Vision and Photography

Introduction

We have argued that vision is central to tourism experience. However, there is nothing inevitable or natural about this organising power of vision. Indeed, there was a centuries-long struggle for visuality to break free from other senses with which it had been entangled. Here we begin by examining the history of visuality and what is meant by the idea of seeing and in turn being seen, and how vision became the dominating sense in modern societies. We pay particular attention to the profusion of new visual technologies and urban spaces.

Second, we link vision and the tourist gaze with the medium of photography, the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze. Osborne describes: ‘the ultimate inseparability of the medium [of photography] from tourism’s general culture and economy and from the varieties of modern culture of which they are constitutive’ (2000: 70). We show how the tourist gaze has been inseparably tied up with the development and popularisation of cameras and photographs. The gaze is constructed discursively and materially through images and performances of photography, and vice versa. We analyse significant moments within tourism photography and show how photographs enhance, frame and substitute for physical travel in complex and contingent ways, especially as photography is bodily central to the tourist encountering of the other. Tourists, as Sontag remarked, feel obliged to put the camera between themselves and whatever is remarkable in the encounter (1979).

Drawing on research, we show how photographs activate both ‘imaginative mobility’ and ‘memory travel’, and they frame tourists’ gazes and the manipulation of their cameras. Photographs are more than just representations, and while photographic images are caught up with the moment, photographic objects have temporal and spatial duration. They are performative objects generating affective sensations. Photographs are ‘blocks of space-time’ that have effects beyond the people or place or events to which they refer.

We examine the performativity, or doings, of photographs, how they organise gazes, constructing and mobilising the places that tourists consume and remember. We need to think of photographs as corporeal, travelling, ageing and affective, rather than as bodiless, timeless, fixed and passive. And we stress that such photographs are not objective or innocent but produced within asymmetrical power relations and the need ‘to situate tourism representation politically, examine what they include and exclude, and expose whose interests they serve’ (Mellinger, 1994: 776). Both tourism organisations and tourists invest much energy in photographs. We show how the former use and deploy photographs so as to invoke anticipation and to construct the gaze of tourists. Also tourists take photographs so as to produce tangible memories to be cherished and consumed well after the journey. Through photographs, tourists strive to make fleeting gazes last longer.

Finally, we turn to how the digitisation of photography has transformed some at least of these relations. Many personal photographic images are now destined to live virtual, digital lives without material substance, in cameras, computers and on the internet. Emails, blogs and social networking sites dislocate photographic memories from the fixed physical home and object-ness, distributing them to desktops, folders, printers, photo paper, frames – or trash bins. Many such photographs possess complex biographies as they materialise, de-materialise and rematerialise, taking and retaking various forms and inhabiting different materialities as they travel at bewildering speed and become used as elements of multiple narratives and practices.

History of Visuality

The very idea of a tourist gaze stems from contestations within intellectual, governmental and religious think-
ing over the past few centuries. Febvre argues that in sixteenth-century Europe, ‘Like their acute hearing and sharp sense of smell, the men of that time doubtless had keen sight. But that was just it. They had not yet set it apart from the other senses’ (1982: 437; Cooper, 1997). As a result people were said to live within a fluid world where entities rapidly changed shape and size, boundaries quickly altered and where there was little systematic stabilisation of the social or physical worlds. ‘Interaction’ describes the fluid, changing forms of perception that characterised sixteenth-century life (Cooper, 1997).

Between then and 1800 there were many changes. Visual observation rather than the a priori knowledge of medieval cosmology came to be viewed as the basis of scientific legitimacy. This subsequently developed into the very foundation of the scientific method of the west, based upon sense-data principally produced and guaranteed by sight. Foucault shows in The Order of Things how natural history involves the observable structure of the visible world and not functions and relationships invisible to the senses (1970). Various sciences of ‘visible nature’ developed and were organised around visual taxonomies, including especially that of Linnaeus (Gregory, 1994: 20). Such classifications were based upon the modern épistème of the individual subject, the seeing eye, and the observations, distinctions and classifications that the eye is able to make (Foucault, 1970).

Treatises on travel consequently shifted from a scholastic emphasis on touring as an opportunity for discourse via the ear, to travel as eyewitness observation. And with the development of scientific expeditions (the first recorded in 1735: Pratt, 1992: 1), travellers could no longer expect that their observations would become part of science itself. Travel came to be justified not through science but through the idea of connoisseurship – ‘the well trained eye’ (Adler, 1989: 22). A connoisseurship of buildings, works of art and of landscapes developed especially in the late eighteenth century with the growth of ‘scenic tourism’ in Britain and then across Europe. ‘[S]ightseeing became simultaneously a more effusive passionate activity and a more private one’ (Adler, 1989: 22). Such connoisseurship came to involve new ways of seeing: a ‘prolonged, contemplative [look] regarding the field of vision with a certain aloofness and disengagement, across a tranquil interval’ (Bryson, 1983: 94; Taylor, 1994: 13).

During the eighteenth century a more specialised visual sense developed based upon the camera obscura, the Claude glass, the use of guidebooks, the widespread knowledge of routes, the art of sketching and the availability of sketchbooks, the balcony and so on (Ousby, 1990). This shift can be seen in the case of Sweden, between Linnaeus’ scientific expeditions in the 1730s to collect flowers and minerals, to Linnerhielm’s travels in the 1780s to collect views and moods. The latter expresses this shift in the nature of travel: ‘I travel to see, not to study’ (Löfgren, 1999: 17; also Pratt, 1992).

Claude glasses were significant in this shift. Named after the picturesque painter Claude Lorraine, these were lightweight, mobile convex mirrors that fitted into a (male) pocket and quickly became standard equipment among pre-photographic tourists in Europe (Andrews, 1989; Ousby, 1990: 155; Löfgren, 1999: 18). The gazer stood with his/her back to the scene and consumed it through the petite mirror in which the reflected landscape was neatly trimmed and recomposed in accordance to the eye’s movement. One tourist explained: ‘Where the objects are great and near, it removes them to a due distance, and shews them in the soft colours of nature, and the most regular perspective the eye can perceive, art teach, or science demonstrate’ (quoted in Ousby, 1990: 155). Another stated: ‘my convex mirror brought every scene within the compass of a picture’ (quoted in Batchen, 1999: 73). Nature was tamed, put into perspective with, and by, the human eye, as a landscape picture, a single vision of order.

Special light effects à la Lorraine were also created through the use of filters. Such glasses perfected nature. Even before the invention and popularisation of cameras, seeing was mediated by hybridised and prosthetic technologies. To realise the desired picturesque – that is, ‘picture-like’ – scenery that the unassisted eye struggled to form and possess, these pre-photographic tourists employed the camera obscura and especially Claude glasses (Andrews, 1989; Ousby, 1990).
This visual sense enables people to take possession of objects and environments, often at a distance (as Simmel argues; Frisby and Featherstone, 1997: 116). It facilitates the world of the ‘other’ to be controlled from afar, combining detachment and mastery. It is by seeking distance that a proper ‘view’ is gained, abstracted from the hustle and bustle of everyday experience (see Pratt's account of ‘imperial eyes’: 1992). As Gregory shows, a powerful viewing-position of simultaneous immersion and standing apart enabled tourists to gaze upon Egypt as though they were inside Arabian Nights. One tourist wrote: ‘viewed from a distance, this metropolis might really bear out … the enchanting pictures sketched out with true Eastern warmth in the Arabian Nights … [this] fancy may be captivated by a distant view of the city, a nearer acquaintance with it effects a sad reverse. Once entered, the spell is dissolved (quoted in Gregory, 2001: 9). The anticipated theatrical Egypt was produced by tourists searching out elevated positions and open vistas, especially by sailing down the Nile in a dahabeeah (a large luxury houseboat with cross-sails).

While areas of wild, barren nature, which were once sources of sublime terror and fear, were transformed into what Raymond Williams terms ‘scenery, landscape, image, fresh air’, places waiting at a distance for visual consumption by those visiting from towns and cities full of ‘dark satanic mills’ (1972: 160; Macnaghten and Urry, 1998: 114–15). Even before the end of the eighteenth century the Alps, which had been regarded as mountains of immense inhospitality, ugliness and terror, had become ‘civilised’. Ring maintained that they ‘are not simply the Alps. They are a unique visual, cultural, geological and natural phenomenon, indissolubly wed to European history’ (2000: 9). Picturesque tourism was instrumental in transforming the Alps and ‘mountain-scapes’ throughout the globe into visually attractive places. Löfgren writes how tourists in Norway spoke of ‘Swiss views’ and American mountain resorts competed to become ‘the Switzerland of the USA’ (1999: 34). Larsen describes how Bornholm became inscribed with associations with the Alps, as ‘Denmark’s Switzerland’ (2006b). Also by the end of the eighteenth century ‘tropical nature’ had been romanticised by travellers who began to see scenery as though it were a ‘painting’ (Sheller, 2003).

