with past practices and historical research in this area (Bourdieu & Boltanski 1965). These factors all interweave in complex and ever-evolving ways which are unique to family photography. However, as this investigation has demonstrated, the primary reason behind the prolific use of everyday digital photography by transnational families is neither ease of use nor access to means of production, but the ability to attach emotions – of affect and disaffect - to photographs. These emotions do not permanently reside in *tele-cocoons*, nor are they embodied in their users or in any possible material objects involved in these interactions. Instead, emotions function as a currency (Ahmed 2004, pp.118–120), so that value and meaning is ascribed to them temporarily and contextually. Along with buying power, media literacy, and migration, emotions impact greatly on the efficacy of digital photography as instrument of kin keeping.

Dialogue, conversation and connection are keywords often used by transnational families to define the context of their photographic practices.

[43]In the previous chapter both ICT literacy and digital literacy arouse as decisive factors that shape photographic practices of transnational families. The concept of media literacy brings these two together and expands them to include the following: the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create media outputs. Media literacy allows for a better understanding of the conditions of production, distribution and reception of media outputs, whether these are created by individuals or by organizations such as news agencies or broadcasting companies. Importantly, in the expanded context of new media, media literacy involves the awareness of the question of human agency and non-human agency. An expected extension of media literacy is the awareness and engagement in media justice, understood as advocacy to demand ethical standards and institutional policies to ensure equality of access to media and to education on media.

These keywords differ from remembering and evidencing, thus pointing out novel uses and understandings of photography. This demonstrates that digital photography today is much more about the present than about the past, and about transmitting the experiential and the emotional (always key elements of family photography) with easy, almost throw away immediacy rather than punctilious collection and nostalgia. Transnational family photography offers a mechanism to explore the novel pragmatics of digital photography. While mechanisms of intimacy disclosure have already been observed with regard to digitally connected migrants (Witteborn 2014), they have thus far been reported within the context of emergent futures for other familial constellations (Jamieson 1998). However, recent investigations indicate that traditional nuclear families also use digital photography to share interactions and remote experiences (Kennedy et al. 2008). The case studies selected function as an illustration of what could be called dispersed kinship. In an age of increased migration, to varying degrees the majority of families are, have been or will become transnational in some way.

One of the surprises encountered in the fieldwork was the persistence of photographs printed on paper and other analogue objects. Although none of the families surveyed uses film cameras, all of them regularly print photographs on paper and on other analogue materials such as mugs or calendars. As argued in chapter five, the aura of these analogue objects exhales permanence with presence, rather than simply responding to the base semiotic logic of the original (Benjamin 1935). Such physical objects allow for anchor points in the daily lives of transnational family members, whereby they are then able to meditate upon their loved ones when they are not physically or digitally present. This concreteness helps them to reflect and enmesh themselves in the transnational network of social support in which they belong. The concreteness of analogue photography is to a great extent lost when photographs are shared digitally. However, the repeated mediated presence and loss involved in sharing photographs digitally results in a repetitive element which, as the evidence reported in chapter five shows, combines socialization processes with ontological security.

Moreover, the intimate character of the activities and places of digital family photography can be read as a form of resistance against the two intrinsic factors of the digital: transience and ephemerality. Domestic spaces and everyday situations are repeatedly photographed in an attempt to counterbalance the short life of digital snapshots. Cameras are used in situations and contexts of intimate character, such as children's bath times, in order to surpass temporary absences of beloved ones. Accordingly, digital photographic practices of transnational families support the development of social ties based both on normative frameworks as well as on elective ones. As evidenced in the analysis, for example through Celia's cousin's virtual kiss or Gala's daughter's prom night snaps, digital photography sustains commitments and allows for care to be materialized in spite of distances apart. These practices align with new conceptualizations of family and affect (Beck-Gernsheim 1998; Weston 1997; Madianou 2012). However, the constant repetition involved in these exchanges can also hinder emotional relationships between participants somewhat, as the critical distance from which participants can observe, reflect, and act coherently with one another can be limited, not to mention the still real impact of being physically miles away from loved ones.

This partly explains the persistence of digital photographs still being printed on paper and framed, as well as other more permanent analogue objects, such as t-shirts and key-rings, which are part of contemporary family displays and family photographic archives. Moreover, it sets contemporary digital photography in relation to older ways of mediating emotions (Batchen 2004; Milne 2010) such as letters, postcards and keepsakes. This in turn verifies the proposal outlined in chapter two, when analogue and digital photography were defined as practices situated in a continuous spectrum of possibilities and their materialities conceptualized as complementary and thus coexisting.

With regard to transformation and movement, the physical presence of paper photographs is clearly tied to the physical presence of their owners, adding to the power of their presence. After all, when analogue photographs travel, they

do so by the same means and at the same speed human actors do. Digital media qualities and pragmatics are of course different, specifically in their simultaneous ubiquity, transience and mutability. Digital photographs can be instantly multiplied and effortlessly transformed. Moreover, this logic further accentuates a traditionally reductionist understanding of tactility because, in digital photography – and in the expanded context of new media - touching becomes simply a functional quality – swiping to see an image is not the same as holding an analogue photograph in your hand (Elo 2013, pp.21–25). Also Sassoon warns of the dangers of digitization, which allegedly strip photographs of their material qualities, leaving the images "to be judged solely on [their] image content" (Sassoon 2004, p.210). Nonetheless, there are still non-material factors that add more complex meaning to digital images: image resolution and metadata for example, but also other conceptual, (dis)affective and sensuous processes pointed out by Elo that overlap somewhat with analogue. Although these contextual factors specific to digital photography have historically been ignored in academia, in favour of image content, they now also need to be taken into account in order to understand the pragmatics of the digital medium just as much as those of analogue.

6.2. Digital Photographic Exchanges: mediating (dis)affect.

Connectedness is sought and made worse in digital transnational family photography. By participating in the acts of taking, sharing, deleting, displaying, talking, and most importantly, collectively living via their digital photographs, the participants actively - or (dis)affectively, rather - engage in communion with one another, continually re-enmeshing their lives with those of their physically-separated but emotionally-close families. Recall here Celia and her cooking blog, which allows her to participate in an "intimate", "convivial and communal" experience in spite of distances apart. As such, digital family photographs are becoming "(…) more effective as objects of communication than of memory" (Van House 2011, pp.132–133). A holistic approach to the study of photography has revealed these otherwise and often overlooked dimensions of this particular communication medium and reveals the potential of photographs to be tools of emotional communication. As an example of "intimacy at-a-distance" (Elliot & Urry 2010, p.85), transnational digital family photography changes how interpersonal connectedness and (dis)affect is experienced.

This investigation with transnational families has revealed a complexity of relations, in both overt and more nuanced ways. The social ties fostered by contemporary photographic exchanges are situated in the midst of everyday routines (Goggin 2006; Rivière 2005; Ames 2006; Bird 2003; Okabe 2004), rather than only coupled with the celebration of extraordinary moments of family life, a characteristic long associated with traditional family photography (Chambers 2001; Rose 2010; Hirsch 1981; Bourdieu & Boltanski 1965). This situation, apart from having generated some specific aesthetic forms (such as arm-length 'selfies' of family groups), intrinsically places home spaces and domestic routines in front of the lens, as evidenced so clearly with the families studied. Digital photography brings both the indexical character – the depiction of a reality – and the spatial location – the emplacement of a moment in time – into the layer of mediation. The process of experiential sharing gains relevance.

In order to understand the ways in which digital photography fosters connectivity and emotional communication in spite of distances apart, the phatic dimension of communication has been explored in this research. Recall here that the phatic was defined in chapter two as the communicative factor that regulates relationships of proximity and social contact (Malinowski 1923). Processes of inclusion and exclusion in a group are in first instance phatically managed through interactions that are socially and materially located. Oldenburg analysis of the processes that lead newcomers to become regulars in bars highlights the importance of phaticity (Oldenburg, 1989, p. 28). Phatic interactions could be thus seen as tools of belonging. These interactions depend on socio-material factors and are emplaced in spaces created to that effect, which have elsewhere being referred to as *tele-cocoons* (Habuchi 2005) or third places (Oldenburg 1989) and that could also been understood as phatic zones.

The originality of phatic zones in the digital era resides in their ubiquity and immediacy. Phatic zones function because the communicative acts performed there are emplaced, structured and contextualized by a community, which this research has successfully identified as the habitual photo-sharing circle. The act of sharing photographs facilitates the creation of phatic zones, which are distinct from the physical spaces of the sender and receiver. They are phatically generated environments, where cultural expectations have the potential to become malleable, flexible and expanded as it allows for an encounter between migrants and non-migrants. The phatic dimension of such places enables implicit knowledge to surface, along with the acknowledgment of failure to comprehend the cultural other (Loenhoff 2011). This moment can productively lead to a further exploration and generation of empathy towards cultural and social difference.

The phatic zones in which the novel pragmatics of digital photography take place have been further explored in this research by employing two theoretical concepts: (dis)affect and affordances. This pairing provides both a structure for the inquiry as well as flexibility of approach for the analysis and interpretation

of data. By employing affordances as a concept in the study of digital photography, attention has been drawn to both agency and materiality. Technologies and their use have an effect on structures and on practices, as well as on the relationship between people, things and their environment (Hand et al. 2007). When employed in domestic settings, digital technologies become part of everyday life. Connectedness is achieved by photographic exchanges and, as transnational families have reported, (dis)affect is subsequently generated. The experiential sharing of photographs within a phatic community allows for emotions to be attached to the images in the present and future (Hirsch 2008). The active engagement that such an emotive relationship requires is often digitally assisted, e.g. birthday reminders. This engagement endows digital photographs with social relevance as they become proof of inclusion in a group and therefore are tools of socialization and kinship.

This research has argued that the actions of both curtailing and nurturing the affordances of digital media are how phatic zones become nested, inhabited, and intimate. These actions inherit the qualities of the affordances they respond to and thus they cannot be conceptualized by a dichotomy of good versus bad. Actions are transformations of perceived realities and are always mediated. The mediation of presence has a transformative potential that users benefit from: patterns of affinity are negotiated and ultimately intimacy is generated. Recall here Maria's discussion about sending a photograph of her children in pyjamas to "a very good friend but not to the neighbour". The affordances of propinquity and publishing, discussed in chapter five, appeal to processes of distribution and display of photographs by which an active engagement is sought. Shared photographs are pointers towards everyday requests for interaction.

The affordances, activated by material and contextual elements, are contingent with place. And when media settings are perceived as places (Moores 2012, pp.8–25), affordances become contingent with mediated places, thus with the phatic zones of transnational (dis)affect. Through

affordances, expected and unexpected uses of digital photography are always relative to specific contexts of mediation which, inevitably, implies an exploration of the emotional dimension of mediation. Exploring the affordances of digital family photography has revealed the significance of the interactions between humans and devices, which as the fieldwork evidences is a primary source of preoccupation for families as it entails a negotiation of control and agency over the images. Yessica's regularly deleting all her Facebook albums in an example thereof.

The analysis of the affordances of digital photography in transnational families has led to the study of mediated presence as a contemporary form of kin keeping and the generation of familial intimacy are now based on interactions of affect and disaffect (Jamieson 1998, pp.15–42; Kennedy et al. 2008; Gabb 2004; Beck-Gernsheim 1998; Weston 1997). In contemporary understandings of love and care, actions count exponentially more than words (Jamieson 1999), even when they become customary overtime like photographic exchanges do. The act of sharing a photograph involves several steps, all of them directed to enable socialization processes: of children into larger family units as well as of elected family members into the bigger frame of kinship.

When shared within a social group, photographs are ways to handle presence and absence. Instead of capturing reality, digital family photography is about experiencing a version of it. As Breckner discusses, photographs are created with the intention of surpassing reality by adding something new to it. The process of visualizing moments, as well as looking at the resulting images, brings about a unique and striking phenomenon (Erscheinung) as well as potential for change (Breckner 2014, p.128) which, as the analysis has demonstrated, impact greatly on family dynamics. Photographs are shared in phatic zones and function at an emotional level, which is to say, these images precipitate processes of inclusion and exclusion as well as redefine the ability to act upon social realities. The near future will tell to what extent digital photographs continue to sustain and develop (dis)affect over time and space, particularly if their distribution as automated actions further evolves.

Photographs posted online are automatically collected by platforms such as Facebook or Google, and are shared with unknown others for publicity purposes e.g. Google Chromecast Background Images. Bachten's notion of post-photography (Batchen 2000) might soon be extended from the moment of capture to the circulation of images. If it does, questions pertaining to mediated (dis)affect will gain more relevance, as will the question of whether acts of care can be scheduled and still be effective.

6.3. Conclusions and further research.

Studying digital family photography implies looking primarily at non-professionally made, distributed, received and stored photographs. Theoretically, by taking a non-media centric media approach (Moores 2012), this research has explored photography from a holistic perspective, where contextual conditions have been accentuated in line with complementary works carried out in the social sciences. Methodologically, as fully discussed in the previous chapter, approaching the study of photography holistically, systematically and ethically, has successfully elicited otherwise obscured elements of digital photography. The pragmatics of the medium have been revealed through the fruitful development and implementation of innovative research methods, which significantly advance and consolidate the validity and relevance of interdisciplinary media research.

In line with the "exemplary case" (Bourdieu et al. 1991, p.268), digital photography has been approached as a practice in this research. Thereby the contextual conditions of both how photographs are viewed as well as how they are produced, shared and stored, have been taken into account. As a practice, photography is articulated by three elements: participation, repetition and place. Thanks to this triangulation a comprehensive understanding of how digital media impacts human communication has emerged. The elements of the practice have been shown to foster and sustain emotional interactions among members of transnational families, which are also supported by the affordances of digital photography. Communities of shared, often immediate,

experience and (dis)affect have surpassed the old limitations of geographical distance. Ontological security is gained through ever-interrupted yet ever-resuming mediated interactions. Domestic and family life is dominated by both the affordances of connection and those of temporary absences. The evidence reveals that photographic exchanges are much more than the casual swapping of snapshots. These back and forth interactions, seemingly impromptu and casual, respond to an appeal for emotional communication and function at a phatic level.

The phatic element of digital photography allows for an engagement with the reciprocal, intersubjective and often tacit knowledge and actions that presuppose but are also the fabric of contemporary digital photographic practices. Connectedness and empathy are established phatically in first instance. Senders and receivers become bonded in phatic interactions (Malinoswki 1923, Prieto-Blanco 2010; Prieto-Blanco 2016) that take place in phatic zones. Thereby, experiential contexts are reinforced and intersubjective knowledge is developed, sometimes generated, as the evidenced by the analysis of Pedro's and Maria's house collage in chapter five. Personal experiences are crucial for phatic interactions to be successful and it is through photographic exchanges that transnational families share experiences in spite of distances apart.

