

FROM ANALOGUE TO DIGITAL: FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY IN TRANSITION

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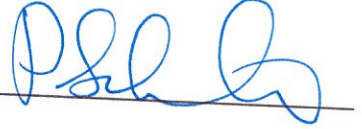
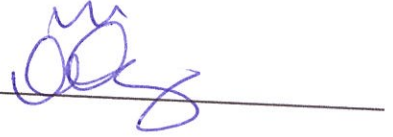

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Studies.

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ABSTRACT

FROM ANALOGUE TO DIGITAL: FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY IN TRANSITION

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Photography is part and parcel of our everyday lives. Its representational and communicative capability has made it an indispensable medium for both institutions and individuals alike. With the advent of digital photography, one can observe its impact in every corner of social and cultural sphere. The purpose of this study is to attempt to understand the transition from analogue to digital photography with regard to its impact on socio-cultural practices and contexts. To this end, at the center of the discussion in this study is family photography, for its transformation, I believe, is indicative of the transformation of social and cultural practices around photography in the transition. Family photographs, as objects that have material and social aspects, have long functioned as the transmitter of familial networks, relations, rituals and memory. The coming of digital technologies and ubiquity of photography as well as the changes in its form and function, has also transformed social and cultural practices around family photography. As the methodology for this study, a qualitative research approach was chosen. The data gathered from sixteen one-to-one semi structured interviews serve as the basis for this study. As a result, this study indicates the following findings. Firstly, social practices around family photography prevail, but in different complex and multi-layered forms. However, the family album does not seem to be a sustainable ritual because of the over-abundance of photography. Secondly, the intension behind taking photos has changed from storing for memory to forming identity as family photography has replaced with what may be called friendship photography. And finally, all these transformations create a blurred boundary between privacy and publicity.

Key words: Family photography, memory, digital technology, visual culture

ÖZ

ANALOGTAN DİJİTALE: AİLE FOTOĞRAFININ DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

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Fotoğraf gündelik hayatımızın bir parçasıdır. Temsil ve iletişim kabiliyeti onu hem kurumlar hem de bireyler için vazgeçilmez bir araç haline getirmiştir. Dijital fotoğrafın ortaya çıkışıyla, fotoğrafın sosyal ve kültürel alanın her köşesindeki etkisi görünür hale gelmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, analog fotoğraftan dijital fotoğrafa geçişi, sosyo-kültürel pratikler ve bağlamlar üzerindeki etkisine istinaden anlamaya çalışmaktır. Fotoğrafın ve etrafındaki sosyo-kültürel pratiklerin geçirmekte olduğu dönüşümün bir göstergesi olduğuna inandığım için bu çalışmada sürdürülen tartışmanın merkezinde aile fotoğrafı vardır. Aile fotoğrafları, materyal ve toplumsal değeri olan nesnelere; her zaman aile ağlarının, ilişkilerinin, ritüellerin ve hafızanın aktarıcısı rollerini üstlenmişlerdir. Dijital teknolojilerin ortaya çıkışı ve fotoğrafın her alanda var olmasıyla beraber, fotoğrafın hem biçimindeki hem de işlevindeki değişimler, aile fotoğrafını ve etrafındaki pratikleri de dönüştürmüştür. Bu çalışmada metodoloji olarak nitel araştırma tekniği seçilmiştir. On altı kişiyle yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış, yüz yüze görüşmeden toplanan veriler bu çalışmanın temelini oluşturmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma aşağıdaki bulgulara ulaşmıştır. İlk olarak, aile fotoğrafı ve etrafındaki sosyal pratikler geçerliliğini daha farklı, kompleks ve çok katmanlı biçimlerde korumaktadır. Bununla birlikte, aile albümü, dijital fotoğrafın çokluğu nedeniyle sürdürülebilir bir ritüel olarak görülmemektedir. İkinci olarak, aile fotoğrafı kavramı yerini arkadaşlığa bırakırken fotoğraf çekmenin ardındaki niyet, hafıza amacıyla kaydetmekten, kimlik oluşturmak ve paylaşmak için kaydetmeye, evrilmiştir. Ve son olarak, tüm bu dönüşümler mahremiyet ve aleniyet arasındaki sınırı belirsizleştirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile fotoğrafı, hafıza, dijital teknolojiler, görsel kültür



To the memory of my father.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There seems to be a tendency among human beings to record their experiences and observations as a result of certain meaning-making processes: one of the most common means is photography. Through such acts, we certainly attach importance to the past. However, more often what motivates us to capture and pass moments of experiences through certain narratives is future-oriented, rather than past. The ambiguous and uncertain nature of future gives us an impression that it is a field that we can construct, although this is mostly not the case. From its inception, one of the main purposes of the photography has been to capture and freeze the passing moments of life; what is ephemeral. In addition to that, while photography has greatly future-oriented purposes, it also has always been a social activity. This is to say that, photography has been one of the most significant social technologies in terms of identity formation, communication and meaning making processes.