Over the next century nature of all sorts came to be widely regarded as scenery, views and perceptual sensation, partly because of the Romantics: ‘Nature has largely to do with leisure and pleasure – tourism, spectacular entertainment, visual refreshment’ (Green, 1990: 6, on mid-nineteenth-century France). By 1844 Wordsworth was noting that the development of the idea of landscape had recently developed; and he in effect promoted both the Alps and the Lake District as landscapes of attraction. He notes how previously barns and outbuildings had been placed in front of houses ‘however beautiful the landscape which their windows might otherwise have commanded’ (Wordsworth, 1984: 188). By the mid-nineteenth century houses were being built with regard to their ‘prospects’ as though they were a kind of ‘camera’ (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 79).

Larsen shows how hotels on Bornholm were also built ‘as cameras’ (2006b). They afforded a nicely framed view from the bedrooms and grand sweeping panoramas from the elevated porches and balconies; sitting safely and comfortably in the hotel armchair a painting of nature was put on to the stage for visitors. Working quarries were screened-off by fences so that they did not spoil the view. The Danish novelist Drachmann describes the spectacle-isation of fishing villages:

In the midst of this Swiss fantasy one could still see the fishermen's cottages. ... The villas looked down on them. They needed to be down there or it wouldn't be a fishery village and the picture would miss its adornments. The villas wouldn't miss the huts, the boat with red sail, the pigsty, or the dozen half-naked children, but they would be less grand without them. The culture was successfully penetrated. But the original inhabitants must not disappear completely. They were needed as an assurance that one really lived by the sea. (1881: 62, our translation)

Benches and viewing stations, walking paths and promenades, affording respectively permanent views while-at-rest and many slow-moving views-in-leisurely-walking, were erected. Thus, what began as an imaginative geography of seeing, writing and fantasy eventually reconstructed, and became part of, the material make-up of many places (Larsen, 2006b). The language of views thus prescribed a particular visual structure to the
experience of nature (Green, 1990: 88).

The building of piers, promenades and domesticated beaches enabled the visual consumption of the otherwise wild, untamed and ‘natural’ sea (Corbin, 1992). ‘Sightseeing’ is not passive looking or staring from everywhere. Landscapes and cities are seldom pleasing enough on their own; they have to be put into visual and spatial order as a framed and distanced picture.

But there is a further aspect of the nineteenth century. This concerns the emergence of relatively novel modes of visual perception which became part of the modern experience of visiting new urban centres, particularly the newly grand capital cities. This new visual experience has been characterised by Berman, who sees the rebuilding of Paris during the Second Empire in the mid-nineteenth century as constructing the conditions for the quintessentially modern experience (1983: section 3). It is one of the most celebrated of tourist gazes.

What is of central importance is the reconstruction of urban space which permits new ways of seeing and being seen. This was engineered by the massive rebuilding of Paris by Haussmann, who blasted a vast network of new boulevards through the heart of the old medieval city. The rebuilding of Paris displaced 350,000 people; by 1870 one-fifth of the streets of central Paris were Haussmann’s creation; and at the height of the reconstruction one in five of all workers in the capital was employed in construction (Clark, 1984: 37).

The boulevards were central to this planned reconstruction – they were like arteries in a massive circulatory system, and were planned partly to facilitate rapid troop movements. However, they also restructured what could be seen or gazed upon. Haussmann’s plan entailed the building of markets, bridges, parks, the Opera and other cultural palaces, with many located at the end of the various boulevards. Such boulevards came to structure the gaze, both of Parisians and later of visitors. For the first time in a major city people could see well into the distance and indeed where they were going and where they had come from. Great sweeping vistas were designed so that each walk led to a dramatic climax. As Berman says: ‘All these qualities helped to make Paris a uniquely enticing spectacle, a visual and sensual feast … after centuries of life as a cluster of isolated cells, Paris was becoming a unified physical and human space’ (1983: 151). Certain of these spectacular views have come to be signifiers of the entity ‘Paris’ (as opposed to the individual districts).

These boulevards brought enormous numbers of people together in ways that were relatively novel. The street level was lined with many small businesses, shops and especially cafés. These have come to be known all over the world as signs of la vie Parisienne, particularly as generations of painters, writers and photographers represented the patterns of life in and around them, beginning with the Impressionists in the 1860s (see Berman, 1983: 151; Clark, 1984). Lovers caught up in the extraordinary movement of modern Paris in the 1860s and 1870s could intensely experience their emotional affection. The traffic of people and horses transformed social experience in this modern urban setting. Urban life was rich and full of possibilities; and at the same time dangerous and frightening.

To be private in the midst of such danger and chaos created the perfect romantic setting of modern times, and millions of visitors have attempted to re-experience that particular quality among the boulevards and cafés of Paris. This romantic experience could be felt especially intensely in front of the endless parades of strangers moving up and down the boulevards – it was those strangers they gazed upon and who in turn gazed at them. Part then of the gaze in the new modern city of Paris was of the multitude of passers-by, who both enhanced the lovers’ vision of themselves and in turn provided an endlessly fascinating source of curiosity.

Haussmann’s reconstruction of Paris also meant that much of the working class was forced out of the centre of Paris, particularly because of the exceptionally high rents charged in the lavish apartment blocks that lined the new boulevards. Reconstruction therefore led to residential segregation and to the worst signs of deprivation being removed from the gaze of richer Parisians and especially from visitors.

Furthermore, Paris was said to be a city of vice, vulgarity and display – ostentation not luxury, frippery not
fashion, consumption not trade (see Clark, 1984: 46–7). It was the city of the flâneur or stroller. The anonymity of the crowd provided an asylum for those on the margins of society who were able to move about unnoticed, observing and being observed, but not interacting with those encountered. The flâneur was the modern hero, able to travel, to arrive, to gaze, to move on, to be anonymous, to be in a liminal zone (see Benjamin, 1973; Wolff, 1985; Tester, 1994). The flâneur was invariably male and this rendered invisible the different ways in which women were both more restricted to the private sphere and at the same time were coming to colonise other emerging public spheres in the middle and late nineteenth century, especially the department store (see Wolff, 1985, 1993). The strolling flâneur was a forerunner of the twentieth-century tourist and the taking of photographs – of being seen and recorded, and of seeing others and recording them. Susan Sontag explicitly makes this link between the flâneur and photography. The latter:

first comes into its own as an extension of the eye of the middle-class flâneur. ... The photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker reconnoitering, stalking, cruising the urban inferno, the voyeuristic stroller who discovers the city as a landscape of voluptuous extremes. Adept of the joys of watching, connoisseur of empathy, the flâneur finds the world 'picturesque'. (1979: 55)

While the middle-class flâneur was attracted to the city's dark seamy corners, the twentieth-century photographer is attracted everywhere, to every possible object, event and person. And at the same time the photographer is also observed and photographed. One is both see-er and seen.

The visual sense of possession developed across nineteenth-century western Europe and later into American urban spaces. The development of the skyscraper in Chicago in the 1880s led to further separation of the senses; its panoramic window afforded those inside to gaze down and across the crowd, while being insulated from its odours and potential touch. There was a growing separation of the senses, especially of vision from touch, smell and hearing. New technologies of the gaze began to be produced and circulated, including postcards, guidebooks, photographs, commodities, arcades, cafés, dioramas, mirrors, plate-glass windows, as well as places of incarceration based upon the 'unimpeded empire of the gaze' (Foucault, 1976: 39; Urry, 1992).