In short, for transnational families, phatic interactions activate three dimensions of communication: social biding, experience sharing and mediated cohabitation. The engagement in these customary, repetitive and always emotive interactions results in what this paper defines as the phatic community, which has been visualized as the habitual photo-sharing circle of each participating transnational family. Within these groups, exchanged photographs function as both initiators as well as outcomes of established phaticity. The photographs exchanged work as externalizations of shared experiences and as such they are enablers of community via both immediate identification as well as anticipated remembrance. Even if approached more simply as signs, exchanged photographs are still always taken, distributed and

recalled in reference to the shared experiences they point to, whether that experience was lived together at the moment of image production, and/or whether it takes place across generations and locations, time and space – either way the paramount element of phatic communion remains.

The evidence discussed in chapter five outlines the principles of contemporary digital photographic practices, which are distinctive from other forms of photography in their dynamism and contextualization. Rooted in emotional interactions, these practices respond to the phatic element of communication giving rise to a new conceptualization of digital family photography characterised by three elements. First, digital family photography is a practice of connectivity. Second, a closer look unveils the significance of the spatio-temporal emplacement of digital family photography as well as the diversity of materials involved. Third, the fieldwork has proven that digital family photography is an intrinsic reflective practice. In digital family photography, photographs are utilized and comprehended beyond their referential character in that they are a means to achieve a social sense of belonging and community. The communicative interactions fostered by these familial photographic exchanges highlight this, the non-semiotic elements of photographs.

By mediating the everyday, photographs are granted performative force, which is manifested at many levels. On the one hand are synchronous and mediated face-to-face intimacies between family members, loved ones and close friends. On the other are interplays akin to para-social interactions (Horton & Wohl 1956), in as much as both parties acknowledge each other's existences but are not equally engaged in the communicative process, for example when members of a Whatsapp or Facebook groups sparsely comment on photographs but do not share any images themselves. Analysing digital photographic practices of transnational families has evidenced the specificity of media used according to target audiences involved (habitual photo-sharing circles, for example). The conclusion to be drawn from this is that different forms of mediation address particular emotional needs. For the transnational

families of the case studies analyzed, photographs are catalysts for structuring kinship encounters and social transactions.

This research has clearly shown the need to reflect, culturally and institutionally, on the concepts of kinship as well as of belonging that new modes of digital photography impact upon. These two are intrinsically linked to everyday routines and their mediation is has an impact on interpersonal relationships that needs further study. The constellation of displays, platforms and tools brought about by the digitization process, elsewhere described as polymedia (Madianou & Miller 2012), is changing the pragmatics of interpersonal communication and has had a considerable impact on social practices of all kinds. Moments in time are photographed to preserve them for posterity. Moments in place are also photographed in order to share them across space, often with an immediate character. Photographs are used to enhance communicative processes of a different nature (verbal, emotive, cognitive). In relation to photography, memory and remembrance seem to be losing relevance, while immediacy and propinquity are brought to the fore.

The phatic dimension of digital photography points towards sensory processes related to the immaterial, which has started to appear as a theme in the photographic discourse (Elo 2012; Elo 2013). Connection, action and repetition structure phatic photography. Photographic exchanges establish and sustain kinship in spite of distances apart. By the structural repetition inherent to these exchanges, social capital is created. Children are socialized in larger family units and photographs become intrinsic elements of networks of social support. The employment of innovative research methods has provided access to phatic moments of intimate communication, otherwise obscured in both analogue and digital photography. The feel and the experience of place, as both context but also outcome of photographic practices (as singular, personal and implicit as it might be), have been accounted for thanks to an interdisciplinary methodology that acknowledges previous research in both social sciences and media studies.

Furthermore, the conceptualization of phatic photography presented in this chapter has implications for the wider research and discussion of phaticity. The analysis of data and the theoretical framework proposed here can be further expanded by scholars interrogating interpersonal communication and the different functions of language. This investigation has unveiled the productive value of the phatic dimension of everyday, intimate, visual communication, demonstrating that it is fundamental in processes of socialization of digitally connected migrants. Minimal communicative acts through which presence is reaffirmed are acts of emotion, varying in degree of depth but strengthened by perpetuity. As evidenced in the previous chapter, the (dis)affective nature of phaticity leads to the creation and corroboration of circles of reference and to the establishment of intimate modes of interaction. Even the barest form of phatic communication encapsulates tacit and intersubjective knowledge, being thus an instance full of contextualized meaning. This line of research was timidly pointed out by Malinowski (1923) and only significantly developed by to other scholars (La Barre 1954; Ruesch 1972) since then. The present investigation signals the potential of the phatic to further understand emotional communication and its mediation, and points to a number of ways to further expand the work herein.

Moreover, the research undertaken in this thesis has shown the productive potential of affordances to understand the relational properties of technologies. Under the lens of traditional media studies, transience and ephemerality are understood as hurdles and as intrinsic inabilities of digital media (Ulrich 1997; Wyss 2000; Lunenfeld 2002). Instead of curtailing the force of affordances before it even gets activated, a non-media centric media studies approach allows for uncovering the potential of digital media to be both hot and cold (McLuhan 1964, pp.42–44). It is neither the message, nor the content, but the medium itself which has social relevance, as does its pragmatics by extension. Research discourses now need to account for and reflect about the (dis)affective communities of place that activate the potentialities of digital photography. This research project has been a step in this direction.

By being collectively involved in particular experiences (directly or indirectly) we learn to call some pictures family photographs. At home, some of them are regarded as semi-private and thus they hang on the walls. Others are considered more private and therefore are stored in photo albums. Some of them travel by way of being reprinted and sent to relatives or friends. More likely however, many of them remain as digital files: ubiquitous, but also mutable, fragile and easily discarded or lost. Digital photographs are now used to corroborate the instantaneous present, or at least the very recent past, while at the same time enabling these interactions despite distances apart, be it across town or across the world. In other words, they enable immediate communication regardless of the geographical location of the participants.

The exploration of photographic practices of Spanish-Irish families living in Ireland has functioned as a case study whereby speculative theories about the impact of digitalization on the photographic medium have been empirically addressed. More field research is needed to further develop a social theory of pictorial media that accounts for continuities in the past, as well as for future possibilities of media use. Undoubtedly, methodologies that explore both context and content in a collaborative research approach will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay of technology, human agency and emotions to emerge. This research framework certainly poses challenges for both scholarly discourses and users. However, if the shifts associated with digital photography are to be understood, researchers need to continue tapping into the tacit knowledge of phatic communities. Only then informed and productive responses can be elaborated.

7. REFERENCE LIST

Agnew, J., 2011. Space and Place. In D. Livingstone & J. Agnew, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp. 316–330.

Ahmed, S., 2004. Affective Economies. *Social Text*, 22(2), pp.117–139.

Amelunxen, H. v., 1997. Photography After Photography. In H. von Amelunxen, S. Iglhaut, & F. Roetzer, eds. *Photography after Photography: Memory and Representation in the Digital Age*. G&B Arts International.

Ames, M.G., 2006. *The Social Life of Snapshots. The Past, Present, and Future of Personal Photography* [pdf] MIMS. School of Information University of California, Berkeley. Available at < https://webfiles.uci.edu/mgames/research/thesis_Ames_snapshots.pdf > [Last accessed on June, 15 2016].

Andrews, M., Squire, C. & Tamboukou, M., 2013. Introduction What is narrative research? In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou, eds. *Doing narrative research*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1–26.

Anon, 2014a. Asociaciones de españoles en Irlanda [Spanish associations in Ireland]. *Embajada de España en DUBLÍN [Spanish Embassy in Dublin]*. Available at: <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Embajadas/DUBLIN/es/Embajada/Paginas/Asociaciones-de-espa%C3%B1oles.aspx>[Last accessed on 23rd of April, 2015].

Anon, 2014b. Centros y asociaciones [Centers and associations]. *Consulado de España en Hamburgo [Spanish Consulate in Hamburg]*. Available at: http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Consulados/HAMBURGO/es/VivirEn/direcciones/Paginas/centros.aspx [Last accessed on 23rd of April, 2015].

Arendt, H., 1958. *The Human Condition* 1998th ed., Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

ASPI, 2015. *Homepage*, ASPI (Association of Spanish Speaking Parents Living in Ireland). Available at www.aspi.ie [Last accessed on 23rd of April, 2015].

Assmann, A., 2001. Vier Formen von Gedächtnis. Von individuellen zu kulturellen Konstruktionen der Vergangenheit [Four forms of memory. From individual to cultural constructions of the past]. *Wirtschaft & Wissenschaft*, 9(4), pp.34 – 45.

Auge, M., 1995. *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso.

Austin, J.L., 1961. *Philosophical Papers*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Austin, J.L., 1975. *How to do things with words. The William James Lectures*

delivered at Harvard Unviersity in 1955. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Bach, H., 2007. Composing a Visual Narrative Inquiry. In D. J. Clandinin, ed. *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 280–307. Available at: http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/handbook-of-narrative-inquiry/SAGE.xml [Last Accessed April 22, 2015].

Bachelard, G., 1958. *The Poetics of Space. The classic look at how we experience intimate places.* 1994th ed., Boston: Beacon Press.

Bail, C.A., 2014. The cultural environment: measuring culture with big data. *Theory and Society,* 43 (3), pp. 465-482.

Bal, M., 2003. Visual essentialism and the object of visual culture. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 2(1), pp.5–32.

Banks, M., 2001. *Visual Methods in Social Research* 1 st. S. Publications, ed., London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi.

La Barre, W., 1954. *The Human Animal*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Barthes, R., 1964. *Elements of Semiology*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R., 1980. *Camera Lucida. Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Batchen, G., 2000. *Each Wild Idea. Writing, photography, history.*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: MIT Press.

Batchen, G., 2004. *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, Amsterdam and New York: Van Gogh Museum and Princeton Architectural Press.

Bateson, G. & Mead, M., 1942. *Balinese character, a photographic analysis*, New York: The New York academy of sciences.

Becker, H.S., 1974. Photography and Sociology P. Hamilton, ed. *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, 1, pp.3–26.

Becker, H.S., 2003. Visual Sociology, Documentary Photography, and Photojournalism: It's (Almost) All a Matter of Context*. *Visual Sociology*, 10(1-2), pp.5–14.

Beck-Gernsheim, E., 1998. On the way to a post-familial family: from a community of need to elective affinites. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 15(3), pp.53–70.

Beck-Gernsheim, E., 2007. Transnational lives, transnational marriages: a review of the evidence from migrant communities in Europe. *Global Networks*, 7(3), pp.271–288. Available at: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2007.00169.x> [Last Accessed April 22, 2015].

Bell, M.E. & Bell, S.E., 2012. What to Do with All this " Stuff "? Memory , Family , and Material Objects. *Storytelling , Self , Society : An Interdisciplinary Journal of Storytelling*, 8(2), pp.63–84.

Bell, S.E., 2013a. Objects, Memory, Narrative. A workshop. Goldsmiths, Univeristy of London, unpublished.

Bell, S.E., 2013b. Seeing Narratives. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou, eds. *Doing narrative research*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 142–158.

Belting, H., 2001. *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwuerfe fuer eine Bildwissenschaft.* [Image-Anthropology. Sketches for a science of images]. Muenchen: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Belting, H., 2007. Blickwechsel mit Bilder. Die Bildfrage als Körperfrage. In Belting,H. (ed.) *Bildfragen. Die Bildwissenschaft im Aufbruch*, pp. 48–75. Munich: Fink.

Benjamin, W., 1935. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Translated by Harry Zohn, 1969. In H. Arendt, ed. Illuminations. New York: Schocken Books.

Benjamin, W., 1991. Über Sprache überhaupt und über die Sprache des Menschen [About Language and generally about the Human Language]. In *Gesammelte Schriften, vol. II-1*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, pp. 140–157.

Berger, P.P., 2009. Narratives of the Private Photo Album. In S. Kmec & V. Thill, eds. *Private Eyes and the Public Gaze : The Manipulation and Valorisation of Amateur Images*. Trier: Kilomedia GmbH, pp. 35–43.

Berry, K., 2011. The Ethnographic Choice: Why Ethnographers Do Ethnography. *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies*, 11(2), pp.165–177. Available at: <http://csc.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1532708611401335> [Last Accessed November 14, 2014].

Bertaux, D., 1999. El enfoque biográfico : su validez metodológica, sus potencialidades [The biographic approach: its methodological value, its potential]. *Proposiciones*, LXIX, pp.1–22.

Bird, S.E., 2003. *The Audience in Everyday Life. Living in a Media World*, New York and London: Routledge.

Bloomfield, B.P., Latham, Y. & Vurdubakis, T., 2010. Bodies, Technologies and Action Possibilities: When is an Affordance? *Sociology*, 44(3), pp.415–433. Available at: <http://soc.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0038038510362469> [Last Accessed March 2, 2015].

Boehm, G., 1994. *Was ist ein Bild?* [What is an Image]. München: Fink.

Bold, C., 2012. *Using Narrative in Research*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Bourdieu, P. & Boltanski, L., 1965. *Eine illegitime Kunst. Die sozialen Gebrauchsweisen der Photographie* [An illegitimate Art Form. The social usages of photography]. 1993rd ed., Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag KG.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice. London and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., Sapiro, G. & McHale, B., 1991. First Lecture. Social Space and to Symbolic Space: Introduction a Japanese Reading of Distinction. *Poetics Today*, 12(4), pp.627–638. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1772705.

Breckner, R., 2014. Offenheit – Kontingenz – Grenze ? Interpretation einer Porträtfotografie [Openness. Contingency. Limits? Interpretating Portrait Photography] . In *Grenzen der Bildinterpretation* [Limits of image interpretation]. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 123–153. Available at: <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-658-03996-7_7>. [Last Accessed November 14, 2014]

Brockmeier, J., 2013. Afterword. The monkey wrenches of narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou, eds. *Doing narrative research*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 261–270.

Caron, A.H. & Caronia, L., 2007. *Moving Cultures. Mobile Communication in Everday Life*, McGuill-Queens University Press.

Central Statistics Office, 2012. *Irish Census 2011*, Available at: <http://www.cso.ie/en/census/census2011reports/>. [Last Accessed November 14, 2014].

Chalfen, R., 1987. *Snapshot Versions of Life*, Bowling Green, OH: The Popular Press.