In the era that the uses and forms of photography have greatly transformed and become more mobile and available, it would be a naive approach to interpret the transformation of photography, from analogue to digital, a simple change or advancement in terms of material technology. Rather, it would be more meaningful to analyze the social impact and its novel understanding and uses as a social technology. This study is the result of an urge, and perhaps a necessity, to reconsider photography in relation with the change of perception caused by digital photography. What will be discussed onwards are novel performances of sociality, memory and identity formation vis-a-vis the novel receptions and the uses of photography. Before proceeding any further, I consider it valuable to mention what motivated me to choose this subject. To this end, I would like to return to the point where it all started.

While I was pursuing my undergraduate studies in Sarajevo, as a part of a joint project I was assigned to gather photographs from the students of my university. The aim

was to understand how students from different countries use the city in capturing photographs. As a foreigner in Sarajevo how they create their own spaces, in which parts of the city they gather and socialize and by which practices they become engaged with everyday life and most importantly whether they embrace the city or they have a distant gaze like a tourist. With all these questions in mind, through a detailed study on the photos of students in Sarajevo, we precisely analyzed how they posed in photos, which buildings they framed, how and why they took and kept those photos. Through this study I had a chance to understand the historical and cultural engagements of students and how they built their identity and finally examined the patterns of their attachment to a new urban atmosphere.

Secondly, this study made me understand that photography is not a simple technological development or a simple medium but has social and phenomenological consequences such as constructing relationships, occupying spaces between people and their relations to things and spaces. Although it is a way of representation like other art forms, by virtue of recording events and people as they are, photography stands in a distinctive place and plays a stronger role. A photograph in our hands is an evidence of a person who existed once, an indicate document of an event which happened at a time. This strong tie with reality renders photography a different phenomenon, which has directly related to the concept of memory and it influences greatly and functions together with it.

Keeping and collecting photographs is more than an act of archiving moments from the past. The act of recording specific moments makes those points vibrant in the process of remembering. Memory needs references to remember. Jacques Derrida's and Walter Benjamin's writings on memory paved the way for reading memory and narrative in multiple ways. Both of them state the discontinuity between past events and the narrative around it. In this regard, not only the material presence of photography as an object but the act of gathering and taking photographs has a function of maintaining, articulating and reproducing the social relations. And afterwards, looking at a photograph; tracing the signs of memory, pointing at the

figures on it, commenting and telling stories of the past is remarkable in terms of constructing memory. For Maurice Halbwach human memory can only function within a collective context evoked by war memorials, family remnants or accounts of significant events. "Collective memory is selective; various groups of people have different collective memories, which give rise to different modes of behavior." (Halbwach 1992)

Another observation I gained through my undergraduate photography project was people's different attitudes towards digital and printed photography. As the first step of my Sarajevo project, I asked students to bring some photos. Printed photo owners after curiously questioning our purpose, have selected some of their photos and gently asked us to keep them safe. However, digital photo owners brought many of photos in several CDs or USB thumb drives and barely asked our purpose. They found it difficult to decide which ones represent their lives in Sarajevo. And they generally forgot to bring their photos on the first request. This attitude made me think on the correlation between rarity and material possession of things. It was obvious that the digital photo owners as a result of having so many photographs, do not categorize their files.

As the second step of the project we analyzed the content of the images. While asking questions like "When did you take this photo?, What was the occasion?" and "What is the name of the place?" , I realized that digital photo owners were not sure about their answers. Since they had large amounts of data documenting their memories, the narrative became complicated. On the other hand, the memory of non-digital photo owners was more vibrant, they explained the details delicately and they wrote clear notes behind their photos.

After finishing this project, I have made additional readings on photography, its relation to memory and this is what shaped the structure of this dissertation. Since the performances around photography are highly intertwined with memory, and the act of archiving, recording and collecting, this change in the medium is worth

to explore in terms of the possible transformations in these performances as well as in the conception/perception of photography.

In this study, I examine the journey of photography, the accepted social consequences of it and the transformation of these consequences through time within the frame of technological developments. Thus, my main concern is to understand this change in medium, namely the transition from analogue to digital photography, secondly its influence on the social practices around family photography and thirdly the present and potential concerns about digital photography, resulted from my fieldwork. The findings of this study shows that, while the concept of family photography is still a valid notion, we can no longer speak of an object like a family album that shows us the ideal image of a family. However, photography keeps its significance for the ceremonial activities such as birthdays, weddings or graduations through social media networks. On the other hand, as a result of the digital photography and its convergence with mobile phone technologies, the aim of taking a photo has changed from “to be remembered” to “to be shared.”