While the flâneur is a central figure of modernity, so too are the train passenger, car driver and jet-plane passenger. Their arrival changes the nature of vision. The 'static' forms of the tourist gaze, such as from a balcony, focuses upon the two-dimensional shape, colours and details of the view laid out before one and which can be moved around with one's eyes (Pratt, 1992: 222). Such a static gaze is paradigmatically captured through the still camera. By contrast, with what Schivelbusch terms a 'mobility of vision', there are swiftly passing panorama, a sense of multidimensional rush and the fluid interconnections of places, peoples and possibilities (1986: 66; similar to the onrushing images encountered on TV and film). There are various tourist glances, the capturing of sights in passing from a railway carriage, through the car windscreen, the steamship porthole or the camcorder viewfinder (Larsen, 2001). As Schivelbusch argues: 'the traveller sees ... through the apparatus which moves him through the world. The machine and the motion it creates become integrated into his visual perception; thus he can only see things in motion' (quoted in Osborne, 2000: 168).

The nineteenth-century development of the railway was momentous in developing this more mobilised gaze. From the railway carriage the landscape came to be viewed as a swiftly passing series of framed panorama, a 'panoramic perception', rather than something to be lingered over, sketched or painted or in any way captured (Schivelbusch, 1986). Nietzsche noted how 'everyone is like the traveller who gets to know a land and its people from a railway carriage' (quoted in Thrift, 1996: 286). The railroad had particular consequences on the very early development of tourism within the American frontier. Travellers noted how the railroad annihilated space through its exceptional speed that was not fully appreciated because of the comfort of the railway carriage. The railway journey produced an enormous sense of vastness, of scale, size and domination of the landscape that the train swept through (Retzinger, 1998: 221–4). A contemporary declared in 1888 that the railroad ride was like 'an airline through the woods to the ocean' (Löfgren, 1999: 3).
Similarly, the view through the car windscreen had significant consequences for the nature of the visual ‘glance’, enabling the materiality of the city or the landscape to be appreciated in passing (Larsen, 2001). Elsewhere Urry elaborates some moments in the history of automobility, including how in Europe inter-war motoring involved a kind of ‘voyage through the life and history of a land’ (2000: ch. 3). The increasingly domesticated middle classes, comfortably and safely located in their Morris Minors, ‘began to tour England and take photographs in greater numbers than ever before’ (Taylor, 1994: 122). While in post-war USA certain landscapes were substantially altered so as to produce a landscape of leisure ‘pleasing’ to the motorist... using the land in a way that would “make an attractive picture from the Parkway” (Wilson, 1992: 35, our italics). The state turned nature into something ‘to be appreciated by the eyes alone’ (Wilson, 1992: 37). The view through the car windscreen means that ‘the faster we drive, the flatter the earth looks’ (1992: 33). More generally, Baudrillard suggests that deserts in the USA constitute a metaphor of endless futurity, the obliteration of the past and the triumph of instantaneous time (1988: 6). Driving across the desert involves leaving one’s past behind, driving on and on and seeing the ever-disappearing emptiness framed through the shape of the windscreen (Kaplan, 1996: 68–85).

We now turn to photography per se, beginning with the pre-history of photography that is intimately linked with the picturesque gazing discussed above (see Larsen, 2004a, for detail on the following).

**Desires and the Origins of Photography**

We have seen how photography was invented around 1840 with Fox Talbot's and Daguerre's almost simultaneous announcement of the negative/positive process and the Daguerreotype. Yet the scientific basis of chemistry and physics to project and fix images had long been established. The optical principle of the camera was known for at least two thousand years and the knowledge that certain chemicals are light-sensitive was established as early as 1727 (Batchen, 1999). Gernsheim states that ‘the circumstance that photography was not invented earlier remains the greatest mystery in its history’ (1982: 6). But this is less of a mystery if social desires rather than knowledge are understood as generative of technological innovation. By adopting Foucault's method of ‘archaeology’, Batchen shows that it was first in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century that the desire for what we can, retrospectively, call ‘photography’ emerged and manifested itself as ‘a widespread, social imperative’ among scientists, writers, painters and tourists (1999: 36). Prephotographic tourists passionately desired ‘something’ that could fix the fleeting and elusive images of the camera obscura and Claude glasses. As Gilpin said in 1782:

> A succession of high-coloured pictures is continually gliding before the eye. They are like the visions of the imagination; or the brilliant landscapes of a dream. Forms, and colours in brightest array, fleet before us; and if the transient glance of a good composition happens to unite with them, we should give any price to fix and appropriate the scene. (Quoted in Batchen, 1999: 93–4, our italics)

Half a century later, while touring Italy, Fox Talbot's difficulties with the camera obscura generated a desire for a machine that would effortlessly fix nature’s beauty upon paper. Pelizzari argues that ‘photography was born, from Talbot's sense of inadequacy as an artist when faced with an attractive, foreign scene’ (2003: 55). In the *Pencil of Nature* Talbot writes:

> One of the first days of the month of October 1833, I was amusing myself on the lovely shores of the Lake of Como, in Italy, taking sketches with Wollaston's Camera Lucida, or rather I should say, attempting to take them: but with the smallest amount of success. ... It was during these thoughts that the idea occurred to me ... how charming it would be if it were possible to cause these natural images to imprint themselves durably and remained fixed on paper. (1844–46, unpaginated)

These desires animated the invention of what we now know as photography. As Talbot wrote in *Some Account of the Art of Photographic Drawing*, ‘to the traveller in distant lands, who is ignorant, as too many unfortunate-
ly are, of the art of drawing, this little invention may prove real service’ (1839: 11). Travellers eagerly awaited its invention. A French magazine reported that ‘above all travellers – and we know of more than one who has delayed his voyage to distant countries – await impatiently the demonstration of the Daquerretype’ (quoted in Schwartz, 1996: 18). Talbot described his photographic invention as follows:

The most transitory of things, a shadow, the proverbial emblem of all that is fleeting and momentary, may be fettered by the spells of our ‘natural magic’, and may be fixed forever in the position which it seemed only destined for a single instant to occupy. … Such is the fact, that we may receive on paper the fleeting shadow, arrest it there and in the space of a single minute fix it there so firmly as to be no more capable of change. (1839: 12)

That ‘natural magic’ was realised in 1840. As seen in Chapter 1, 1840 is one of those remarkable moments when the world seems to shift and new patterns of relationships are established. There is the peculiar combining together of the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction. From 1840 onwards tourism and photography were assembled together and they remake each other in an irreversible and momentous double helix. From then, we can say a ‘tourist gaze’ enters and makes the mobile, modern world (Macnaghten and Urry, 1998: 180–5; Löfgren, 1999).

From 1840 onwards travelling photographers and mobile photographs mobilised and exhibited distant places; they created spectacular displays that taught the art of gazing at the world with touristic curiosity. They provided simulated mobility experiences that brought the countryside, ancient times and exoticism to modern metropolises, resulting in a profound ‘multiplication of images’ and an unprecedented ‘geographical extension of the field of the visible’:

The second half of the nineteenth century lives in a sort of frenzy of the visible. It is, of course, the effect of the social multiplication of images: ever-wider distribution of illustrated papers, waves of print, caricatures, etc. The effect also, however, of something of a geographical extension of the field of the visible and the representable: by journeys, explorations, colonizations, the world becomes visible at the same time that it becomes appropriable. (Comolli, 1980: 122–3)

As Mitchell argues, the later nineteenth century conceived and arranged the world ‘as an exhibition’. This era ‘set the world up as a picture … [and arranged] it before an audience as an object of display – to be viewed, investigated and experienced’ (Mitchell, 1989: 220). The so-called ‘real’ world became thought of as one spectacular exhibition. Mitchell draws here upon Heidegger, who argued that modernity is ‘the age of the world picture’ (1993). The modern world-as-exhibition/picture means not only that the world became exhibited, but that it was conceived and grasped as if it were a picture. The rapid and sophisticated technologisation of the visual sense made the world-as-exhibition possible and thus seeing emerged as the master sense (Jay, 1993: 65–6).