Chalfen, R., 1998. Interpreting Family Photography as Pictorial Communication. In J. Prosser, ed. *Image Based Research. A Source Book for Qualititative Researchers*. London and Philadelphia: Falmer Press Ltd, pp. 214–234.

Chalfen, R., 2011. Looking Two Ways : Mapping the Social Scientific Study of Visual Culture. In E. Margolis & L. Pauwels, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. Sage, pp. 24–48.

Chalfen, R., 2012. *Photogaffes: Family Snapshots and Social Dilemmas*, Indeanapolis: Dog Ear Publishing.

Chambers, D., 2001. *Representing the Family*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Chemero, A., 2003. An Outline of a Theory of Affordances. Ecological Psychology, 15:2, pp. 181-195.

Chepngetich Omanga, P., 2016. Revealing the Unseen: Private Photographs of

Refugees in Dadaab, North-Eastern Kenya. In P. Prieto-Blanco and M. Schreiber, eds., *Together While Apart*, special issue of *MeCCSA Networking Knowledge*. Forthcoming.

Chiyoko King-O'Riain, R., 2015. "Going home" to where the heart is. Mixed international families in the Republic of Ireland. In L. Connollly, ed. *The "Irish" Family*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 159–172.

Cittaslow, *About Us*. Available at: <http://www.cittaslow.org.uk/about-us/> [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Clandinin, D.J. & Huber, J., (in press). Narrative Inquiry [pdf]. In B. McGraw, E. Baker and P. Peterson, eds., *International Encyclopedia of Education*. New York: Elsevier. Available at: < http://www.mofet.macam.ac.il/amitim/iun/CollaborativeResearch/Documents/NarrativeInquiry.pdf>. [Last Accessed on June 15, 2016].

Clang, J., 2010. *Being Together*. Available at: <http://www.johnclang.com/artwork/beingtogether.html>. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Clang, J. & Prieto-Blanco, P., 2013. Skype conversation with John Clang.

Collier, J. & Collier, M., 1986. *Visual Anthropology. Photography as a Research Method*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Connelly, F.M. & Clandinin, D.J., 1990. Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 19(5), pp.2–14.

Couldry, N., 2002. Mediation and alternative media, or relocating the centre of media and communication studies. *Media International Australia, 103, pp. 24-31.*

Couldry, N., 2004. Theorising media as practice. *Social Semiotics*, 14(2), pp.115–132. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1035033042000238295>. [Last Accessed October 19, 2014].

Couldry, N. & Hepp, A., 2013. Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments. *Communication Theory*, 23(3), pp.191–202.

Couldry, N. & Hobart, M., 2003. Media as practice a brief exchange. In B. Bräuchler and J. Postill, (eds.), *Theorising Media and Practice.* Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 77-82.

Crang, M.A. & Cook, I., 2007. *Doing Ethnographies*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Cronin, A.M., 2014. Distant Friends, Mobility and Sensed Intimacy. *Mobilities*, pp.1–19. Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17450101.2014.929419.

Daly, M. & O'Leary, O., 2004. *Families and Family Life in Ireland Challenges for the Future. Report of Public Consultation For a [pdf]*, Available at:

<http://www.welfare.ie/en/downloads/iyf2004.pdf>. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Dant, T. & Gilloch, G.P., 2002. Pictures of the past: Benjamin and Barthes on photography and history. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 5(1), pp.5–25.

Delueze, G. & Guattari, F., 1980. *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi, 1987. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Department of Justice and Equality, 2013. *Children and Family Relationships Bill 2013. Briefing Note* [pdf], Available at: <http://www.justice.ie/en/JELR/Children and Family Relationships Bill 2013 141113.pdf/Files/Children and Family Relationships Bill 2013 141113.pdf>. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Van Dijck, J., 2007. *Mediated Memories. Personal Cultural Memory in the Digital Age*, Standford UP.

Van Dijck, J., 2008. Digital photography: communication, identity, memory. *Visual Communication*, 7(1), pp.57–76.

Van Dijck, J., 2009. Users like you? Theorizing agency in user-generated content. *Media, Culture & Society*, 31(1), pp.41–58. Available at: <http://mcs.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0163443708098245> [Last Accessed July 10, 2014].

Dirmoser, G., 2005. Ein Diagramm ist (k)ein Bild. Ein Überblick als Gedächtnistheater Studie zum Stand der Bildwissenschaften Kunst im Kontext diagrammatischer Studien. Eine multiperspektivische Reflexion über Bildbegriffe [A Diagram ist not an image. An overview as a Memory Theatre Study towards a Stand of Art Image Studies in Context of Diagram Studies], *Concept*, Galerie Merz, Linz.

Downey, K. & Hadaway, P., 2005. *Portraits From a 50'S Archive*, Belfast: Belfast Exposed Photography.

Dubois, P., 1990. *Der fotografische Akt. Versuch über ein theoretisches Dispositiv*. Husum: Verlag der Kunst.

Durrant, C.A., 2011. *Family Portrayals Design to Support Photographic Representations of Intergenerational Relationships in Family Homes*. Ph.D. University of Surrey.

Durrant, A. et al., 2011. The secret life of teens: online versus offline photographic displays at home. *Visual Studies*, 26(2), pp.113–124. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1472586X.2011.571887> [Last accessed November 19, 2014].

Edwards, E., 1997. Beyond the Boundary: a Consideration of the Expressive in Photography and Anthropology. In M. Banks & H. Morphy eds. *Rethinking*

Visual Anthropology. London: Yale University Press, pp. 53-80.

Edwards, E., 2002. Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs. *Visual Studies*, 17:1, pp, 67-75.

Edwards, E., 2003. Andere ordnen. Fotografie, Anthropologien und Taxonomien [Other Orders. Photography, Anthropology and Taxonomy]. In H. Wolf, ed. *Diskurse der Fotografie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 335–355.

Edwards, E., 2009. Photography and the Material Performance of the Past. *History and Theory*, 48, pp.130–150.

Edwards, E., 2012. Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, pp.221–234. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/2086/7953.

Éireann, D., 1995. Definition of Family. *Ceisteanna - Questions. Oral Answers*, 449(14). Available at: <http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/D/0449/D.0449.199502140011.html>. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Elkins, J., 2002. *Stories of Art*, London and New York: Routledge.

Elliot, A. & Urry, J., 2010. *Mobile Lives*, London: Routledge.

Elliot, J., 2005. *Using Narrative in Social Research. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: Sage Publications.

Elo, M., 2012. Notes on haptic realism: Digital photography and shifting conditions of embodiment. *Philosophy of Photography*, 3(1), pp.19-28.

Elo, M., 2013. The New Technological Environment of Photography and Shifting Conditions of Embodiment. In A. Fisher, J. Golding, & D. Rubinstein, eds. *On the Verge of Photography; Imaging Beyond Representation*. Article Press, pp. 87–102.

Emmison, M. & Smith, P., 2007. *Researching the Visual*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Engeström, J., 2005. Why some social network services work and others don't - Or: the case for object-centered sociality. *Zengestrom*. Available at: <http://www.zengestrom.com/blog/2005/04/why-some-social-network-services-work-and-others-dont-or-the-case-for-object-centered-sociality.html> [Last accessed July 24, 2015].

Esin, C. & Squire, C., 2013. Visual Autobiographies in East London : Narratives of Still Images , Interpersonal Exchanges , and Intrapersonal Dialogues. *Forum Qualitative Social Research/Sozialforschung*, 14(2). Available at: < http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1971/3507> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

European Commission, 2012. *Broadband Internet Access Cost (BIAC)* [pdf]. Available at < http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/newsroom/cf/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=1156> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Ewick, P. & Silbey, S.S., 1995. Subversive Stories and Hegemonic Tales: Toward A Sociology of Narrative. *Law and Society Review*, 29(2), pp.197–226.

Fajen, B., Riley, Michael, A. & Turvey, Michael T., 2008. Information, Affordances, and the Control of Action in Sport. *International Journal of Sport Pschychology*, 40, pp. 79-107.

Flusser, V., 1983. *Towards a philosophy of photography* 2000th ed., London: Reaktion Books.

Flusser, V., Nomadismus (Teil 1). [video online] Available at: <http://youtu.be/mRjiODdrJIM> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Flusser, V., 1988. On writing, complexity and the technical revolutions. *European Media Art Festival*. [video online] Available at: <https://youtu.be/lyfOcAAcoH8>. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015]

Fortunati, L. & Taipale, S., 2012. Women's Emotions Towards The Mobile Phone. *Feminist Media Studies*, 12 (4), pp. 538-549.

Gabb, J., 2008. *Researching Intimacy in Families*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Gaiger, J., 2014. The Idea of a Universal Bildwissenschaft. *Estetika: The Central European Journal of Aesthetics*, 2, pp.208–229.

García Delgado, R., 2013. España, la nueva Irlanda del siglo XXI [online]. *El Pais*, 23rd Sep. Available at: <http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/07/29/opinion/1375123086_045830.html>. [Last accessed June 15, 2016]

Gaver, W.W., 1996. Situating Action II : Affordances for Interaction: The Social Is Material for Design. *Ecological Psychology*, 8(2), pp.111–129.

Gibson, J.J., 1979. *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* 1986th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Mitchell, C. 2011. *Doing Visual Research*. Los Angeles, London et. al. : SAGE publications.

Goggin, G., 2006. *Cell Phone Culture: Mobile Technology in Everyday Life*, New York: Routledge.

Gómez-Cruz, E., 2012. *De la cultural Kodak a la imagen en red. Una etnografía sobre fotografía digital.*, Barcelona: UOC Press.

Gómez Cruz, E. & Meyer, E.T., 2012. Creation and Control in the Photographic Process: iPhones and the emerging fifth moment of photography. *Photographies*, 5(2), pp.203–221. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17540763.2012.702123> [Last accessed April 20, 2015].

Gómez Cruz, E. & Ardèvol, E., 2013. Some ethnographic notes on a Flickr group. *Photographies*, 6(1), pp.35–44. Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17540763.2013.788836. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015]

Gómez Cruz, E., 2013. Hacia la construcción de una sociología de la imagen digital más allá de la representación [pdf]. Huesca, Noviembre 2013. Unpublished. Available at < https://imagenaciones.com/2013/11/28/hacia-la-construccion-de-una-sociologia-de-la-imagen-digital-mas-alla-de-la-representacion-working-paper/> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Gómez Cruz, E. & Thornham, H., 2015. Selfies beyond self-representation: the (theoretical) f(r)ictions of a practice. Journal of Aesthetics & Culture, 7. Available at < http://www.aestheticsandculture.net/index.php/jac/article/view/28073/43748> [Last accessed July 14, 2016].

Gould, T., 1995. The Unhappy Performative. In A. Parker & E. Kosofsky-Sedgwick, eds. *Performativity and Performance*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 20–44.

Grainge, P., 2011. Introduction. Ephemeral Media. In P. Grainge, ed. *Ephemeral Media. Transitory Screen Culture from Television to You Tube*. Palgrave MacMillan, pp.1-22.

Graves-Brown, P.M., 2000. Introduction. In P. M. Graves-Brown, ed. *Matter, Materiality and Material Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–9.

Grusin, R. & Bolter, J., 2000. *Remediation. Understanding New Media* 1st ed., Cambridge and London: The MIT Press.

Gunning, T., 2004. What's the Point of an Index ? or, Faking Photographs. In *Nordicom. Plenum II. Digital Aesthetics*. pp. 39–50.

Habuchi, I., 2005. Accelerating Reflexivity. In M. Ito, D. Okabe, & M. Matsuda, eds. *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian. Mobile Phones in Japanese Life*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press, pp. 165–182.

Hammersley, M., 1997. Educational research and teaching: A response to David Hargreaves' TTA lecture. *British Educational Research Journal*, 23(2), pp.141-161.

Hand, M., Shove, E. & Southerton, D., 2007. Home extensions in the United Kingdom: space, time, and practice. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25(4), pp.668–681. Available at: http://www.envplan.com/abstract.cgi?id=d413t [Last accessed April 1, 2015].

Hanks, W.F. & Hanks, F., 2005. Bourdieu and the Practices of Language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, pp.67–83.

Harper, D., 1987. The Visual Ethnographic Narrative. *Visual Anthropology*, 1 (1), pp. 1-19.

Harper, D., 1988. Visual Sociology. Expanding Sociological Vision. *The American Sociologist*, (Spring), pp.54–70.

Harper, D., 2002. Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), pp.13–26. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14725860220137345. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015].

Harper, D., 2012. *Visual Sociology*, London: Routledge.

Hart, J. & Edwards, E., 2004. Introduction. Photographs as Objects. In *Photographs. Objects. Histories. On the Materiality of Images.* New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1–15.

Hennion, A., 2012. Attachments: A Pragmatist View of What Holds Us. The First European Pragmatism Conference, Rome, September 19, 2012. Available at: < http://www.nordprag.org/papers/epc1/Hennion.pdf> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Hepp, A., 2013. The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: Mediatization research in times of the 'mediation of everything'. *European Journal of Communication*, 28:6, pp. 615-629,

Hirsch, J., 1981. *Family Photographs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hirsch, M., 2008. The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today*, 29(1), pp.103–128. Available at: http://poeticstoday.dukejournals.org/cgi/doi/10.1215/03335372-2007-019 [Last accessed October 1, 2014].

Hjorth, L. & Lim, S.S., 2012. Mobile intimacy in an age of affective mobile media. *Feminist Media Studies*, 12(4), pp.477–484.

Hobart, M., 2010. What do we mean by “media practices”? In E. B. Bräuchler & J. Postill, eds. *Theorising Media and Practice*. Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 55–75.

Hollingsworth, S. & Dybdahl, M., 2007. Talking to Learn. The Critical Role of Conversation in Narrative Inquiry. In D. J. Clandinin, ed. *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry. Mapping a Methodology*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp. 146–176.

Holland, P. & Spence, J., 1991. *Family Snaps. The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. London: Virago Books.

Holschbach, S., 2006. *Vom usdruck zur Pose. Theatralität und Weiblichkeit in der Fotografie des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Reimer Verlag GmBH.

Hopkins, J., Estalella, A. & EASA, 2015. E-Seminar Series Assembling Blog Affordances by Julian Hopkins Discussant Adolfo Estalella Open University of Catalonia. In *E-Seminar 51. Assembling Blog Affordances by Julian*

Hopkins, Monash University Malaysia. Discussant: Adolfo Estalella, Open University of Catalonia. Media Anthropology Network European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), pp. 1–26.