1.1. Setting the Problem

Photography has always been a significant apparatus for various grounds. From everyday lives and academic studies to media world and art history, photography occupies a key position. Despite the fact that photography has noticeably transformed for the last two decades, it still preserves its significance. The major change has happened to its form with the invention of digital cameras towards the end of the 20th century.

The first visible shift has occurred to materiality of photography. Neither the photographic films of 36 exposures nor the develop processes do not exist anymore. Photography has turned into a virtual item from a substantial, tangible object. Virtual means something is not physically existing as such but made by software to appear to do so. (Oxford Online Dictionary 2018)

The social act of gathering around a computer screen and looking at images is different from that handling photographs and touching them. The photograph on computer screen is seen as a reflection or a copy of the material one. According to Susan Sontag the most impressive result of photographic enterprise is the sense of holding the whole world in our hands as a collection of images. (Sontag 2005, p.1) As she wrote, "Movies and television programs light up walls, flicker, and go out; but with still photographs the image is also an object, lightweight, cheap to produce, easy to carry about, accumulate, store." (Sontag 2005, p.1) For Sontag, photography provides the opportunity of capturing an experience unlike films sliding and that is, what makes photography prominent. The experience becomes light, easily producible, storable and mobile with photography. These features of photographic act give the sense of capturing and holding the photographed object/experience/memory and through this act one acquires knowledge therefore, power. (Sontag 2005, p.2) "Photographs, which package the world, seem to invite packaging. They are stuck in albums, framed and set on tables, tacked on walls, projected as slides. Newspapers and magazines feature them; cops alphabetize them; museums exhibit them; publishers compile them." (Sontag 2005, p.2)

The social practices around still photography cited by Sontag too, such as producing, reproducing, carrying, storing, exhibiting, framing or archiving has changed or has been changing lately. First of all, photographs evolved into virtual entities from tangible objects. And the sense of "holding the whole world in our hands" left its place to another, different phenomenon.

With the development of digital photography, storing an image has become both easy and difficult at the same time. There is a bunch of new technologies, applications, and computer programs for archiving purposes that give the opportunity of categorizing, manipulating or rating photography. But on the other hand, the security flaws of these programs or data leaking concerns are becoming serious global problems.

Additionally, as the interviewees of this study have stated too, the abundance of digital images has become another question of debate. The increased quantity of images is an apparent problem and along with it; the concerns of authenticity, storage or reproduction are subjects at issue. Although photographs become more available and accessible, they become difficult to handle because of high amounts. Instead of being single memory pieces of an experience they turn into a mass of digital photos to be organized in the future.

Photography is regarded as a mnemonic device since its invention. Because photography makes the ephemeral permanent and accessible, it is considered as an instrument to return to a moment or a place in the past. Within the last decade, “there has been a marked rise in concern with popular memory, and a proliferation of archives, particularly oral archives, established to preserve the memories of ordinary people.” (Whitehead 2009, p.2) Oral history studies, reorganization of private family albums, urban history studies or migration studies are some of the fields which have been growing over the past decade. Huyssen describes this attempt to preserve public or personal memories as an “attempt to slow down information processing” and to position ourselves in this temporality (Huyssen 1995, p.7). As such, he observes the increasing memory studies as “potentially healthy signs of contestation” against the disappearing historical consciousness (Huyssen 1995, p.7).

Above all the issues mentioned up to here stands the convergence of photography with the Internet and mobile phones. Especially after the widespread usage of mobile phones, photography taking has turned into a more instantaneous act than ever. The moment we take a photo we can easily comment, share, send, and manipulate etc. Photography is not something framed, designed for future anymore. The albums are not private properties; even the survival of photo albums is suspicious. All these indicate that “digital photography is a constantly evolving complex of networks, technologies, practices and meanings embedded in people’s daily lives.” (Larsen and Sandbye 2014, p.4) Although, early phenomenological definitions that describe

photography as a pure representation or as an indicator of “what has been”, the new digital practices aim to show “what is going on”. (Larsen and Sandbye 2014, p.6)

Thus, it is difficult to mention photography as a single object, define it with its own philosophical, historical terms. Additionally, “it would be naive to assume that all photographers confer the same meaning on photography or even that they are following the same practice. Photographs need to be understood, everywhere and always, in relation to the societies in which they are embedded.” (Larsen and Sandbye 2014, p.10) Photography stands in the middle of social relations, new technologies of new practices. It is necessary to re-define the terms related to photography and investigate new performances around memory, privacy, history and identity. This dissertation does not aim to compare and contrast the terms of “old” and “new” photography and to announce which one is superior. The aim is, to capture the continuing practices of both or the new forms of “old” practices. The aim of this study is to investigate the new ways of photographic acts in everyday life. The aim is to understand and analyse the transformation in the perception of photography and photography taking and its social functions.