The ability of photography to objectify the world as an exhibition, to arrange the entire globe for the tourist gaze, is stressed by Sontag: ‘[Photography's] main effect is to convert the world into a department store or a museum-without-walls in which every subject is depreciated into an article of consumption, promoted into an item for aesthetic appreciation’ (1979: 110). As early as 1859, Oliver Wendell lamented how photography reduced the world to ‘cheap and transportable’ surfaces:

There is only Coliseum or Pantheon; but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed – representatives of billions of pictures – since they were erected! Matter in large masses must always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. We have got the fruit of creation now and need not trouble ourselves with the core. Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale of its surfaces for us. We will hunt all curious, beautiful grand objects, as they hunt the cattle in South America, for their skins, and leave their carcasses as of little worth. (Quoted in Wells, 2001: 20)
Prior to photography, places did not travel well. While painters have always lifted particular places out of their ‘dwelling’ and transported them elsewhere, paintings were time-consuming to produce, relatively difficult to transport and one-of-a-kind. The multiplication of photographs especially took place with the introduction of the half-tone plate in the 1880s that made possible the mechanical reproduction of photographs in newspapers, periodicals, books and advertisements. Photography became coupled to consumer capitalism and the globe was now offered ‘in limitless quantities, figures, landscapes, events which had not previously been utilised either at all, or only as pictures for one customer’ (Benjamin, 1973: 163; Osborne, 2000: 11). With capitalism's arrangement of the world as a ‘department store’, ‘the proliferation and circulation of representations … achieved a spectacular and virtually inescapable global magnitude’ (Grenblatt, 1991: 6). Gradually photographs became cheap mass-produced objects that made the world visible, aesthetic and desirable. Experiences were ‘democratised’ by translating them into cheap images (Sontag, 1977: 7; Tagg, 1988: 55–6). Light, small and mass-produced photographs became dynamic vehicles for the spatiotemporal circulation of places (della Dora, 2007: 293). Due to rapidly travelling images, places are, in effect, on the move, connected to other places and consume-able at a distance.

These mobilities of photographs do not destroy places, but rather constitute gazes and places within an economy of relations (Crang, 2006: 54–5). Instead of seeing photographs as reflections or distortions of a pre-existing world, they can be understood as a technology of world making. ‘Images are not something that appear over or against reality, but parts of practices through which people work to establish realities. Rather than look to mirroring as a root metaphor, technologies of seeing form ways of grasping the world’ (Crang, 1997: 362). Rather than mirroring or representing geographies, photographs partly create them, culturally, socially and materially. They produce what Said coined as ‘imaginative geographies’ (1995: 49–73).

The lust for ‘mechanically reproduced’ images represents, according to Benjamin, ‘the desire of the contemporary masses to bring things closer spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction’ (1973: 225). For the majority not blessed with the means to travel, photographs provided world-tour tickets without the need for daunting and expensive physical travel:

By our fireside we have the advantage of examining them, without being exposed to the fatigue, privation, and risks of the daring and enterprising artists who, for our gratification and instruction, have traversed lands and seas, crossed rivers and valleys, ascended rocks and mountains with their heavy and cumbrous photographic baggage. (Claudet, quoted in Gernsheim 1989: 66–7)

One nineteenth-century travel photographer stated the belief that ‘the faithfulness of such pictures afford the nearest approach that can be made towards placing the reader actually before the scene which is represented’ (quoted in Ryan, 1997: 25). Barthes argues that the photograph’s ‘ontological realism’ invokes a sense of ‘being there’, of literally being transported ‘back’ to the pictured scene (2000). Thus photographs activate imaginative journeys. Yet the power to invoke a sense of ‘being there’ was also culturally constructed, animated by the faith in the medium's superior realism. Photography seems to be a means of transcribing reality. Photographs appear to be not statements about the world but pieces of it, even miniature slices of reality, without revealing its constructed nature or its ideological content. It seems that the camera does not lie. The realism of photographs made such travelling real and seductive. Visiting places through photographs was sometimes more or less as good as embodied gazing. Photography introduces us to scenes known only from the imperfect relations of travellers, it leads us before the ruins of antique architecture, illustrating the historical records of former and lost civilians; the genius, taste, and power of past ages, with which we have become familiarized as if we had visited them’ (quoted in Schwartz, 1996: 16, our italics).

At this early stage, imaginative travelling satisfied, rather than promoted, desires for travelling, for bodily experiencing the ‘real’ thing (Schwartz, 1996). Sitting in the armchair, one’s eyes could go sightseeing without being troubled by the body. The problem with corporeal tourism is the body, according to De Botton: ‘it seems...
we may best be able to inhabit a place when we are not faced with the additional challenge of having to be there’ (2002: 23).

More broadly, tourism places are affected by far-away placemyths. As Crang argues: ‘tourism works as inter-play of movement and fixity, absence and presence. That is, the tourist seeks to be present at a place, but as we examine those places we find that they are shot through by absences where distant others, removed in space and time, haunt the sites’ (2006: 49, 55). This includes the ways of seeing that travel along with tourists. Duncan discusses how nineteenth-century British tourists constantly saw the Kandyan Highlands through tracing resemblances with their native landscapes. One tourist wrote home: ‘In Kandy whether one will or not, the mind will go back to the Lake region in England’ (1999: 156). Even when traversing land 7,000 miles away from home, tourists moved in the memories of domestic landscapes. The shock of the seeing the new was tamed by seeing it through a ‘domestic’ filter.

Travel photography was often asked to save ‘vanishing’ authentic cultures, primitive peoples and ancient traditions (Albers and James, 1993; Taylor, 1994; Schwartz, 1996; Gregory, 2003; Cohen and Manspeizer, 2009; Whittaker, 2009). Photographs serve this nostalgic desire to stop time and to conserve objects, as they freeze time and make a moment permanent; they document ‘that has been’ (Barthes, 2000). They are ‘clocks for seeing’ (Taylor, 1994).

Yet the ‘objective’ camera needed guiding in order to capture ‘vanishing’ landscapes and ‘otherness’. Photographers turn a blind eye to certain features and shone a beautiful light upon others. Ironically, the camera-eye overlooked what the human eye at the scene could clearly see and captured what it could hardly see. By erasing contemporary signs, modern humans and connections elsewhere, western travel photography imprisoned the Orient in a timeless ancient space of architecture and monuments to produce the desired authentic Orient (Schwartz, 1996; Osbourne, 2000). Once fixed in the imagination, even when they encountered different realities, they photographed the imagination or subsequently airbrushed away undesired modern signs from the original photograph (Jackson, 1992: 95).

Photographs are thus the outcome of an active signifying practice in which photographers select, structure and shape what is going to be taken and how. In particular, there is the attempt to construct idealised images which beautify the object being photographed. Sontag summarises: ‘the aestheticizing tendency of photography is such that the medium which conveys distress ends by neutralizing it’ (1979: 109). To photograph is in some way to appropriate the object being photographed. It is a power/knowledge relationship. To have visual knowledge of an object is in part to have power, even if only momentarily, over it.

Photography thus tames the object of the gaze, some of the most striking examples being of exotic cultures. In the USA, the railway companies did much to create ‘Indian’ attractions to be photographed, carefully selecting those tribes with a particularly ‘picturesque and ancient’ appearance (Albers and James, 1988: 151). The rhetorical power of photography is grounded upon the ability to naturalise, to make innocent its cultural messages and connotations. Even though professional photographs are partial and constructed, they appear to have spontaneously drawn themselves (Barthes, 2000).

Pictures by such travel photographers can be regarded as ‘real’ and ‘objective’, not in the sense of mirroring the represented places’ complex lived realities, but because they reflect and reinforce stereotypical western imaginations of these worlds. In other words, they were ‘accurate’ from a specific western perspective; far-away facts were transformed into western imaginative geographies. As a technology of cultural imperialism, the photographer employed the objective camera to picture or gaze upon the world through ethnocentric filters (Albers and James, 1983; Schwartz, 1996: 30–1; McQuire, 1998: 39).
It was first in the late 1880s with Kodak's launching of user-friendly, lightweight and cheap Brownie cameras that photography undertaken by tourists themselves was born. Before then photography was something consumed rather than produced. Similar to Thomas Cook in relation to tourism generally, Kodak realised that photography required organisation by an institutional expert (Slater, 1991, 1999). The company targeted the new middle-class family and tourism as the agents and spaces where the power-knowledge relationships of 'Kodaking' could produce 'Kodak moments' and 'Kodak families'. In the USA and then in much of Europe, Kodak re-made and re-scripted photography as a leisurely family-centred performance. Kodak in effect invented tourist photography through developing a new system, assembling together a novel set of material and social relations.

As early as 1890, Kodak cameras were common among European tourists travelling in Egypt (Gregory, 2003: 211). Photographic News reported that in 1899 ‘thousands of Birmingham girls are scattered about the holiday resorts of Britain this month, and a very large percentage of them are armed with cameras’ (quoted in Coe and Gates, 1977: 28). By 1910, one-third of American households owned a Kodak camera (West, 2000: 75). Kodak made cameras and picturemaking ‘mundane’ and photographing a part of an emerging ‘tourist habitus’.