Horst, H.A., 2016. Being in Fieldwork: Collaboration, Digital Media and Ethnographic Practice. August 2014 Final Draft. In R. Sanjek & S. Tratner, eds. *eFieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology in a Digital World*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Available at: http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/1086.html. [Last Accessed August 3, 2015]

Horton, D. & Wohl, R.R., 1956. "Mass Communication and Para - Social Interaction : Observations on Intimacy at a Distance." *Particip@ations*, 3(1), 2006. Available at: < http://www.participations.org/volume%203/issue%201/3_01_hortonwohl.htm> [Last Accessed June 15, 2016].

Van House, N.A., 2011. Personal photography, digital technologies and the uses of the visual. *Visual Studies*, 26(2), pp.125–134. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1472586X.2011.571888> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Hudgins, N., 2010. A Historical Approach to Family Photography: Class and Individuality in Manchester and Lille, 1850-1914. *Journal of Social History*, 43(3), pp.559–586. Available at: <http://jsh.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/doi/10.1353/jsh.0.0298> [Last accessed November 19, 2014].

Inglis, T., 2015. Family and the meaning of life in contemporary Ireland. In L. Connolly, ed. *The "Irish" Family*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 70-85.

Inglis, T. & Donnelly, S., 2011. Local and national belonging in a globalised world. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 19(2), pp.127–143.

Intel IT Center, 2013. Big Data Visualization: Turning Big Data Into Big Insights. The Rise of Visualization-based Data Discovery Tools. *White Paper on Big Data Visualization [White Paper]*, (March). Available at: <http://www.intel.com/content/dam/www/public/us/en/documents/white-papers/big-data-visualization-turning-big-data-into-big-insights.pdf>. [Last accessed November 19, 2014]

Jakobson, R., 1974. *Aufsätze zur Linguistik und Poetik [Essays on Linguistics and Poetics]*. W. Raible, ed., Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag.

Jakobson, R. & Bogatyrev, P., 1980. Folklore as a Special Form of Creation. *Folklore Forum*, 13(1), pp.1–21.

Jamieson, L., 1998. *Intimacy. Personal Relationships in Modern Societies*. Maldon: Polity Press.

Jamieson, L., 1999. Intimacy Transformed? A Critical Look at the `Pure Relationship'. *Sociology*, 33(3), pp.477–494. Available at:

http://soc.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/S0038038599000310 [Last accessed November 19, 2014].

Jamieson, L., 2005. Boundaries of Intimacy. In L. McKie & S. Cunningham Burley, eds. *Families in Society. Boundearies and Relationships*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 189-206.

Jenkins, H., 2004. The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), pp.33–43. Available at: <http://ics.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1367877904040603> [Last accessed October 19, 2014].

Jenkins, H.S., 2008. Gibson ' s " Affordances ": Evolution of a Pivotal Concept. *Journal of Scientific Psychology* (December), pp.34–45. Available at < http://www.psyencelab.com/uploads/5/4/6/5/54658091/gibsons_affordances_evolution_of_a_pivotal_concept.pdf> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Jensen, J. & Waade, A.M., 2009. *Medier og Turisme*. Aarhus: Systime Academic.

Kaye, J.J., 2006. I Just Clicked To Say I Love You : Rich Evaluations of Minimal Communication [pdf]. Extended Abstracts Proceedings of the 2*006 Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, CHI 2006, Montréal, Québec, Canada, April 22-27, 2006. Available at: <http://alumni.media.mit.edu/~jofish/writing/kaye-less-is-more8.pdf> [Last accessed June 15, 2016].

Kennedy, T.L.M. et al., 2008. *Networked families. Parents and spouses are using the internet and cell phones to create a "new connectedness" that builds on remote connections and shared internet experiences*. Washington DC: Pew Internet and American Life Project.

Kono, T., 2009. Social affordances and the possibility of ecological linguistics. *Integrative psychological & behavioral science*, 43(4), pp.356–73. Available at: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/19609627 [Last Accessed April 16, 2015].

Krämer, S., 2009. Gibt es eine Performanz des Bildlichen? Reflexionen über ‚Blickakte' [Ist there a performance of the visual/pictorial? Reflections about visual/pictorial acts]. In L. Schwarte, ed. *Bild Performanz. Die Kraft des Visuellen*. München: Fink, pp. 63-90.

Kuhn, A., 1991. Remembrance. The child I never was. In J. Spence & P. Holland, eds. *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. London: Virago Press Limited.

Kuhn, A., 1995. *Family Secrets. Acts of Memory and Imagination.* 2002nd ed., London and New York: Verso.

Kuhn, A., 2010. Snow White in 1930s Britain. *Journal of British Cinema and Television*, 7(2), pp.183–199.

Labov, W., 1997. Some further steps in narrative analysis. *Journal of Narrative*

and Life History, 7(1-4), pp.395–415.

Labov, W. & Waletsky, J., 1967. Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helms, ed. *Essays in the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, pp. 12-44.

Lambe, T., 2013. The Photo Album of Ireland. *Gallery of Photography*. Available at: <http://www.photoalbumofireland.com> [Accessed August 3, 2015].

Lampe, C., Ellison, N.B. & Steinfield, C., 2008. Changes in use and perception of facebook. *Proceedings of the ACM 2008 conference on Computer supported cooperative work - CSCW '08*, p.721. Available at: <http://portal.acm.org/citation.cfm?doid=1460563.1460675> [Last Accessed April 16, 2015]

Langford, M., 2006. Speaking the Album. An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework. In A. Kuhn & E. McAllister, eds. *Locating Memory. Photographic Acts*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 223–246.

Langford, M., 2001. *Suspended Conversations. The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, Montreal: McGuill-Queens University Press.

Lanzeni, D. et al., 2014. Media Futures. *Media Anthropology Network European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) Discussions*, pp.1–20. Available at: <http://www.media-anthropology.net/file/discussion_media_futures.pdf> [Last Accessed April 16, 2015]

Lapenta, F., 2006. Some Theoretical and Methodological Views on Photo-Elicitation. In E. Margolis & L. Pauwels, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*.

Lapenta, F., 2011. Locative media and the digital visualisation of space, place and information. *Visual Studies*, 26(1), pp.1–3.

Larsen, J., 2004. *The Life of Digital Photographs: The Case of Tourist Photography*. Ph. D. Roskilde University.

Lasén, A., 2005. Affective technologies – emotions and mobile phones Amparo Lasen. *Receiver, Vodafone*, pp.1–8.

Lasén, A. & Gómez-Cruz, E., 2009. Digital Photography and Picture Sharing: Redefining the Public/Private Divide. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 22(3), pp.205–215.

Latour, B. 1991. In J. Law ed. *A Sociology of Monsters Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, Sociological Review Monograph, 38, pp. 103-132.

Latour, B. 1999. *Pandora's Hope, An essay on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Lehmuskallio, A.T., 2012. *Pictorial Practices in a " Cam Era " Studying non-*

professional camera use. Ph. D. University of Tampere.

Lehmuskallio, A.T., 2014. Visions for wearable camera technology: simulative, heuristic and predictive pictures. In Aalto University, *Photomedia 2014. Photographic Powers*. Helsinki, March 26- March 28, 2014. Unpublished.

Liu, Z., Jiang, B. & Heer, J., 2013. ImMens: Real-time visual querying of big data. *Computer Graphics Forum*, 32(3 PART4), pp.421–430.

Lobinger, K. 2016. Photographs as Things - Photographs of Things. A texto-material perspective on photo-sharing practices. *Information, Communication and Society*, 19:4, pp. 475-488,

Loenhoff, J., 2011. Tacit Knowledge in Intercultural Communication. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, XX(1), pp.57–64.

Lunenfeld, P., 2002. Digitale Fotografie. Das dubitative Bild * [Digital Photography: the doubtful image]. In H. Wolf, ed. *Paradigma Fotografie. Fotokritik am Ende des fotografischen Zeitalters. Band I.*

Madianou, M. & Miller, D., 2012. *Migration and New Media. Transnational Families and Polymedia*. London and New York: Routledge.

Madianou, M., 2012. *Technologies of Motherhood: new media and the accentuated ambivalence of migrant mothers*. In International Communication Association, TBA, MA Online, Boston, May 25, 2011. Available at < https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/esrc-files/outputs/xPwidvil4ESJicZYRSAkxA/IKr6fCc7m0qK0ETQA1tThQ.pdf> [Last accessed June 16, 2016]

Madianou, M., 2014. Smartphones as Polymedia. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(3), pp.667–680. Available at: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/jcc4.12069> [Last accessed November 19, 2014]

Malinowski, B., 1923. The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages. In C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards, eds. *The Meaning of Meaning. A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul LTD, pp. 296–336.

Manovich, L., 2001. *The Language of New Media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Manovich, L., 2009. The Practice of Everyday (Media) Life: From Mass Consumption to Mass Cultural Production? *Critical Inquiry*, 35(2), pp.319–331.

Martin, F., 2005. The Changing Face of Family Law in Ireland. *Judicial Studies Institute Journal*, 5(1), pp.16–41.

Martinez, I.J., Aguado, J.M. & Tortajada, I., 2012. Managing The Unbalanced Gendered mobile appropriation , identity boundaries and social role coordination. *Feminist Media Studies*, 12 (4), pp.37–41.

Massey, D., 1996. *Space, Place, and Gender*, Minneapolis: University of

Minnesota Press.

Mayrhofer, H. & Schachner, A., 2013. Partizipative Fotobefragung in der Evaluationspraxis : Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Arbeitens mit anspruchsvollen qualitativen Verfahren am Beispiel einer Projektevaluierung im Behindertenbereich [Participative photo-questionnaire for practices of evaluation. Possibilities and limits of working with ambitious qualitative methods exemplified by a project evaluation in the area of disability. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research/Sozialforschung*, 14(2). Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1914/3518> [Last accessed November 19, 2014]

McAllister, K., 2006. A Story of Scape. Family Photographs from Japanese Canadian Internment Camps. In A. Kuhn & E. K. McAllister, eds. *Locating Memory. Photographic Acts*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, pp.81-112.

McCullagh, C., 2015. Untangling the wired family. In L. Connolly, ed. *The "Irish" Family*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 188–207.

McLuhan, M., 1964. *Understanding Media Marshall McLuhan. The Extensions of Man* Critical E. T. Gordon W., ed., 2003. Berkeley: Gingko Press.

Merrell, F., 2001. Charles Sanders Peirce's Concept of the Sign. In P. Cobley, ed. *The Routledge Companion to Semiotics and Linguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Merton, R.K. & Kendall, P.L., 1946. The Focused Interview. *American Journal of Sociology1*, 51(6), pp.541–557.

Miller, D., 2010. *Stuff*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Miller, D., 2011. *Tales from Facebook*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Miller, D., n.d. *Materiality: An Introduction*. UCL Anthropology. Available at: < http://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology/people/academic_staff/d_miller/mil-8> [Last accessed July 15, 2016].

Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social, 2014. Datos socioilógicos de la Emigración Española en Irlanda [Sociological data of Spanish Migration in Ireland]. Available at: <http://www.empleo.gob.es/es/mundo/consejerias/reinounido/emigracion/contenidos/datosirlanda.htm> [Last accessed April 20, 2015]

Mirzoeff, N., 1998. *The Visual Culture Reader.* London and New York: Routledge.

Mitchell, W.J.T., 1997. The Pictorial Turn. In C. Kravagna, ed. *Privileg Blick: Kritik der visuellen Kulturen [Privilege Gaze: Criticism of Visual Cultures]*. Berlin: Edition ID-Archiv, pp. 15–40.

Mitchell, W.J.T., 1992. *The Reconfigured Eye. Visual Thruth in the Post-Photographic Era.* Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

Mitchell, W.J.T., 2002. Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture. In M. A. Holly & K. Moxey, eds. *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*. Clark Art Institute and Yale University Press, pp. 231–250.

Mitchell, W.J.T., 2005. *What Do Pictures Want?. The lives and loves of images.*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Moen, T., 2006. Reflections on the Narrative Research Approach. *International Journal of Qualitative Methodology* , 5 (4), Article 5. Available at: < http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_4/html/moen.htm> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Mol, A. 2010. Actor-Network Theory: Sensitive Terms and Enduring Tensions. *Kölner Zeitschrift füer Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderhelft, 50, pp. 253-269.

Moores, S., 2012. *Media, Place and Mobility*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Moreno, C. M., 2007. Affecting and Affective Social/Media Fields. *Aether, the Journal of Media Geography*, 1:39, pp. 39-44.

Morley, D., 1995. Not so much a visual medium, more a visible object. In C. Jenkins, ed. *Visual Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 170–189.

Morley, D., 2007. *Media , Modernity and Technology. The Geography of the New.* London and New York: Routledge.

Motz, Marilyn F., 1989. Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women. *American Quarterly*, 41, 1, pp. 63–92.

Morrissey, T., 2007. Front-Statement. Available at < http://www.trishmorrissey.com/works_pages/work-front/statement.html> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Murray, S., 2008. Digital Images: Photo-Sharing and Everyday Aesthetics. *Journal of Visual Culture*, 7(2), pp.147–163.

Ní Chatháin, S., 2011. Transnational migrants ' negotiations of formal and cultural citizenship. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 19, pp.27–42.

Norman, D.A., 1988. *The Design of Everzday Things*. Basic Books.

O'Grady, T., 2006. Memory, Photography, Ireland. *Irish Studies Review*, 14(2), pp.255–262.

Oiarzabal, P.J. & Reips, U.-D., 2012. Migration and Diaspora in the Age of Information and Communication Technologies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), pp.1333–1338.

Okabe, D., 2004. Emergent Social Practices, Situations and Relations through Everyday Camera Phone Use [pdf]. In *Mobile Communication and Social Change, the 2004 International Conference on Mobile Communication*. Seoul, Korea, October 18-19, 2004. Available at: <

http://www.itofisher.com/mito/archives/okabe_seoul.pdf> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Okabe, D. & Ito, M., 2003. Camera phones changing the definition of picture-worthy. *Japan Media Review* [pdf]. Available at: < http://www.dourish.com/classes/ics234cw04/ito3.pdf> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Oliveira, E., Martins, P. & Chambel, T. (2011). Ifelt: Accessing Movies through our Emotions. Proceedings of the *9th international interactive conference on Interactive television (EuroITV '11)*, Lisbon, June 29 to July 01, 2011, pp. 105-114.

Ong, W., 1982. *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*. New York: Routledge.

Osborne, P., Segal, L. & Butler, J., 1993. Extracts from Gender as Performance: An Interview with Judith Butler. *theory.org.uk*. Available at: <http://www.theory.org.uk/but-int1.htm> [Last accessed April 20, 2015].