One step in this was to mobilise and simplify photography materially. Since developing had to be executed on the spot, early photography required much knowledge and ‘heavy travelling’. As Kodak's founder, Eastman, said in 1877: ‘In those days, one did not “take” a camera: one accomplished the outfit of which the camera was only a part. … I bought an outfit and learned that it took not only a strong but also dauntless man to be an outdoor photographer’ (quoted in Ford and Steinorth, 1988: 14). Eastman foresaw that popular photography depended upon making photography ‘light’ in order to enrol people without prior photographic skills. Kodak achieved this through ‘packaging’. Their ‘Kodak system’ consisted of a light, mobile hand-camera pre-loaded with a 100-frame roll film that Kodak then developed and re-loaded. Once cumbersome, technical demanding and messy, the making of photographs was reorganised as a straightforward, user-friendly practice. ‘The Kodak system removes from the practice of Photography the necessity of exceptional facilities, so that anyone may take photographs without need of study, experiment, trouble, dark room, chemicals and without even soiling the fingers’ and requires nothing but ‘sufficient intelligence to point a small box straight and press a button’ (quoted in West, 2000: 49, 51). As Kodak's slogan said: ‘You Press the Button, We Do the Rest.’

Through marketing, Kodak scripted the cultural meanings and social performances of this new photography actor-network (Slater 1991, 1999; West, 2000). ‘Loved ones’ and tourism fitted Kodak's goal of teaching people and families ‘to apprehend their experiences and memories as objects of nostalgia’, especially avoiding painful and unpleasant experiences (West, 2000: 1; Hammond, 2001). Acts of overlooking and forgetting thus became integral to the ‘other’ of this photography while nostalgia became a defining character of its cultural viewpoint (see Taylor, 1994). Kodak stressed that the new simplicity made photography convenient and pleasurable. The ‘Kodak Girl’ – their advertising icon for almost eighty years – who was driving, riding on trains and gazing upon extraordinary landscapes and places promoted ‘the sheer pleasure and adventure of taking photographs … the delight of handling a diminutive camera, of not worrying about development and printing, of capturing subjects in candid moments, of recording travel to exotic places’ (West, 2000: 13). She promoted cameras as standard equipment for touring and photographing as the touristic thing-to-do, while captions such as ‘Take a KODAK with you’, ‘Kodak, as you go’, ‘Vacation Days are KODAK DAYS’, ‘All outdoors invites your Kodak’ were common (West, 2000: plates 2, 8, 9, 16). Kodak's ‘simplicity’ motto signified freedom, ceaseless travelling and easy photography.

Kodak's advertising began to revolve around family life and memories (West, 2000: 13). The new slogan ‘Let Kodak Keep The Story’ discursively constructed Kodak memories as far superior to fragile human memory:

The only holiday that lasts forever is the holiday with a Kodak. … Few memories are so pleasant as the memories of your holiday. And yet, you allow those memories to slip away! How little you remember, even of your happiest times! Don't let this year's holiday be forgotten – take a Kodak and
save your happiness. Make Kodak snapshots of every happy scene. The little pictures will keep your holiday alive – they will carry you back again and again to sunshine and freedom. (Quoted in Holland, 2001: 145)

The camera became promoted as an indispensable tourist object because it enabled families to ‘story’ their experiences that can transport them back ‘to the sunshine and freedom’, again and again. Another ad instructed how ‘the Kodak Story of summer days grows in charm as the months go by – it's always interesting – it's personal – it tells of the places, the people and the incidents from your point of view – just as you saw them’ (quoted in West, 2000: 179). Kodak assured families that ‘their’ images will be unique and full of aura, no matter how similar they look to those of other tourists, because they show their ‘loved ones’ and the world through their eyes.

Kodak was powerful in re-making and re-imagining photography as a ‘mundane’ technology central to modern family life. Kodak ‘taught modern Americans how to see, to remember, how to love’ (West, 2000: xv) and, according to Chalfen, it formed a specific ‘Kodak culture’ that came to define the practices and meanings of private vernacular photography (1987). This photography network comprised families, consumerism and tourism. ‘What holds these subjects together is the theme of domestic leisure: the modern family at play … blind to the everyday life’ (Slater, 1991: 57–8). Bourdieu highlights the intricate relations between photography and ‘family life’: ‘[P]hotographic practices only exist and subsist for most of time by the virtue of its family function’ (1990: 14; Kuhn, 1995; Rose, 2003, 2004). Photography immortalises and celebrates the affective high points of family life. Much tourist photography takes place in the mobile space between home and away, of extraordinary places and familial faces. Tourist photography and family photography are thus not two separate worlds but bridges constantly traversed within and through the spaces of tourism (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003; Larsen, 2005).

### Seductive Commercial Images

The longing provoked by the brochure was an example, at once touching and bathetic, of how projects (and even whole lives) might be influenced by the simplest and most unexamined images of happiness; of how a lengthy and ruinously expensive journey might be set into motion by nothing more than the sight of a photograph of a palm tree gently inclining in a tropical breeze. I resolved to travel to the island of Barbados. (De Botton, 2002: 8–9)

This section examines how commercial photographs are desire-producing power-knowledge machines implicated in post-Fordist consumer capitalism. The knowledge-power art of commercial photography involves crafting images that stimulate – and not substitute – desires for ‘transporting one’s body’ to the photographed place. Imaginative mobility is clearly poor business for the tourism industry. More broadly, following Foucault, we can see this making of seductive images and destinations as an institutional mediation by ‘expert gazes’ within which spectacle and surveillance intersect and power-knowledge relations are played out (Hollingshhead, 1999; Cheong and Miller, 2000).

We explore how a ‘photograph of a palm tree gently inclining in a tropical breeze’ can trigger a ‘lengthy and ruinously expensive journey’. Commercial photographs are assigned a twofold role by the tourism industries. They produce desires for bodily travel, and they script and stage destinations with extraordinary imaginative geographies. In other words, ‘destination marketing is, therefore, simultaneously implicated in the construction of place imagery and the constitution of subjects who experience that image in specific ways’ (Goss, 1993: 663).

Consumer capitalism ‘invests’ in photography to fabricate volatile consumer needs and desiring bodies, bodies we might say are disciplined to consume (Berger, 1972). Advertising promotes consumption. It exposes anxiety and shortcomings before offering instantaneous escape, relief and a road to betterment through con-
sumption and the fantasy of other places. It shows people that consumption can make people happy, beautiful and fulfilled (Berger, 1972: 133).

Through embellishment, erasing, exaggeration, stereotyping and repetition, commercial photography produces the kind of imaginative geography that Shields calls ‘place-myths’. Here, Shields says, there are ‘the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character in reality. Images, being partial and often either exaggerated or understated, may be accurate or inaccurate. They result from stereotyping’ (1990: 60). In the experience economy photographs stage and script scenes for experiences: ‘Brochures become analogous to theatres; they image stage scenes through which consumers enter imaginative touristscapes and personally connect with place by creating performances through mindsets where consumer and product unite’ (Scarles, 2004: 47, 2009). Commercial tourist photographs arouse desires by ‘staging’ geographies that thrill and seduce the eye. They create duplicate places aesthetically more compelling than those seen through mere human vision. They overpower human vision by being more theatrical, better lit, sharper and more highly coloured than seeing itself. Photographs do not only make places visible, perform-able, and memorable, places are also sculptured materially as simulations of idealised photographs as ‘postcard places’. According to Osborne:

All tourists, whether or not they take photographs, consume places and experiences which are photographic, as they have been made or have evolved to be seen, above all to be photographed. … Such places are often photographs materialised in three-dimensional form. (2000: 79)

Crawshaw and Urry (1997) and Scarles (2004) examine many ways that professional photographers improve upon the appearance of place through ‘gardening’ and selective vision (see Feighery, 2009, for a Foucaultian interpretation of photo archives). Anticipating that potential tourists would consider them out-of-place, diluting its place-myth, photographers seek to avoid: ‘vehicles, cars, anything that would date a picture. … Anything that is obtrusive and jars. People with bright clothes on, people carrying plastic bags … dead trees, barbed wire … derelict buildings, scaffolding. Road signs, litter, car parks, crowds, traffic jams, low-flying planes, Bermuda shorts’ (Crawshaw and Urry, 1997: 187). Professional photographers stage landscapes in the right light, frame and composition. Patience is crucial. While photographers turn a blind eye to undesired objects and people in the scene, the editor’s ‘computer hands’ now greatly improve upon the reality of the place through digitisation. Elements within single images can be seamlessly deleted, moved, emphasised, juxtaposed and even joined with other photographic fragments. ‘Surgery’ and ‘make-up’ turn beaches crystal white, seas and skies deep blue and bodies tanned and trim. No eyesores spoil the paradise. Such photographic practices demonstrate how the environment is to be viewed, dominated by humans and subject to their possessive mastery (Taylor, 1994: 38–9).