Pauwels, L., 2008. A private visual practice going public? Social functions and sociological research opportunities of Web-based family photography. *Visual Studies*, 23(1), pp.34–49.

Pauwels, L., 2010. Visual Sociology Reframed: An Analytical Synthesis and Discussion of Visual Methods in Social and Cultural Research, *Sociological Methods Research*, 38 (4) pp. 545-581.

Pauwels, L., 2012. Conceptualising the "Visual Essay" as a Way of Generating and Imparting Sociological Insight: Issues, Formats and Realisations. *Sociological Research Online*, 17(1). Available at: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/1/1.html> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Pierce, C.S., 1991. *Peirce on Signs: Writings on Semiotic.* North Carolina: UNC Press Books.

Pink, S., 2001. More visualising, more methodologies: on video, reflexivity and qualitative research. *The Sociological Review*, 49(4), pp.586–599.

Pink, S., 2006a. *The Future of Visual Anthropology. Engaging the senses*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pink, S., 2006b. Visualising Ethnography: Transforming the Anthropological Vision? In P. Hamilton, ed. *Visual Research Methods*. pp. 285–304.

Pink, S., 2011a. Amateur photographic practice, collective representation and the constitution of place. *Visual Studies*, 26(2), pp.92–101.

Pink, S., 2011b. Sensory digital photography: re-thinking "moving" and the image. *Visual Studies*, 26(1), pp.4–13.

Pink, S., 2011c. Multimodality, multisensoriality and ethnographic knowing: social semiotics and the phenomenology of perception. *Qualitative*

Research, 11(3), pp.261–276.

Pink, S. et al., 2010. Walking across disciplines: from ethnography to arts practice. *Visual Studies*, 25(1), pp.1–7.

Ponzanesi, S. & Leurs, K., 2014. On digital crossings in Europe. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 5(1), pp.3–22.

Prieto-Blanco, P., 2010. Family Photography as a phatic construction [pdf]. *Networking Knowledge: Journal of the MeCCSA Postgraduate Network*, 3(2). Available at: < http://ojs.meccsa.org.uk/index.php/netknow/article/download/48/48> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

Prieto-Blanco, P., 2016. (Digital) Photography, Experience and Space in Transnational Families. A Case Study of Spanish-Irish Families living in Ireland. In A. Lehmuskallio, & E. Gómez-Cruz, eds. *In Digital Photography and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.

Protschky, S., 2012. Tea Cups , Cameras and Family Life : Picturing Domesticity in Elite European and Javanese Family Photographs from the Netherlands Indies , ca . 1900 – 42. *History of Photography*, 36(1), pp.44–65.

Rammert, W., 2008. Where the action is: Distributed agency between humans, machines, and programs. *The Technical University Technology Studies Working Papers*, pp.1-27.

Reher, D., 1998. The history of the family in Spain: past development, present realities, and future challenges. *The history of the family : an international quarterly*, 3(2), pp.125–136.

Riggins, S., 2007. Not just an object: Working with things, objects and artefacts in visual research. In *Doing Visual Research*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 35–50.

Rivière, C., 2005. Mobile camera phones: a new form of “being together” in daily interpersonal communication. In R. Ling & P. E. Pedersen, eds. *Mobile Communications. Re-negotiation of the Social Sphere*. London: Springer, pp. 167–185.

Rose, G., 2001. *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

Rose, G., 2003. Family photographs and domestic spacings: a case study. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28(1), pp.5–18.

Rose, G., 2010. *Doing Family Photography. The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment.* Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate Pub Co.

Rose, G., 2014. How Digital Technologies Do Family Snaps, Only Better. In J. Larsen & M. Sandbye, eds. *Digital Snaps. The New Face of Photography.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Ruchatz, J., 2008. The Photograph as Externalization and Trace. In A. Erll & A.

Nünning, eds. *Media and Cultural Memory/ Medien und kulturelle Erinnerung*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Ruesch, J., 1972. *Semiotic Approaches to Human Relations*. De Hague, Paris: Mouton.

Russell, I., 2007. Objects and Agency. Some Obstacles and Opportunities of Modernity. *Journal of Iberian Archaelogy*, 9 (10), p.71-87.

Sandbye, M., 2013. The Family Album as Transformed Social Space in the Age of "Web 2.0." In U. Ekman, ed. *Throughout: Art and Culture Emerging with Ubiquitous Computing*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 103–118.

Sanz, F., 2008. *La Fotobiografia. Imágenes e Historias del Pasado para Vivir con Plenitud el Presente [Photobiography. Images and histories of the past for a plentiful present]*. Barcelona: Kairós.

Sarvas, R. & Frohlich, D.M., 2011. *From Snapshots to Social Media - The Changing Picture of Domestic Photography.* London: Springer London.

Sassoon, J., 2004. Photographic materiality in the age of digital reproduction. In E. Edwards & J. Hart, eds. *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 196–213.

Saussure, F., 1974. *Course in General Linguistics*. London: Fontana/Collins.

Schänzel, H.A., 2010. *Family Time and Own Time on Holiday: Generation, Gender and Group Dynamic Perspectives from New Zealand*. Ph. D. Victoria University of Wellington.

Schindler, M. & Io, G., 2013. Humanizing Big Data with Data Visualization. In *Boston Data Week*.

Schürmann, E., 2005. Sehen als performative Praxis. Über die bildnerische KraftvisuellerWahrnehmung [Seeing as a performative practice. About the pictorial power of visual cognition]. In G. Abel, ed. *Kreativität. XX. DeutscherKongress für Philosophie [Creativity. XXth German Congress for Philosophy]*. Band 2, Berlin, pp. 451–460.

Searle, J.R., 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shome, R., 2011. "Global Motherhood": The Transnational Intimacies of White Femininity. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 28(January 2015), pp.388–406.

Slater, D., 1991. Consuming Kodak. In J. Spence & P. Holland, eds. *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. London: Virago Press Limited, pp. 49–59.

Soleymani, M., Chanel, G., Kierkels, J. J. M., & Pun, T., 2008. Affective Characterization of Movie Scenes Based on Multimedia Content Analysis and User's Physiological Emotional Responses. Proceedings of the *Tenth IEEE International Symposium on Multimedia*, Berkeley, December 15 to

17, pp. 228-235.

Squire, C., 1995. From experience-centered to socioculturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou, eds. *Doing narrative research*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 47–71.

Stanmeyer, J., 2014. World Press Photo 2014. Contemporary Issues, first prize singles. *World Press Photo*. Available at: <http://www.worldpressphoto.org/collection/photo/2014/contemporary-issues/john-stanmeyer>. [Last accessed April 22, 2015]

Strack, R.W., Magill, C. & McDonagh, K., 2004. Engaging youth through photovoice. *Health promotion practice*, 5(1), pp.49–58.

Stumberger, R., 2007. *Klassen-Bilder: Sozialdokumentarische Fotografie 1900-1945 [Class-Images: Socialdocumentary Photography 1900-1945]*. Konstanz: UVK.

Ulrich, W., 1997. Digitaler Nominalismus. Zum Status der Computerfotografie [Digital Nominalismus. About the status of Computer Photography]. *Fotogeschichte. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie [Photo-faces. Contrubutions to History and Aesthetic of Photography]*, 64, pp.63–73.

United Nations, 2005. *GENERAL COMMENT No. 7. Implementing child rights in early childhood*, Available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/AdvanceVersions/GeneralComment7Rev1.pdf>. [Last accessed April 22, 2015]

United Nations, 1959. Handbook of Population Census Methods. Volume III: Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Population. *Studies in Methods*, Series F, , pp.60–66. Available at: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/fam/default.htm. [Last accessed April 22, 2015]

Verbeek, P-P., 2005. Artifacts and Attachment: A Post-Script Philosophy of Mediation. In H. Harbers ed., *Inside the Politics of Technology: Agency and Normativity in the Co-Production of Technology and Society*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Villi, M., 2010. *Visual mobile communication. Camera phone photo messages as ritual communication and mediated presence*, Helsinki: Aalto University.

Villi, M., 2014. Distance as the New Punctum. In J. Larsen & M. Sandbye, eds. *Digital Snaps. The New Face of Photography.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris, pp.47-64.

Villi, M., 2015. “Hey, I’m here Right Now”: Camera phone photographs and mediated presence. *Photographies*, 8(1), pp.3–22.

Villi, M., 2016. Photographs of Place in Phonespace. Camera Phones as a

Location-aware Mobile Technology. In E. Gomez-Cruz & A. T. Lehmuskallio, eds. *Digital Photography and Everyday Life.* Routledge.

Watson, C.W., 1999. Introduction. The Quality of Being There. In *Being There. Field Work in Anthropology*. London and Sterling: Pluto Press, pp. 1–25.

Watters, J.J., 2011. *Migrant Families in Ireland: Understanding the Cultural Landscapes of Transnational Family Life*. Ph.D. National University of Ireland Maynooth.

Weston, K., 1997. *"Families We Choose". Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Witteborn, S., 2014. Forced migrants, emotive practice and digital heterotopia. *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 5(1), pp.73–85.

Wolcott, H.F., 1995. *The Art of Fieldwork.* Walnut Creek, Longon and New Delhi: AltaMira Press, A Division of Sage Publications, Inc.

Wright, S. Parchoma, G., 2011. Technologies for learning? An actor-network theory critique of 'affordances' in research on mobile learning. *Research in Learning Technology*, 19: 3, pp. 247–258

Wulff, H.J., 1993. Phatische Gemeinschaft / Phatische Funktion. Letikonzepte einer pragmatischen Theorie des Fernsehens [Phatic Community / Phatic Function. Key concepts of a pragmatical theory of television]. *Montage A/V*, 2(1), pp.143–163.

Wyss, B., 2000. Das indexikalishe Bild. Hors-texte [The indexical image. Hors-texts]. *Fotogeschichte. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie [Photo-faces. Contrubutions to History and Aesthetic of Photography]*, 76(3-11).

Zhang, M., 2013. Kodak to Sell Its Camera Film and Imaging Businesses in $2.8 Billion Deal. *PetaPixel*. Available at: <http://petapixel.com/2013/04/29/kodak-to-sell-its-camera-film-and-imaging-businesses-in-2-8-billion-deal> [Last accessed August 3, 2015].

Zorn, C., 2015. "Big Data" in the Social Sciences. In University of Oxford, *Workshop for Teachers of Quantitative Methods for Social Scientists*, January 8, 2015. Available at: < http://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/materials/qm/Zorn_Oxford_QM_workshop_January_2015.pdf> [Last accessed June 16, 2016].

8. APPENDICES

8.1. Forms Used in the Three Phased Consent Process

8.1.1. Protocol for conducting research about family photography with Spanish Families living in Ireland

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

Project Summary:

The focus of the present PhD project is the transformation of affinity captured, distributed and received in context of digital photography and the broader digitization process of communication and spaces of familial intimacy.

This study is located in the framework of visual cultural studies and as such focuses on the holistic practice of visual communication, which includes production, selection, distribution and reception of photographic images. A case study approach has been identified as the most suitable research strategy since it allows a comprehensive exploration of the (digital) photographic practice within the family. An understanding of family based on feelings of affinity and affection is used to select prospective participants along with the keyword distant family members, who are those who do not share daily the same household and who are regularly separated by distance. Known attributes about the family have been implemented in the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The collection of methods proposed respond to the different areas of the same studied phenomenon: generation and negotiation of spaces of familial intimacy through the use of the (digital) photographic practice.

Project Description:

RATIONALE

The engagement of the family as a group and of its individual members with photographic pictures relies to a great extent on the materiality of photography. New social scenarios emerge as a result of the use of new technologies (Caron and Caronia, 2007: 33-5, 49, 60). The difference in form creates different embodied experiences and different sites of reception, which reflect public and private functions of images (Edwards and Hart, 2004: 12). However, digital photography is also about carrying a camera all the time with us, giving constant visual accounts of our lives, linking communication with pictures (Villi, 2011: 60). Photography becomes especially interpersonal and intimate (Villi, 2011: 79), while ubiquitous digital devices foster changes of etiquette, enabling a transformation of public spaces into private spheres of familial interaction. Photography is thus understood as an embodied process whereby perceiving bodies engage in the representation and communication of shared moments inscribed in a particular place (Pink, 2011: 9).

Negotiation, interaction, mutual understanding and openness characterize the ongoing process of constructing families today. Families are 'spheres of intimacy and interaction' where meanings are produced by family members (Smart qtd. in Gabb). It has been suggested that intimacy and intimacy-disclosure regulate people's lives today (Jamieson, 1998: 15-42). Intimacy, however, needs to be produced and it is endlessly renegotiated, since bonds and ties do not depend on rules anymore but on feelings of affection. In turn affection is based on affinity and

interaction, rather than on normative frameworks. Affinity is a constant that is continuously brought into question and endlessly renegotiated.

The main hypothesis of the present research is that (digital) photographic practice provides families with a space to renegotiate and develop those feelings of affinity. As a result of this new, insofar as open and constant, negotiation of spaces of affinity, one might talk about an emergence of a semi-public (virtual) space of intimate interaction, in which the photographic practice is understood as a mode of communication rather than a tool of representation.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- ✓ To gain a general understanding of how and why families photograph and how and why they store, distribute and receive photographs.
- ✓ To explore participants' practices of sharing photographs with distant family members.
- ✓ To identify different places of display of photographs at home and how the display of family photographs can extend the concept of home beyond the physicality of the house. To explore how the concept of home is changing due to ubiquitous visual communication.
- ✓ To determine if the (digital) photographic practice serves to generate affinity among family members in spite of physical distance. To test if the shift on materiality is leading to an innovative use of photography as a tool of communication rather than of representation.

METHODOLOGY

The present project deals specifically with the shift in materiality of photography due to the digitization process, which has influenced how families use visual communication to create spaces of affinity and affection despite being separated by distance. Families have a greater access to knowledge about the family and further possibilities to actively produce spaces of familial interaction. This is a unique study in Ireland because it examines the relation between verbal and visual communication for the generation and negotiation of familial intimacy. Furthermore, the understanding of (digital) photographic practice as a mode of communicative engagement enables the exploration of how the digitization process has opened up new and ubiquitous configurations of spaces of familial interaction in Line with the constant and rapid development of multinational and multicultural social environments

Previous works in the field of family photography [Durrant(2011), Rose (2010), Van House (2011)] prove the adequacy of a qualitative, ethnographic approach to this area of research. The complexities of visual generation and renegotiation of spaces of familial intimacy can only be explored through a holistic and multistage approach, which enables a steadily build rapport between researcher and participants. In this light, the case study approach has been identified as the most suitable research strategy. By using a variety of research methods (initial questionnaire, informal conversations, photo elicitations, semi-structured interviews), this study addresses different areas of the link between (digital) photographic practice and familial

intimacy at different stages, according to the existing relation of trust and rapport between participants and the researcher, as it is described below.

A purposive sample of six families will allow for a holistic engagement with participants and will help prevent the study from remaining unfinished should up to two families decide to withdraw their participation. The distinctive feature of all six case studies is the element of geographical dispersion of the family members. The case studies will be selected on the basis of following attributes: number of adults, number of children, number of generations present in the same household), country of origin of family members, use of Internet, ownership of dedicated photo cameras and of camera phones, frequency of use of the cameras and frequency of photo sharing. All case studies will be selected from families tied to the organization ASPI (Association of Spanish Parents living in Ireland), which is a recently created and unique association in the Republic of Ireland. The variables used for the selection enable a comparison with other families in the same class, and thus the selected case studies can be put in relation to the overall picture of Spanish families living in Ireland.

Firstly I will approach the families in an initial informational meeting. The goal of this informational meeting is to identify suitable families for the study and to gain access to the member of the family who is if most interest to the research question: the producer and keeper of the family photographic archive. This informational meeting will be facilitated by ASPI, which is based in Dublin.

Secondly, I will carry out a semi-structured interview of 30 to 45 minutes at a neutral venue and involving an exercise of photo elicitation. Participants will be asked in advance to bring several photographs (analogue or digital) that they have previously shared with members of the family that live far away. Here I will gain a general understanding of how and why participants take family photographs and about how and why they store, distribute and receive these photographs. A first appreciation of participants' practices of sharing photographs with distant family members will also be obtained. The interview will be audio recorded and the photographs that the participants bring will be scanned.

Thirdly, I would like to interview participants in their home for 45 to 60 minutes. Participants will be asked to show and talk about the places where they display their family photographs in the home. The focus is to examine the different places of display of photographs at home and how the display of photographs in other places can extend the concept of home beyond the physical location of the house. Participants will be asked if they share photographs offLine, onLine and/or via their camera phones, how and why. They will be asked to show some of these photographs, which will be copied and/or scanned to be analyzed afterwards. It is intended to audio record these interviews and to photograph the places where participants display family photographs at home. A buddy scheme will be put into practice for the home visits. The researcher will check with two different people by phone before going to the participants home, when arriving there and again when leaving the premises.

Lastly, I will ask participants to meet me four more times at a neutral venue, once every six weeks. Through these meetings I intent to keep track of the frequency of their photographic activity, of the frequency of their photo sharing with distant family members (members of the family who do not share the same household daily) and of the reasons to photograph and to share the images.

DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS

All paper based documents will be kept in a secure cupboard, which is located in an alarmed and card-access-controlled room at the Huston School of Film and Digital Media, NUIG; and in a password protected secure cloud. All electronic files (audio, image, text) will be password protected and stored in a secure, private location at NUIG. A second copy of the electronic files will be stored in a password protected cloud. No data will be distributed for commercial use. Data might be shared with other researchers for specific research purposes. Once the researcher is no longer based at NUIG, she will continue storing these paper-based and electronic records after asking for permission from her primary supervisor and from the head of the department, according to the REC policy on Data Retention.

This study focuses on photography as practice in Line with the work by Sarah Pink (2011) and Van House (2009). The analysis includes practices of photographing, digitization, display and sharing as Pink (2011: 100) has suggested, in order to give an in-depth account of the complexities of the link between family photography and familial intimacy. Images are situated in social, cultural, material and technological specific contexts. Therefore, social and cultural insights of the situation of Spanish families in Ireland will be used to analyze the materials as well as existing knowledge about the role of photography in creating or reinforcing feelings and or emotions among family members. The discourse analysis approach, which highlights the role of words and pictures as creators of reality in their own right, will be used to process the gathered data.

The process of interpretation of verbal data includes developing codes, categories and concepts to arrive to some generalized statements about the communicative potential of photographic practice to overcome distance and generate/negotiate affective bonds among family members. Memos will be used during the process of coding to keep records of new possibilities in relation to the analysis of the data and to keep record of the process of analytic thinking that will lead to further refined codes and categories. The verification of the data will be carried out attending to the variables that are built into the inclusion and exclusion criteria and that have determined the suitability of the case study approach for the present research. The work by Abigail Durrant and by Martha Langford are used as models for the analysis.

In accordance with the research question, all visual material gathered during the study will be analyzed for the cultural significance and symbolic meaning that lies behind its content. Two strands will lead the analysis of visual material, according to the two roles that participants play in the family archive: as producers and as viewers. First, the family member as producer of photographs, paying attention to

intentions and contexts of the photographs taken and shown, in Line with the gathered information from the interviews. Second, the role of the family member as viewer of photographs will be explored through which the relevance of the interpretation and of the context in which the photographs are. The work of David Morley about television sets, especially when he examines the relation between a technological object - the tv set - and familial configurations (which has been later extended to mobile communication devices by Morley himself, is used here as a point of reference for the analysis.

Ethical considerations

There is a multistage consent process. First, participants are asked to consent to be audio recorded during the interviews and for their photographs, previously selected by them, to be scanned and/or copied by the researcher for the solely purpose of the present research. Secondly, participants have the option to be named or to remain anonymous before the information is released to the public domain. This applies to both verbal and visual data. Therefore, if participants wish to remain anonymous, faces on the photographs and other personal identifiers will be blurred.

All verbal based data will be anonymized. Participants will be given different names, which will serve to identify electronic documents gathered within the study. Personal identifiers won't be included in derived data in order to ensure anonymity, unless participants give specific written consent to be named. Any release of data gathered within the study will happen only after the participants have been informed about it, have had time to review the material and to ask for modifications to be undertaken (and these being in fact fulfilled) and signed a final consent form for the release.

A slightly emotional discomfort could be experienced by participants when talking about family and/or personal matters related to their family photographs. However participants will select for themselves the photographs that will be shown and analysed by the researcher. Furthermore, these photographs have already been filtered, as participants are asked to select photographs that have been shared with distant family members beforehand. In the unlikely case that the participants feel discomfort, the researcher will stop the interview and note that the participant was feeling discomfort at that point. Taking up again at the point where the participant felt discomfort will be solely at the discretion of the participant. The present study accesses families by way of the keeper of the family photographic archive. There will family conversations in which children might be present, but there will be no recruitment and/or one-to-one interaction between the researcher and persons from vulnerable groups.

More positively, by talking and reflecting on family photography, participants might gain a better understanding of how and why visual communication helps to generate family knowledge and negotiate feelings of affinity and affection.

Cited References:

- Caron, Andre H. and Caronia, Letizia. *Moving Cultures. Mobile Communication in Everyday Life*. McGill-Queen's UP, 2007. Print.
- Durrant, Abigail. Family Portrayals. Design to Support Photographic Representations of Intergenerational Relationships in Family Homes. Diss. U. of Surrey, 2011. Okeanosorg. Web. 05 May 2012. <www.okeanos.org.uk/ACD_PhD_Thesis_Compressed.pdf>
- Edwards, Elizabeth and Hart, Janice. "Introduction. Photographs as Objects". *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. Eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart. London: Routledge, 2004. 1-15. Print.
- Gabb, Jacqui. "Reviewing Intimacy. Working Paper". *Researching Families.co.uk*. The Open University, n.d.Web. Inc. 05 May 2012. <http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/researchingfamilies/publications.htm>.
- Jamieson, Lynn. *Intimacy: Personal Relationships in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity, 1998. Print.
- Langford, Martha. *Suspended Conversations. The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001. Print.
- Langford, Martha: "Speaking the Album. An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework". In: Langford, M. / Kuhn, A., (eds.): Locating Memory. Photographic Acts. Remapping Cultural History. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2006. 223-46. Print.
- Morley, David. "Television: not so much a visual medium, more a visible object". *Visual Culture*. Ed C. Jenks. London: Routledge, 1995. 170-89. Print.
- Villi, Mikko. *Visual mobile communication. Camera phone photo messages as ritual communication and mediated presence*. Helsinki: Aalto UP, 2010. Print.
- Pink, Sarah: "Amateur photographic practice, collective representation and the constitution of place". In: *Visual Studies*, 26:1, 4-13, 2011. Print.
- Rose, G. *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment.* Ashgate, 2010. Print.
- Van House, Nancy A. "Personal photography, digital technologies and the uses of the visual". In *Visual Studies*, 26:2, 125-134, 2011. Print.
- Van House, Nancy A. Collocated photo-sharing, story-telling, and the performance of self. In *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies* 67 (12): 1079-86, 2009. Print.

8.1.2. Letters for Recruitment. Participation in Case Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families living in Ireland".

Letter for Recruitment - Participation in Case-Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland"

Para: spanishafterschoolclub@gmail.com

Estimada Leticia,

aquí escribe Patricia Prieto Blanco. Soy una estudiante de doctorado en la escuela Huston de cine y nuevos medios en la Universidad Nacional de Irlanda en Galway. Mi proyecto de investigación trata sobre le fotografía familiar. En concreto, investigo si la comunicación visual, el intercambio de fotografías analógicas o digitales, sirve para crear o reforzar lazos afectivos entre miembros de una misma familia que viven distantes.

A través de la web de ASPI me he enterado de que tú organizas taller semanal de juego y manualidades con niñ@s de familias españolas que viven en Irlanda. Me pregunto si podría asistir próximamente al taller, un viernes de Octubre, y al principio o al final de la actividad, informar a las madres allí presentes sobre mi investigación. Busco colaboración de l@s productor@s y curador@s del archivo fotográfico familiar, que por regla general suelen ser las madres. La forma de trabajo de la investigación son entrevistas, que en ocasiones incluyen la discusión o narración de cómo ciertas fotografías fueron tomadas, distribuidas y recibidas. Estoy solamente interesada en fotografías que se comparten, no en fotografías íntimas o muy personales, si no en aquellas que menos controvertidas y por lo tanto "apropiadas" para su circulación entre miembros de la familia. El concepto de familia con el trabajo en mi investigación es abierto, adaptado a las condiciones actuales. Por eso, amigos muy cercanos pueden ser considerados parte de la familia, como lo pueden ser también animales de compañía. Siempre depende de la intensidad de los lazos de afinidad y de afecto.

Saludos desde Galway.

Patricia Prieto Blanco
PhD Candidate at the Huston School of Film and Digital Media
NUI Galway, Ireland
p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie

Letter for Recruitment - Participation in Case-Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland"

Para: spanishtoddlergroup@aspi.ie

Estimado equipo del Spanish Toddler Group,

aquí escribe Patricia Prieto Blanco. Soy una estudiante de doctorado en la escuela Huston de cine y nuevos medios en la Universidad Nacional de Irlanda en Galway. Mi proyecto de investigación trata sobre le fotografía familiar. En concreto, investigo si la comunicación visual, el intercambio de fotografías analógicas o digitales, sirve para crear o reforzar lazos afectivos entre miembros de una misma familia que viven distantes.

A través de la web de ASPI he sabido del grupo para infantes que se organiza semanalmente. Me pregunto si podría asistir próximamente al mismo, un jueves de Octubre (excepto el próximo jueves), y al principio o al final de la actividad, informar a las madres allí presentes sobre mi investigación. Busco colaboración de l@s productor@s y curador@s del archivo fotográfico familiar, que por regla general suelen ser las madres. La forma de trabajo de la investigación son entrevistas, que en ocasiones incluyen la discusión o narración de cómo ciertas fotografías fueron tomadas, distribuidas y recibidas. Estoy solamente interesada en fotografías que se comparten, no en fotografías íntimas o muy personales, si no en aquellas que menos controvertidas y por lo tanto "apropiadas" para su circulación entre miembros de la familia. El concepto de familia con el trabajo en mi investigación es abierto, adaptado a las condiciones actuales. Por eso, amigos muy cercanos pueden ser considerados parte de la familia, como lo pueden ser también animales de compañía. Siempre depende de la intensidad de los lazos de afinidad y de afecto.

Saludos desde Galway.

Patricia Prieto Blanco
PhD Candidate at the Huston School of Film and Digital Media
NUI Galway, Ireland
p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie

Letter for Recruitment - Participation in Case-Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland"

Para: spanishparentsireland@gmail.com

Estimado equipo de ASPI,

aquí escribe Patricia Prieto Blanco. Soy una estudiante de doctorado en la escuela Huston de cine y nuevos medios en la Universidad Nacional de Irlanda en Galway. Mi proyecto de investigación trata sobre le fotografía familiar. En concreto, investigo si la comunicación visual, el intercambio de fotografías analógicas o digitales, sirve para crear o reforzar lazos afectivos entre miembros de una misma familia que viven distantes.

A través de vuestra web he sabido del grupo para infantes que se organiza semanalmente y del taller de español después de clase que también tiene una frecuencia semanal. Me he puesto en contacto con las personas organizadoras de los mismo para preguntarles si durante el mes de Octubre podría asistir y al principio o al final de la actividad, informar a las madres allí presentes sobre mi investigación.
Me dirijo a vosotros directamente para primero, informaros de que me he puesto en contacto con l@s responsables de las citadas actividades; y segundo, para preguntaros si podríamos organizar una charla informativa sobre mi investigación en las próximas semanas.

Busco colaboración de l@s productor@s y curador@s del archivo fotográfico familiar, que por regla general suelen ser las madres. La forma de trabajo de la investigación son entrevistas, que en ocasiones incluyen la discusión o narración de cómo ciertas fotografías fueron tomadas, distribuidas y recibidas. Estoy solamente interesada en fotografías que se comparten, no en fotografías íntimas o muy personales, si no en aquellas que menos controvertidas y por lo tanto "apropiadas" para su circulación entre miembros de la familia. El concepto de familia con el trabajo en mi investigación es abierto, adaptado a las condiciones actuales. Por eso, amigos muy cercanos pueden ser considerados parte de la familia, como lo pueden ser también animales de compañía. Siempre depende de la intensidad de los lazos de afinidad y de afecto.

Saludos desde Galway.