Various discourses inform the professional tourist gaze. The romantic gaze frames the representational making of the Lake District, as well as many other landscapes, as picturesque or sublime ‘timeless’ scenery. This requires turning a blind eye to signs of modernity. The same process is visible in the staging of historical townscape. The ‘time machine’ of the tourist industry and photography often freezes townscape in an idyllic and untouched chocolate-box vision where time moves slowly if at all (Waitt and Head, 2002). Erased are modern artefacts and contemporary-looking humans. Places are presented as living museums where little life takes place. When ‘locals’ enter the scene their function is to signify authenticity, induce romanticism and bring life to the scene. The quest for picturesque townscape is fuelled by a widespread desire to travel back in time, to a supposedly Golden Age of romanticised escapism (Taylor, 1994; Larsen, 2006a, 2006b).

Exoticism and the anthropological gaze are also popular lenses through which commercial tourism imagery produce extraordinary tourism geographies of mythic ‘Otherness’. Various studies show how promotional images ‘freeze’ and stage ethnic Others, as pre-modern, exotic, sexual and available for visual consumption (Albers and James, 1983; Hollingshead, 1992; Goss, 1993; Selwyn, 1996; Dann, 1996a; Adams, 2004). Such images of exotic Others are traditionally produced and consumed by a well-off white gaze and pictures of a relatively impoverished black body.
Promotional images also stage alluring tourist places through collective and family gazes (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003). Dann's study of 'the people of the tourist brochures' in '11 representative summer holiday brochures targeted at the British public' shows that some 40 per cent of the photographs depict 'tourists only', often within clearly demarcated tourist ghettos. 'In such photos the emphasis was on the tourist group – eating together, on the beach together, relaxing by the communal pool together, enjoying themselves as one large happy family' (Dann, 1996a: 72). In contrast, some 24 per cent of photographs show places without people (predominately landscapes and sights) and locals appear in only 7 per cent (often working under the tourist gaze or reduced to cultural markers of locale-ness).

Commercial photographs are normally composed to make the viewer dream into the picture, which awaits the viewer's desires and pleasures in order to be completed. 'A typical example would show empty beaches where the waterline or a run of tress or a pier pass diagonally into and across the image. The diagonal introduces into the image the tourist's excited anticipation, a hedonistic rush, the line of the viewer's desire entering into, being entered by, the tourist scene and its pleasures' (Osborne, 2000: 85; Scarles, 2004). Other examples are photographs with tourists in them. These guide the reader's fantasies and make them seem realisable: this could be me! This is further underscored by how the written texts always focus upon 'you' (Scarles, 2004: 46). This could be an image of an exultant and affectionate youngish tourist couple whose bodies are tuned, tanned and attracted to each other. It shows how a holiday-in-the-sun transforms jaded and pale bodies into bronzed and attractive bodies.

Commercial tourist imagery achieves effects by provoking the viewer's unconscious. 'The photograph causes the viewer to, as it were, dream into it, causing it to become subjectivised by the viewer's desires, memories and associations' (Osborne, 2000: 77). 'It transports us in fantasy but to places that appear to exist' (Osborne, 2000: 88). While the power of commercial photography works through 'naturalisation', it also works through an economy of desires and imaginative geographies. People desire to be seduced and such images are artfully constructed to seduce. The contemporary consumer body is a seduced body and a body that wants to be seduced, restlessly searching for new sensations, experiences, identities and places (Bauman, 1999: 83; Elliott and Urry, 2010). 'Desire does not desire satisfaction. To the contrary, desire desires desire' (Taylor and Saarinen, quoted in Bauman, 1999: 83). Advertising images are structured around, and work through, mobilising and triggering the spectator's desires and fantasies through 'spatial fictions'. Commercial photographs are fictions and ask spectators to engage with them ‘as if’ they were real: to suspend disbelief and instead dream into their pictured heavens as if in the theatre or cinema (Osborne, 2000: 77). In order to seduce, they need people to buy into their fantasies and fictions; to accept them as ‘real’. Fictions depend upon authenticity and reality, and the pleasures of fiction lies in accepting fantasies as real (Slater, 1995). Tourists can treat tourism's imaginative geographies as so real because they are built upon convictions of ‘actualities’ – views, national types and buildings. Tourism's desires and fantasies are located within a palpable visual grammar that looks real and invites identification. This is a seductive mix of reverie, reality and fiction – of simultaneous 'naturalisation' and 'fictionalisation'.

Photography and the Tourist Gaze

There has thus been an enormous proliferation of photographs since its invention. Over that century and a half there has been an utter insatiability of the photographing eye, an insatiability that teaches new ways of looking at and picturing the world, staging family life and new forms of authority for so doing. In nineteenth-century northern Europe the desire for and capacity to fix places of the ‘other’ dramatically developed. As we have seen, places came to be ‘kodakised’. Such places of desire and fixing through the objects of the camera, tripod and photograph included the Mediterranean (Pemble, 1987), the Alps (Ring, 2000), the Caribbean (Sheller, 2003; Thompson, 2006), the Grand Canyon (Newmann, 1992, 1999), the exotic Nile (Gregory, 1999), stinking fishing villages (Lübbren, 2001) and water generally (Anderson and Tabb, 2002).
In nineteenth-century Egypt, Gregory describes how it became scripted as a place of constructed visibility, with multiple, enframed theatrical scenes set up for the edification, entertainment and visual consumption of ‘European’ visitors. As one Kodak-wearing dahabeeah passenger wrote: ‘A vision of half-barbarous life passes before you all day and you survey it all in the intervals of French cooking: Rural Egypt at Kodak range – and you sitting in a long chair to look at it’ (quoted in Gregory, 1999: 131). This produced a ‘new Egypt’ available for visually consuming visitors. Such an Egypt consisted of the Suez Canal, of ‘Paris-on-the-Nile’, of Thomas Cook and Sons, of a cleaned-up ‘ancient Egypt’, of the exotic oriental ‘Other’ and of convenient vantage-points and viewing platforms for the tourist gaze (see Brendon, 1991: 118).

Another example of ‘Kodakisation’ are the Kodak Hula Shows featuring ‘traditional’ Hula dancers. This Kodak-financed show has taken place on Hawaii since 1937. It is materially staged and corporeally performed so as to make the dancers photogenic and easily photograph-able (Hammond, 2001). Prior to the show tourists can photograph the performers close by or be photographed with them. The show takes place on an outdoor arena where the stands face the central stage with the sun facing the dancers (and not the ‘camera-tourist’) in order to secure optimal light conditions for photography. The show itself is choreographed to be photograph-able. Movements are not too rapid and dancers occasionally pause and freeze their posture for a prolonged moment or two so that tourists have time to capture the moment. The show is designed as a constant series of new Kodak moments, as dances, costumes and dancers relentlessly change (Hammond, 2001).

Photography thus overloads the visual environment. It involves the democratisation of many forms of human experience, both by turning everything into photographic images and enabling anyone to photograph them, especially with Kodak cameras and now with digital cameras, as we examine below. Photography, then, is part of the process of postmodernisation, a ‘society of spectacles’ where circulating and instantaneous images overpower reality: ‘reality’ becomes touristic, ready for visual consumption (Debord, 1983; see Chapter 6 above). The consumption and production of images become all-important, and participating in events is tantamount to seeing and capturing them as spectacular ‘imagescapes’ (Sontag, 1979). Sometimes it seems that each object or person photographed becomes equivalent to any other, equally interesting or uninteresting.