Letter for Recruitment - Participation in Case-Study Research: "Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland"

Patricia Prieto Blanco
PhD Candidate at the Huston School of Film and Digital Media
NUI Galway, Ireland
p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie

8.1.3. Information Sheet for Participation in Case Study Research. English and Spanish Versions.

Version 1.6/21.10.2012

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

This is an invitation to take part in a research study. Your participation is voluntary and before you agree, it is important that you understand why this research is being done and what it involves. This Participant Information Sheet tells you about the purpose, risks and benefits of this research study. Please take your time to read this document carefully. You should only consent to participate when you are confident that you understand what is being asked of you, and you have had enough time to ask questions and think about your decision. **Thank you for reading this.**

Living in a foreign country is a challenging experience. We are confronted with the unknown. We miss being surrounded by familiar faces and thus we use various ways to keep in touch. Talking on the phone with our loved one's can be very emotional, but often words alone leave us with a feeling of frustation: we wish we could interact with the person at the other end. This study explores how we communicate affection with our distant family members. We would like to explore with you how you use photos to share your new life with those that cannot be part of it because they are far away. It is an invitation for you to reflect on how you communicate with your loved one's.

If you take part we will interview you twice. First at a neutral venue, for 30 to 45 minutes. We will ask you to bring along some of the family photographs that you have shared with members of your family who live far away, and to let us copy them. **A second interview, of 45 to 60 minutes, will take place at your home.** We will ask you show us where you display family photographs and let us photograph them. **We have no interest in photographing your home, but only your displays of family photographs. Finally, we will ask you to meet the principal researcher four more times** (every six weeks) in order to discuss the photographs you have taken and showed with your distant family members over that time. We will record the interviews only with your written consent. **You can decide not to answer any question, or to stop the interviews any time you want**.

Breakdown of Interviews		
First Interview	Second Interview	Follow-up
Neutral Venue	Participant's home	Neutral Venue
30 to 45 Minutes	45 to 60 Minutes	4 times 30 Minutes meeting every 6 weeks
Bring a few of photos that you have shared with distant family members. We will discuss them. Interview will be audio taped. Photographs will be copied.	Talking about where you display family photographs at home. Interview will be audio taped. Places of display of family photos will be photographed. Some of the photographs you have shared with distant family members will be copied.	Tallking about when, what, why you photograph and how you select photos to be shared with distant family members. Interview will be audio taped. Dates of when photographs were taken and when shared will be recorded. Some of the shared photographs will be copied.

A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your statutory rights in any way. **If you decide to take part in the study you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.** There are no known risks associated with participation in the study,beyond those experienced in everyday life. Participation in this study will involve no costs to yourself but it is also completed on a voluntary basis.

Please, feel free to contact the researcher at any time to clarify any points that might have remained unclear -> Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12.

If you have any query about the researcher, please contact: Mr. Tony Tracy, Office 429, Information Technology Department, NUIG. tony.tracy@nuigalway.ie / Phone: 353 (0) 91 493839 orDr. Anne Byrne, Office 314, Aras Moyola, School of Political Science and Sociology, NUIG. anne.byrne@nuigalway.ie / Phone: 353 (0) 91493035

If you have any concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent and in confidence, you may contact the Chairperson of the NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUIG Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie.

All information collected during the study period will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with anyone else until such time as you sign

a release waiver. No publications or reports from this project will include identifying information on any participant without your signed permission, and after your review of the materials. Before any material from this project is released to the public domain, you will be asked to choose between remaining completely anonymous, be identified by name, be identified by photograph or be identified by photograph and name. At the end of the study and in accordance with NUI Galway data protection policy, all gathered data will be stored for 5 years after the study, in a secure and private and location.

This copy of the Information Sheet for Participation in Case Study Research is for you to keep. If you take part in the study, you will also be given a copy of the consent form to keep.

Thank you very much for reading this and for considering participating in this research.

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda.

Esto es una invitación para tomar parte en una investigación. Tu participación es voluntaria y antes de que des tu consentimiento, es importante que entiendas porqué este estudio se lleva a cabo y lo que implica. En esta hoja informativa te explicamos los objetivos, riesgos y beneficios de este estudio. Por favor, tómate tu tiempo para leer este documento detalladamente. Deberías acceder a participar sólo después de haber entendido lo que se espera de ti, y después de haber tenido tiempo suficiente para preguntar y para pensar sobre tu decisión. **Gracias por leer esto.**

Vivir en un país extranjero es una experiencia exigente. Se nos confronta con lo desconocido. Echamos de menos estar rodeados de caras familiares y por eso usamos varias vías para mantener el contacto con los/as nuestros/as. Hablar por teléfono puede ser muy sentimental, pero a menudo las palabras por sí solas nos dejan con un sentimiento de frustración: nos gustaría poder interactuar con la persona al otro lado de la línea telefónica. Este estudio explora cómo comunicamos afecto con los miembros de la familia que viven en la distancia. Nos gustaría explorar contigo como usas fotografías para compartir tu nueva vida con aquellos/as que no pueden formar parte de ella porque están lejos. Tómatelo como una invitación a reflexionar sobre cómo te comunicas con los/as tuyos/as.

Si participas, te entrevistaremos dos veces. Primero en un lugar neutral durante 30 o 45 minutos. Te pediremos que traigas algunas fotografías familiares que hayas compartido previamente con miembros de tu familia que viven lejos, y que nos dejes copiarlas. **Una segunda entrevista, de 46 o 60 minutos, tendrá lugar en tu casa.** Te pediremos que nos enseñes dónde expones fotografías familiares y que nos dejes fotografiar estos sitios. **No tenemos ningún interés en fotografiar tu casa, sólo queremos fotografiar los sitios donde exhibes tus fotografías de familia. Finalmente, te pediremos que nos veamos cuatro veces más** (una vez cada seis semanas) para discutir las fotografías que has tomado y compartido con familiares que viven lejos durante este tiempo. Grabaremos las entrevistas en audio sólo si consientes por escrito. **Puedes decidir no responder cualquiera de las preguntas, o parar la entrevista en cualquier momento.**

Detalle de las entrevistas		
Primera Entrevista	Segunda Entrevista	Seguimiento
Lugar Neutral	Casa del/a participante	Lugar Neutral
30 - 45 Minutos	45 - 60 Minutos	4 veces, 30 Minutos, cada 6 semanas
Trae varias fotos que hayas compartido con miembros de tu familia que viven lejos. Hablaremos sobre ellas. La entrevista será grabada en audio. Las fotografías serán copiadas.	Hablar sobre dónde exhibes las fotografías familiares en casa. La entrevista será grabada en audio. Los lugares de exhibición de fotografías familiares serán fotografiados.Algunas de las fotografías que compartas con la investigadora principal serán copiadas.	Hablar sobre qué, cuándo y por qué fotografías. Hablar de cómo seleccionas las fotografías que compartes con miembros de tu familia que viven lejos. La entrevista será grabada en audio. Las fechas de la toma y de la distribución de las fotografías serán anotadas. Algunas de las fotografías compartidas con miembros de la familia que viven lejos serán copiadas.

La decisión de cancelar tu participación en cualquier momento, o la decisión de no tomar parte en este estudio no afecta tus derechos de ningún modo. Si decides participar en el estudio sigues siendro libre de cancelar tu participación voluntaria en cualquier momento y sin dar explicaciones. No hay riesgos asociados con este estudio más allá de los que afrontamos en nuestra vida diaria. La participación en este estudio no supone costes para ti, pero tu participación es voluntaria, es decir no supone pagos.

Por favor, contacta con la investigadora principal en cualquier momento para clarificar los puntos que no hayas comprendido ->
Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

Si tienes alguna duda sobre la investigadora principal, por favor contacta a:
Mr. Tony Tracy, Office 429, Information Technology Department, NUIG. tony.tracy@nuigalway.ie / Teléfono: 353 (0) 91 493839 o:
Dr. Anne Byrne, Office 314, Aras Moyola, School of Political Science and Sociology, NUIG. anne.byrne@nuigalway.ie / Teléfono: 353 (0) 91493035

Si tienes alguna preocupación sobre este estudio y quieres contactar con alguien independiente y confidencialmente, puedes contactar con el Presidente del Comité de Ética NUI Galway c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUIG Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie.

Toda la información recogida durante la duración de este estudio será guardada de manera estrictamente confidencial y no será compartida con nadie más a menos que firmes un formulario final de autorización. Los informes o publicaciones de este proyecto no incluirán información que pueda identificar a los/as participantes a menos que se haya obtenido su consentimiento por escrito para ello y después de que hayan revisado los materiales. Antes de que cualquier material de esta investigación sea hecho público, se te pedirá que escojas entre permanecer completamente anónimo, ser identificado/a por tu nombre, ser identificado/a por fotografías, o ser identificado/a por tu nombre y fotografías. Al final del estudio y de acuerdo con la política de protección de datos de NUI Galway, todos los datos recogidos en este estudio permanecerán almacenados durante cinco años en un lugar protegido.

Esta copia de la Hoja Informativa para Participantes en Estudio de Casos Prácticos es para ti. Si tomas parte en el estudio, se te facilitará una copia de la autorización de participación para que la guardes.

Muchas gracias por leer esto y por considerar tu participación en el estudio.

8.1.4. Information Sheet for Children Participation in Case Study Research. English and Spanish Versions.

Information Sheet for Children Participation in Case-Study Research
Version 1.0/16.01.2013

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

My name is Patricia Prieto Blanco. I study at the National University of Ireland,Galway. Last year I started a project about family photography and I would like to invite you to take part in it.

Please, read this carefully and ask as many questions as you need to. Your parents will help you to understand this document. Please, be sure that you understand what I am asking you. Take your time to think about your decision. If you do not want to participate, just say no. It is OK to say no. Thank you for reading this.

At least one of your parents does not come from Ireland. Probably some people from another country have visited your family and you have visited them abroad too. Then you know that getting to know people and keeping in touch with them is very difficult when you don't see them often. This is why taking and sharing photographs is so important. Perhaps your parents take photographs of you and send them to your relatives abroad. You might even have taken photographs yourself for your relatives who live outside of Ireland. I am interested in all these photographs. And that is why I need your help.

Your parents participate in this study. I will interview them twice and then I will meet them four more times. We will talk about when, why and what kind of photographs are taken within your family. Probably, you will see me around, asking questions about family albums and photos.As you will be in many of those photographs, I need to ask you something. Do you mind if use the photographs in which you are in for my project? I will study the photographs and compare them with other photographs of other families.

Here are my details. If you need to contact me, please ask your parents to do so. Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

Thank you very much for reading this and for thinking about letting me use your photos!

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda

Me llamo Patricia Prieto Blanco. Estudio en la Universidad Nacional de Irlanda, Galway. El año pasado empecé un proyecto de fotografía familiar y me gustaría invitarte a participar.

Por favor, lee este página lentamente y pregunta tanto como necesites. Tus padres te ayudarán a entender lo que pone aquí. Por favour, aseguráte de que entiendes lo que te estoy pidiendo. Tómate tu tiempo para pensar sobre tu decision. Si no quieres participar, simplemente di no. No pasa nada por decir no. Muchas gracias por leer esta página.

Al menos uno de tus padres no nació en Irlanda. Seguramente que hayáis recibido visita de familiares que viven en el extranjero. Y probablemente vosotros hayáis visitado a familiares fuera de Irlanda también. Entonces sabrás lo difícil que es conocer y mantener el contacto con personas a las que no ves a menudo. Por esto mismo es por lo que sacar y compartir fotos es tan importante. Quizá tus padres saquen fotos de ti y las manden a los familiares que viven en el extranjero. A lo major tú también has sacado fotos y las has enviado a las personas de tu familia que viven lejos. A mí me interesan todas esas fotos. Por eso es por lo que necesito tu ayuda.

Tus padres participan en este estudio. Yo voy a entrevistarlos dos veces y luego quedaré con ellos cuatro veces más. Vamos a hablar sobre cuándo, porqué y qué tipo de fotos sacáis en vuestra familia. Seguramente que me veas con tus padres, preguntando cosas sobre los álbumes de fotos. Como seguro que tú apareces en muchas de las fotos, necesito preguntarte algo. ¿Te importa si uso las fotografías en las que apareces para mi proyecto? Estudiaré las fotos y las compararé con fotos de otras familias.

Estos son mis datos de contacto. Si lo necesitas pregúntale a tus padres y ellos me contactarán. Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

¡Muchas gracias por leer esto y por pensar si me dejas usar tus fotos!

8.1.5. Handouts for participants. English and Spanish Versions.

Participant Identification Number:

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

Contact Details of Principal Researcher:
Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

1st Interview

Please, select 3 to 5 photographs (analogue or digital) that you have shared onLine or offLine with at least one member of your family.

2nd Interview

Please, think about how you display and share your photographs. If we are talking about analogue photographs, you might have frames at home, or albums. If we consider digital photographs, maybe you upload some of them to social network sites, you might have your own blog or they might be the screen protector of your computer or of your mobile phone.

The following typology should help you to identify how you display and/or share your family photographs. **You do not need to prepare anything before the second interview.** Just think a while about how you display and share your family photographs. **During the second interview we will find together examples** that you are willing to share with me, for each category of the following that you use.

OffLine digital photographs
- computer (as background, screen-protector or user-profile-picture)
- phone (as background, screen-protector or user-profile-picture)
- digital frames
- other

OnLine digital photographs
- Email (do you use groups or lists for sharing photographs?)
- Social network sites (do you use groups or lists for sharing photographs?)
- Apps for mobile phone (*WhatsApp*, viber...)
- blogs
- onLine photo albums
- other

OffLine analogue photographs or digital printed photographs (paper-based photographs)
- frames
- albums
- walls
- door of the refrigerator
- wallet
- postal mail
- objects (T-shirts, mugs, calendars...)
- other

I have been given a copy of this hand-out

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

1 for participant, 1 for researcher, 1 to be kept with research notes

Número identificativo del/a participante:

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda.

Detalles de Contacto de la Investigadora Principal:
Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

1ª Entrevista

Por favor, selecciona de 3 a 5 fotografías (analógicas o digitales) que hayas compartido con al menos un miembro de tu familia.

2ª Entrevista

Por favor, piensa sobre como muestras y compartes tus fotografías. Si hablamos de fotografías analógicas, quizá tengas marcos fotográficos en casa, o álbumes. Si hablamos de fotografías digitales, quizá subas alguna de estas fotografías a sitios de redes sociales, o quizá tengas tu propio blog o a lo mejor usas alguna foto como protector de pantalla de tu ordenador o de tu móvil.

La siguiente clasificación te debería ayudar a identificar cómo muestras y/o compartes tus fotografías familiares. **No necesitas preparar nada antes de la segunda entrevista.** Sólo piensa un rato sobre cómo muestras y compartes tus fotografías de familia. **Durante la segunda entrevista encontraremos juntos algunos ejemplos** de cada categoría que usas que estés dispuesto/a a compartir conmigo.