Barthes notes that photography began with photographs of the notable and has ended up making notable whatever is photographed (2000: 34; Sontag, 1979: 111). Photography is a promiscuous way of seeing which cannot be limited to an elite, as art. Sontag talks of photography’s ‘zeal for debunking the high culture of the past … its conscientious courting of vulgarity …. its skill in reconciling avantgarde ambitions with the rewards of commercialism … its transformation of art into cultural document’ (1979: 131). As people become photographers, so they become amateur semioticians and competent ‘gazers’. They learn that a thatched cottage with roses round the door represents ‘ye olde England’; or that waves crashing onto rocks signifies ‘wild, untamed nature’; or especially that a person with a camera draped around his/her neck is a ‘tourist’ (Hutnyk, 1996).

Much tourism becomes, in effect, a search for the photogenic. Sometimes it seem that tourist travel is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs and hence for the commodification and privatisation of personal and especially family memories. Photography has thus been enormously significant in democratising various kinds of mobilities, making notable whatever gets photographed rather than what elites might have specified. And photography gives shape to travel so that journeys consist of one ‘good view’ or family ‘Kodak moment’ to capture, to a series of others. Photography have been crucial in constituting the very nature of travelling and gazing, as sites turn into sights, they have constructed what is worth going to ‘sightsee’ and what images and memories should be brought back. Photography gives shape to much travel and gazing. It is the reason for stopping, to take (snap) a photograph, and then to move on. Photography involves obligations. People feel that they must not miss seeing particular scenes or ‘Kodak moments’ since otherwise the photo-opportunities will be missed and forgotten:

It would not be wrong to speak of people having a compulsion to photograph: to turn experience
itself into a way of seeing. Ultimately, having an experience becomes identical with taking a photograph of it, and participating in a public event comes more and more to be equivalent to looking at it in photographed form. ... Today everything exists to end in a photograph. (Sontag, 1979: 24)

We have argued that the tourist gaze is largely preformed by and within existing mediascapes. Hutnyk, in his ethnography of ‘photogenic Calcutta’ (1996), argues that tourists constantly picture the ‘local poor’ since this motif meets their media-generated geographies of Calcutta. Tourists not only frame and explore, they are also framed and fixed. Involved in much gazing and photographing is a hermeneutic circle. What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images which have already been seen in brochures, TV programmes, blogs and social networking sites. Much tourist photography involves a ritual of ‘quotation’ (see Osborne, 2000: 81; see also Selwyn, 1996; Jenkins, 2003). While the tourist is away, this then moves to tracking down and capturing those images for oneself. And it ends up with travellers demonstrating that they really have been there by showing to friends and family their version of the images they had seen before they set off. A photograph thus furnishes evidence that someone really was there or that the mountain was that large or that the culture was indeed picturesque or that one really had a lovely family time. As Cohen et al. say:

One the one hand, people tend to preserve in photos that which is closest to them: their children, spouses, friends, and relatives, as well as their most significant or enjoyable events in their lives. On the other hand, they also seek to retain strange, interesting, and exotic sights. (1992: 213–14)

The art of much tourist photography is to place one’s ‘loved ones’ within an ‘attraction’ in such a way that both are represented aesthetically (see Larsen, 2005, for many ethnographic examples). Tourist places are woven into the webs of stories and narratives that people produce as they construct and sustain their social identities (Hsiu-yen Yeh, 2009). The family gaze highlights how much tourist photography engages significant others within significant places and is part of the ‘theatre’ that enables people to enact and produce their desired togetherness, wholeness and intimacy (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006: 283).

Elsewhere we examine the ‘family gaze’ within a Danish context (Bærenholdt et al., 2004: ch. 6). More than half the 1,000 tourist photographs collected from visitors to Bornholm (island in the Baltic sea) contain one or more family members or friends in the foreground while very few contain other ‘tourists’ or ‘locals’. Holiday-makers desire ‘private’ photos. Yet their ‘private’ photographs reflect a socially and media-constructed notion of apparently ‘loving’ family life or friendship. Many photographs portray joyful moments and familial togetherness with traces of unhappiness or friction being absent. People are keen to photograph, for it is in the space of the photograph that they enjoy longed-for family happiness. People gaze at the holiday image – and the imaginary family or friendship of their holiday gazes back. The perfect social relationship and the perfect holiday may be a figment of the public imagination, but it stands for something that ought to exist. Tourist photography is not characterised by the suspension of norms but, like the everyday, is culturally informed by particular notions about what constitutes a loving social life.

Kodak taught us that non-recorded gazes and memories would evaporate, and studies show how the desire for capturing memories in image-form animates much tourist photography. Tourists anticipate that cameras will magically transform short-lived, fleeting gazes and events into durable artefacts that provide tickets to undying ‘memory travel’ (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003). In this sense, tourism is: ‘not so much experienced in itself but for its future memory’ (Crang, 1997: 366). Photographs extend the tourist gaze in time and space. Studies show that tourists regard their tourist photos as precious belongings destined for a long life. They are material objects full of life and emotion and not to be easily discarded (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003; Rose, 2010).

The camera effects all this by turning scenery and the ‘gaze’ into graspable objects (just as photography turns women into materialised objects on a page or video) that can have a long afterlife. Places and humans are transformed into objects passed from person to person. They are put on walls to decorate a house, structure reminiscences and create images of place (Spence and Holland, 1991; Taylor, 1994; on the afterlife of tourist
Digitisation and Internetisation

The latest moment in this history of tourist photography is its recent digitisation and internetisation. Over the last century analogue photography more or less dies out as digital photography becomes commonplace. Photographs are now very widely produced, consumed and circulated upon computers, mobile phones and via the internet, especially through social-networking sites. There is the digitisation of images, media convergence and new performances of sociality reflecting broader shifts towards real-time, collaborative, networked sociality at-a-distance. Few tourists now take pictures with analogue cameras (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). In 2004 Kodak stopped selling traditional cameras in North America and western Europe. At the same time, 68 million digital cameras and 246 million ‘camera phones’ (mobile phones with digital cameras) were sold world-wide (Larsen, 2008a). Many mobiles now produce good quality photographs and mobile-phone commercials (such as Nokia) increasingly highlight the functionality of the camera. In the UK, ‘448,962,359 MMS picture messages were sent in 2007, the equivalent of 19 million traditional (24 exposure) rolls of camera film’ (http://www.themda.org/mda-press-releases/the-q1-2008-uk-mobile-trends-report.php; accessed 01.04.10).

Photography’s networked convergence with mobiles and the internet means that the technical affordances of photography dramatically expand. Digital photography makes photographic images instantaneous, mobile and instantly consume-able on screens (Lister, 2007; Larsen, 2008a; Murray, 2008; Rubinstein and Sluis, 2008; see Figure 7.1). By contrast with the ‘that has been’ temporality of analogue photographs, digital camera screens show ongoing events right here, with the spaces of picturing, posing and consuming converged. Whereas ‘analogue photography’ was directed at a future audience, camera-phone photographs (and digital cameras with Wi-Fi technology) travel ‘timelessly’ so the receivers can gaze upon events unfolding more or less in real time (Gye, 2007; Hjorth, 2007; Villi, 2007; Larsen, 2008a; and see Figure 7.2). Here we can speak of ‘live postcards’ of happenings. Digital photography is typified by ‘instantaneous time’, the ‘power of now’ and what we term screen-ness.

Figure 7.1 Gazing on the screen
Figure 7.2 Mobile phone photography
One ethnography of digital photography show the significance of the screen; the camera screen is where most photographs are inspected immediately after springing into life as well as during their ‘early days’ (before ‘uploading’). It has become a ritual to examine the digital-camera screen after a single shot or a longer series, at the very scene or somewhere with some shade, so that the image can be seen properly. ‘Here you just take five [photos of everything] and then you can sit in the shadow and say: “this is crap, this is crap” and then there are two left … there is so much freedom involved in this’ (Danish female, mid-20s, interviewed in Istanbul).

In a short span of time, tourists have learnt to consume photographs instantly and digitally upon screens and to delete those deemed unappealing. They are less likely to be haunted by aesthetically unappealing images in the future. These practices are distinctive to digital photography. The ‘magic’ of digital cameras is that they make photographs and they do so instantly, thus photographs are widely consumed and erased on the screen (see Figure 7.1). Photographs that do not instantly charm are erased and retaken, which affords experimentation and control over how people and places are represented. Strikingly, few tourists express any emotional difficulties about deleting photographs even of loved ones. This delete-ness represents something radically new. Consuming and deleting photographs have become part of producing photographs, which make it easier (yet time-consuming because of retaking) to produce the anticipated images. The flexible digital camera represents a further twist to consumer society where ‘the presentation of the self’ takes a renewed importance (for details on this research, see Haldrup and Larsen, 2010).