Fotografías digitales offLine
- ordenador (como fondo de pantalla, protector de pantalla o como fotografía de perfil)
- móvil (como fondo de pantalla, protector de pantalla o como fotografía de perfil)
- marcos digitales
- otros

Fotografías digitales onLine
- email (usas grupos o listas para compartir fotografías?)
- redes sociales (usas grupos o listas para compartir fotografías?)
- Apps para móviles (*WhatsApp*, viber...)
- blogs
- álbumes onLine
- otros

Fotografías analógicas offLine o fotografías digitales impresas (fotografías en papel)
- marcos fotográficos
- álbumes
- paredes
- puerta de la nevera
- cartera
- correo postal
- objetos (camisetas, tazas, calendarios...)
- otros

He recibido una copia de esta hoja orientativa

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

1 for participant, 1 for researcher, 1 to be kept with research notes

8.1.6. General Consent Form Participant. English and Spanish Versions.

Participant Identification Number:

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

Contact Details of Principal Researcher:

Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

I confirm that I have read the information sheet date 21.10.2012 (version 1.6) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	☐
I am satisfied that I understand the information provided and have had enough time to consider the information	☐
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without my legal rights being affected.	☐
I confirm that I have informed my children about the study and about our participation on it. I confirm that my child(ren) have assented to participate in this study. Name and age of my chil(dren)	☐
I understand that my participation will involve no costs or payments to me or my family.	☐
I understand that I will be asked to participate in 2 interviews and in 4 follow-ups and that my voice will be audio recorded. I agree to be audio recorded.	☐
I understand that I will be asked to select, show and discuss some of my own family photographs. I agree to have my family photographs (those selected by me) scanned/re-photographed by the researcher for the purpose of this study.	☐
I understand that any information I provide during the duration of the study will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with anyone else.	☐
I understand that my participation in this study does not imply that my case will be part of the final analysis.	☐
I understand that the results of this study may be published in an academic journal or book. I understand that no information will be released unless I sign a release waiver and after I have reviewed the materials.	☐
I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee for studies involving human participants. I may contact this committee if I have any concerns about this study and wish to talk someone independent an in confidence -> NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUI Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie	☐
I have been given a copy of this consent form	☐

In signing this form, I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

1 for participant, 1 for researcher, 1 to be kept with research notes

Número identificativo del/a participante:

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda.

Detalles de Contacto de la Investigadora Principal:

Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

Confirmo que he leído la hoja informativa de fecha 21.10.2012 (versión 1.6) sobre el estudio indicado en la parte superior y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas.	☐
Entiendo satisfactoriamente la información provista y que he tenido suficiente tiempo para considerar la información.	☐
Entiendo que la participación de mi familia es voluntaria y que somos libres de renunciar a esta participación en cualquier momento sin que nuestros derechos legales se vean afectados por ello.	☐
Confirmo que he informado a mi(s) hijo/a(s) sobre este estudio y sobre nuestra participación en el mismo. Confirmo que mi(s) hijo/a(s) ha(n) accedido a participar en este estudio. Nombre y edad de mi(s) hijo/a(s)	☐
Entiendo que mi participación no supone costes por mi parte o pagos a mi persona/familia.	☐
Entiendo que mi participación será requerida en 2 entrevistas y en 4 seguimientos y que mi voz será grabada. Acepto ser grabado/a en audio.	☐
Entiendo que se me pedirá que seleccione, muestre y discuta algunas de mis propias fotografías familiares. Acepto que mis propias fotografías familiares (aquellas seleccionadas previamente por mi) sean escaneadas o re-fotografiadas por la investigadora principal para los fines de este estudio.	☐
Entiendo que cualquier información que provea durante la duración de este estudio será guardada de forma estrictamente confidencial y que no será compartida con nadie más.	☐
Entiendo que mi participación no implica que mi caso forme parte del análisis final.	☐
Entiendo que los resultados de este estudio podrán ser divulgados en publicación académica o en un libro.	☐
Entiendo que este estudio ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de NUI Galway para estudios que involucran participantes humanos. Puede que contacte este comité si tengo preocupaciones sobre este estudio y si deseo hablar con alguien independiente y confidencialmente -> NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUI Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie.	☐
La investigadora principal me ha dado una copia de este formulario de autorización.	☐

Con mi firma, confirmo que estoy de acuerdo en participar voluntariamente en este estudio.

Nombre del/a Participante	Fecha	Firma

Nombre de la Investigadora	Fecha	Firma

1 para el/la participante, 1 para la investigadora, 1 para guardar con las notas de la investigación.

8.1.7. Consent Form Adult Family Member. English and Spanish Versions.

Participant Identification Number:

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

Contact Details of Principal Researcher:

Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

I confirm that I have read the information sheet date 21.10.2012 (version 1.6) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	☐
I am satisfied that I understand the information provided and have had enough time to consider the information	☐
I understand that the participation of family is voluntary and that we are free to withdraw at any time, without our legal rights being affected.	☐
I understand that the participation of my family will involve no costs or payments to me.	☐
I understand that due to the participation in this study of a member of my family, photographs in which I might appear will be shared with the researcher. Please, write down the name of the member of your family that is participating in the study: Please, write down your kinship relationship to this person:	☐
I understand that any information provided by my family during the duration of the study will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shared with anyone else.	☐
I understand that the participation of my family in this study does not imply that our case will be part of the final analysis.	☐
I understand that the results of this study may be published in an academic journal or book. I understand that no information will be released unless a release waiver is signed by the above specified member of my family and after this person has reviewed the materials.	☐
I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee for studies involving human participants. I may contact this committee if I have any concerns about this study and wish to talk someone independent an in confidence -> NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUI Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie	☐
I have been given a copy of this consent form	☐

In signing this form, I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

1 for participant, 1 for researcher, 1 to be kept with research notes

FORMULARIO DE AUTORIZACIÓN MIEMBROS ADULTOS FAMILIA- Versión 1.1/05.12.2012 -

Número identificativo del/a participante:

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda.

Detalles de Contacto de la Investigadora Principal:
Patricia Prieto Blanco, p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie / +353 (0) 871152912

Confirmo que he leído la hoja informativa de fecha 21.10.2012 (versión 1.6) sobre el estudio indicado en la parte superior y he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas.	☐
Entiendo satisfactoriamente la información proveída y que he tenido suficiente tiempo para considerar la información.	☐
Entiendo que la participación de mi familia es voluntaria y que somos libres de renunciar en cualquier momento sin que nuestros derechos legales se vean afectados por ello.	☐
Entiendo que la participación de mi familia no supone costes por mi parte o pagos a mi persona.	☐
Entiendo que debido a la participación de un miembro de mi familia en este estudio, fotografías en las que aparezco serán compartidas con la investigadora principal. Por favor, escribe el nombre de la persona de tu familia que participa en este estudio: Por favor, escribe la relación de parentesco que tienes con esta persona:	☐
Entiendo que cualquier información que provea mi familia durante la duración de este estudio será guardada de forma estrictamente confidencial y que no será compartida con nadie más.	☐
Entiendo que la participación de mi familia en este estudio no implica que mi caso forme parte del análisis final.	☐
Entiendo que los resultados de este estudio podrán ser divulgados en una publicación académica o en un libro. Entiendo que no se hará pública ninguna información a menos que un formulario final de autorización hay sido firmado por la persona de mi familia especificada anteriormente y después de que esta persona haya revisado el material.	☐
Entiendo que este estudio ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de NUI Galway para estudios que involucran participantes humanos. Puede que contacte este comité si tengo preocupaciones sobre este estudio y si deseo hablar con alguien independiente y confidencialmente -> NUI Galway Research Ethics Committee, c/o Office of the Vice President for Research, NUI Galway, ethics@nuigalway.ie.	☐
La investigadora principal me ha dado una copia de este formulario de autorización.	☐

Con mi firma, confirmo que estoy de acuerdo en participar voluntariamente en este estudio.

Nombre del/a Participante Fecha Firma

Nombre de la Investigadora Fecha Firma

1 para el/la participante, 1 para la investigadora, 1 para guardar con las notas de la investigación.

8.1.8. Specific Consent Form for the Use of Photographs. English and Spanish Versions.

Specific Consent Form for the use of Photographs

Participant Identification Number:

Dear Participant:

This form authorizes Patricia Prieto Blanco as principal researcher of this study, to:

a) Take photographs during the interviews

b) Use existing photographs of your family

for the study "**Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Photographic Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland."**

As the principal participant in this study:

I confirm that I am the principal participant of my famly in this study and as it is listed in the general consent form already signed by me.

☐

I confirm that I accept photographs to be taken for the aims of this study, as it is described in the participant information sheet of the 21st of October 2012.

☐

I confirm that as a principal participant I select the photographs of my family that will be used for the aims of this study.

☐

You can authorize me, Patricia Prieto Blanco, to use these photographic materials as they are, or you can indicate below pertinent modifications that need to carried out before using these materials:

Conditions:

The following conditions limit the use of information as agreed between the participant and the researcher:

_____ No modifications are neccessary

_____ The photographic materials can be used once following modifications are carried out:

- Blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of me, principal participant. ☐
- Blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of my family. ☐
- Blur faces to avoid unequivocal visual identification of my child(ren) ☐
- Other conditions, please specify:

I, _____,

hereby grant the right to use visual information derived from interviews and/or note-takingof my participation in this study, to Patricia Prieto Blanco, from the National University of Ireland, Galway. I understand that this information will be kept by the researcher, and that it may be used in academic materials to be made available to the general public.

Signature of participant Fecha

Signature of researcher Fecha

Specific Consent Form for the use of Photographs

Contact Details of researcher:
Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

Formulario Específico de Consentimiento para el uso de Fotografías

Número identificativo del participante:

Querido/a participante:

Este formulario me da autorización como investigadora principal para

c) tomar fotografías durante las entrevistas

d) usar fotografías existentes de tu familia

en el estudio "**Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda".**

Como participante principal en este estudio:

Confirmo que soy el participante principal de mi familia en este estudio y que como consta en el formulario de consentimiento general ya firmado por mí.

☐

Confirmo que acepto la toma de fotografías para los fines de este estudio como se describe en la hoja de información con fecha 21.10.2012.

☐

Confirmo que como participante principal yo me encargo de la selección de las fotografías de mi familia a usar para los fines de este estudio.

☐

Puedes darme autorización como investigadora principal para usar estos materiales fotográficos tal y como son, o con las modificaciones pertinentes que indiques a continuación.

Condiciones:

Las condiciones siguientes limitan el uso de la información, según lo acordado entre el/la participante y la investigadora:

_____ Ninguna modificación es necesaria

_____ El material fotográfico puede ser usado una vez que se hayan llevado a cabo las correcciones especificadas a continuación:

- Difuminar rostros para evitar identificación visual inequívoca de mi persona. ☐
- Difuminar rostros para evitar identificación visual inequívoca de mi familia. ☐
- Difuminar rostros para evitar identificación visual inequívoca de mi(s) hijo/a(s) ☐
- Otras condiciones, por favor indicar:

Yo, _____,

por la presente cedo el derecho de uso de la información visual derivada de entrevistas y notas en mi participación en este estudio a Patricia Prieto Blanco, investigadora principal de este estudio, de la NUI Galway. Entiendo que estos materiales permanecerán en poder de la investigadora principal y que pueden ser usados en publicaciones académicas de carácter público.

Firma del/a participante Fecha

Firma de la Investigadora Fecha

Detalles de contacto de la investigadora principal:

Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

8.1.9. Final Consent Form for the Release of Information. English and Spanish Versions.

Final Consent Form for Release of Information

Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland.

Dear Participant:
This form gives us final authorization to use material from your interviews in **"Family Photography in the Digital Age. A Research of Practices of Spanish Families Living in Ireland"**. A draft of these materials will have been presented to you for your review, correction, and/or modification. You may grant use rights for this draft "as is," or with the modifications you specify, if any. See "Conditions" at the bottom of the page.

I,_____, hereby grant the right to use information from recordings and or notes taken in interviews of me, to **Patricia Prieto Blanco from National University of Ireland, Galway,** and as presented to me as a draft copy. I understand that the interview records will be kept by the interviewer and the project, and that the information contained in the interviews may be used in materials to be made available to the general public.

_____ By initialling here, I agree to be identified by name in the project and related materials.

_____ By initialling here, I agree to be identified by photograph in the project and related materials.

Signature of Interviewee Date

Signature of Interviewer Date

Conditions:
The following conditions limit the release of information, as agreed between the interviewer and the interviewee:
_____ None needed
_____ Material may be released once corrections I specified have been made
_____ Material may be released once it has been edited by a third part (please specify)

Contact details of principal researcher:
Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12

Formulario Final de Consentimiento para la publicación de información

Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en Irlanda.

Querido/a participante:
Este formulario nos da autorización final para usar material de tus entrevistas en el estudio "**Fotografía de Familia en la Era Digital. Una Investigación sobre las Prácticas Fotográficas de Familias Españolas Residentes en la República de Irlanda".** Se te ha presentado un borrador de los materiales que se usarán y has tenido tiempo para revisarlos, corregirlos y/o modificarlos. Puedes darnos autorización para usar estos materiales tal y como son, o con las modificaciones pertinentes que hayas indicado. Véase "Condiciones" al final de la página.

Yo,_____, por la presente cedo el derecho de uso de la información derivada de entrevistas y notas en mi participación en este estudio a Patricia Prieto Blanco de la NUI Galway, tal y como esta información me ha sido presentada en un borrador. Entiendo que los datos de las entrevistas permanecerán en poder de la investigadora principal y que la información contenida en las entrevistas puede ser usada en materiales de carácter público.

_____ Escribiendo aquí mis iniciales, accedo a ser identificado/a por mi nombre en este proyecto y materiales derivados.

_____ Escribiendo aquí mis iniciales, accedo a ser identificado/a visualmente en este proyecto y materiales derivados

Firma del/a entrevistado/a Fecha

Firma de la Entrevistadora Fecha

Condiciones:
Las condiciones siguientes limitan el uso de la información, según lo acordado entre el/la entrevistado/a y la entrevistadora:
_____ Ninguna modificación es necesaria
_____ El material puede ser usado una vez que se hayan llevado a cabo las correcciones especificadas por el/la entrevistado/a.
_____ El material puede ser usado una vez haya sido editado por una tercera persona. En este caso especificar quién:

Detalles de contacto de la investigadora principal:
Patricia Prieto Blanco - p.prietoblanco1@nuigalway.ie - +353 (0) 87 115 29 12