Most images that survive deletion at this stage are uploaded to computers and viewed on yet another screen, the computer screen. From here, a small selection are mobilised and distributed, emailed to email boxes or uploaded to social-networking sites where they (hopefully) will be consumed upon further computer screens around the world. Whereas tourist photographs often used to be fixed material objects with a secure stable home in the bookshelf, most are today variable digital objects facing unpredictable afterlives in computer trash bins, folders, email boxes, blogs and social network sites. Computer-networked photographs can be deleted, edited, distributed freely and timelessly as email attachments to and exhibited on family home pages, blogs,
sites like Myspace and Facebook and photo/video sharing services such as Flickr and YouTube. All this illustrates how networked digital photography is a crucial component of Web 2.0 (see Chapter 3). Millions of personal photographs are daily uploaded on to user-generated social-networking sites such as http://www.virtualtourist, http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk, http://www.trekearth.com and http://www.flickr.com. It is estimated that 2–3 million photos are uploaded to the last of these, with four-fifths of people possessing open exhibition places (profiles) (Cox et al., 2008; Larsen, 2008a).

Indeed, many tourist sites examined in this book are Flickr-ised. Flickr contains 372,316 geo-tagged photographs of the Eiffel Tower, 170,966 of the Taj Mahal, 2,242,591 of Las Vegas, 364,841 of the Lake District and 105,716 of the Bilbao Guggenheim (http://www.flickr.com; accessed 27.04.10). Users of Facebook have uploaded more than 10 billion photographs, with the number increasing by an astonishing 700 million each month. Digitisation and internetisation mean that photographs travel faster and cheaper. They thus can be easily (re)distributed to significant others at-a-distance or exhibited in virtual space. Holiday photographs can be consumed without being co-present with the photographer.

Many personal photographic images are now destined to live, for shorter or longer periods, virtual, digital lives without material substance, in cameras, computers and on the internet. Emails, blogs and social-networking sites dislocate photographic memories from the fixed physical home and objectness and distribute them to selected email boxes from where they might travel to desktops, folders, printers, photo paper, frames – or trash bins. Moreover, some photographs have complex biographies because they materialise, dematerialise and rematerialise, take and retake various forms and inhabit different materialities over time. And their corporeal and facial look is also potentially transformable as the ‘computer-hand’ has the ability to reach into the guts of a photograph. Analogue photographs are inescapable as images and objects but this is not the case with digital photography. While camera screens have a material tactility, the photographs they display are images, not physical objects. And yet as camera screens increase in size and picture quality, they resemble more traditional albums. One example is the fashionable iPhone, perhaps the key gadget among the ‘new petty bourgeoisie’, which comes with a wide-screen where one can scroll from one photo to another by touching each image on the screen.

Unlike the traditional photo album, exhibitions of photographs on Flickr and Facebook are tied into the flow of the everyday and tend to reflect ‘instantaneous time’, a ‘culture of instantaneity’, where people expect ‘rapid delivery, ubiquitous availability and the instant gratification of desires’ (Tomlinson, 2007: 74). They do not so much share memories as ongoing or recent experiences. Photographs are less ‘clocks for seeing’ than performances of the now. While it is still early days, the lives of photographs on Facebook and Flickr tend to be short-lived; a stream of ‘transitory, ephemeral, “throwaway”’ images (Van House, 2007: 4; Murray, 2008). They are talked about today and forgotten tomorrow (Murray, 2008). Yet this does not make them insignificant and unnoticed. Given that the average Facebook-er has more than 100 ‘friends’, Facebook-ing is an everyday practice, with its photographs much seen and commented upon. Such photographs now reach a wide audience (including ‘weak’ and ‘old’ ties) and have become part of the everyday life of the networked household and its face-to-screen sociality. Yet this also means that once a photographer lets loose a photograph on the internet, they lose control over its destiny as friends or strangers may use it in unforeseen contexts or distribute it yet further. As copy-able and timeless travelling bites of information, internet-residing photographs face unpredictable lives with multiple possible paths, with some of these being harmful and unpleasant (Dijick, 2008).

While their afterlife is uncertain, many tourist photographs are visible, mobile and tied up with everyday socialising upon various networked screens. And, we may add, disposable. Lack of an ‘aura of thingness’ partly explains why so many digital photographs are short-lived, but also why they are valued as a fast mobile form of communication. Digital photographs are a crucial component of mobile-networked societies of distanciated ties and screened sociality (Larsen et al., 2006). While many digital images exist virtually, digital photography is not without a material substance, and some digital images do materialise as objects with an ‘aura of thingness’ (Edwards and Hart, 2004: 9).
Conclusion

Photography has thus been crucial in developing the tourist gaze and tourism more generally; they are not separate processes but each derives from and enhances the other, as an ‘ensemble’. If photography had not been ‘invented’ around 1840 and then enormously developed through the cheap Kodak camera, then contemporary tourist gazes would have been wholly different. Photography is evidently central to the tourist gaze and tourism more generally.

For some scholars this epitomises the ‘alienating’ nature of tourism (Albers and James, 1988: 136). Recalling his experience as a tour guide for a group of well-educated tourists that shortly after arriving at a ritual wished to move rapidly on, Bruner voices his contempt of modern tourism’s visual nature:

‘But we have seen it’. These words still haunt me. The touristic mode of experiencing is primarily visual, and to have been there, to have ‘seen’ it, only requires presence. The tourist ‘sees’ enough of the Balinese ritual to confirm his prior images derived from the media. … To ‘see’ a ritual is comparable to collecting a souvenir. … The tourist has ‘seen’ a strange thing, a token of the exotic, and there is no necessity to go further, to penetrate to any deeper level … [than] to capture … the ceremony in photographs. (1995: 235–6, our italics)

Photography is condemned for its refusing of experience. It is too visual, brief, image-driven and technological; too passive and impure (Osborne, 2000). Cameras and images have speeded up and mechanised the tourist's vision. Complex places are consumed as lightweight pre-arranged photo-scenes and experiencing is akin to seeing, seeing reduced to glancing and picture-making to clicking. Much of the normative critique of modern mass tourism, beginning with Boorstin (1964), revolves around scorning the camera-tourist's encounters with ‘Otherness’. Therefore, it is unsurprising to see the unproductive tourist–traveller dichotomy positioned around photography. The Otherwise astute Taylor divides, out of the blue it seems, tourist photographers into ‘travellers’ (who gaze contemplatively), ‘tourists’ (who accumulate shallow glances), and ‘trippers’ (who see everything in blinks, blurs, or ‘snaps’) (1994: 14).

While we have argued that professional images are crucial in scripting the gazes and cameras of tourists and much tourism forms a hermeneutic circle, it is too simplistic to portray this as a one-way, pre-programmed flow of images from tourism and media organisations to tourists, who in turn reproduce this received imagery. Instead tourist photographs can violate existing place-myths and contribute to new ones while commercial photographs mirror photographs by tourists rather than the other way round (Garrod, 2009; Scarles, 2009; Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). Indeed, marketing managers employ market research of ever-changing tourism preferences to obtain knowledge of how tourists do in fact gaze upon and experience places and what are its positive and negative place-myths (Scarles, 2004: 49).

And with Web 2.0, tourists increasingly produce and consume ordinary photographs placed upon ‘public display’. These photographs by ‘fellow tourists’ may come to choreograph cameras as much as ‘professional’ images and TV programmes. As we discuss in the next chapter on performances, while tourism practices are scripted and ‘choreographed’ by commercial mediascapes, they are never entirely predetermined and predictable. As Foucault reminds us, power is distributed, ubiquitous and not a property of a group (1976). Power is everywhere and is exercised within relations of networks – and this is true also of tourism (Cheong and Miller, 2000). Locals and tourists also, from time to time, exercise power, performing and picturing against or bending the ‘scripts’ of those of tourism organisations and wider discourses. Tourists' practices are never completely determined by their ‘framing’ since there are, on occasions at least, unpredictability, creativity and embodied performances (Ek et al., 2008; Haldrup and Larsen, 2010).

• tourism
• photography
• photographs
• tourist gaze
• imaginative geographies
• flâneur
• digital photography

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