1.2. Methodology

This study takes a phenomenological approach, whose central concepts are highly complex, interrelated, of changing nature and open to hermeneutical study. Thus, naturally, the methodology is a qualitative one. As mentioned in the literature review, a scope of primary and secondary sources of photography, family photography, memory, narrative, identity, collective memory and digital photography were examined to see the journey of the main concepts. This framework was then used to evaluate data collected from one-to-one semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Analyzing interview responses is the second step of my research. On the basis of these responses, certain patterns or themes that are commonly touched upon in the interviews will be outlined. It is worthy of mention that I also considered which answers are given with more enthusiasm, contrary to those that the participants replied hesitatingly in short.

In total, sixteen interviews were conducted for this study. The interviews can easily be categorized into two groups. The interviewees were initially selected according to their age groups and were asked open-ended questions about photography and recent as well as former social habits around it. The first group constitutes ten subjects whose ages are above 40 years, coming from upper-middle and middle classes and have an educated background. The rationale behind this decision is because this socio-economic group has long been assumed to use photography most actively to the extent that photography is part and parcel of their everyday practices for several generations. The second group includes six subjects, whose ages are 15-18 years. The age criterion was a determinant element, in order for understanding the dynamics from different perspectives with regard to the main question of this study. While the first group experienced both the era, analogue and the transition to digital photography, witnessing and/or participating in the process. The second group of the interviewees on the other hand was born into an era where analogue technologies became obsolete. Their use was now limited to a small group of people and die-hard analogue photographers. Thus, the main reason behind interviewing this second group is to see the recent habits around photography and pursue the continuities between old and new photography. This group of participants does not have either an experience of analogue camera or witnessed printing process of film photography. Also, the subjects of this group do not have a family albums; only have some printed family photos from specific events, unorganized and mostly not visited by family members for a long time.

Broadly speaking, taking into consideration two different generations of interviews is likely to give us insights into the different technical, cultural and social modes and uses of photography as well as the transformation of these aspect over the course of time. Along with the age, the participant were selected among people who has no professional interests, such as being a photographer or a documentary maker, but rather intentionally preferred to conduct this study with people who make use of photography non-professionally as an everyday practice.

Of the ten interviewees of the first group were five females, whose professional background, as they preferred to describe, are as follow: One editor, one teacher, one retired officer, and two housewives. The professional backgrounds of the male participants are a storyteller-teacher, a school principal, a publisher, an academician, and an artisan. All the participants of the first group are university graduates, while one female and two male interviewees stated that they hold a master's degree. The second group includes six participants, all of them being high school students and using mobile phones and social media actively.

The participants in both groups stated that they are interested in photography as amateurs, having also family photographs. The people who accepted to be interviewed for this study were reached by the snowball method from the social classes mentioned.

All of the Interviewees, indeed, have different worldviews. Nevertheless, when evaluated in terms of their emphasis on the concepts of family and privacy, they can be described as conservative. All of the interviewees, including young students in the second group, took a common stance when it came to issues such as the stability, continuity, unity and importance of the family. It is worthy of mentioning that they have a common opinion on the definition of the family. However, they revealed significant differences in terms of the definition and the use/consumption of digital photography. When asked about if they would share some of their photographs, the interviewees of the first group showed disquiet in sharing their photos, while the second group acted more open.

Certain themes, such as nostalgia, memory, narrative, collective memory, privacy, security and social media exhibitionism, emerged from the interviews. The first group of interviews commonly asserted that it is necessary to draw a line between how people perceive digital and film photography. We can no more make a single definition for photography, yet there are converging points between new and old type of photographic acts and contents. Therefore I examined the responses

interviewees into two parts as analogue and digital photography. It is not because of the fact that these two technologies are in dichotomy.

Along with the interviews, a secondary source of data, acquired and evaluated in the research, are the family photographs. In selecting the secondary data, attention is paid to the criteria such as the originality of the photographs and the basic characteristics of the analogue and digital photographs. Semiotic approach was used in order to make analyses of the visual signs that represent family through the chosen photographs.

Throughout this study, when the term “family photography” is used, I refer to the photos of autobiographical remembering at times and photos that one would place in their family albums or keep in a mobile phone photo gallery at some other times. In short, photos that we attribute personal value. Fine art photography or documentary photography is not included in this research, not because they are irrelevant, but because the main question of this study is limited to the transformation of family photography and the practices accordingly.

Additionally, when I state family frame, family photo or family snap it does not always refer to the photos in which all the family members are lined up. Rather, it refers to the personal snapshots exhibited in frames, put into shoeboxes or archived in albums; these are photos that surely contain familial history, preserve and transfer certain memories of a group.

1.3. Literature Review

This dissertation will analyze qualitative data from in-depth interviews, which focus on personal family photos. To build a theoretical basis for the analysis, a wide range of books and articles from the fields of art history, photography, and the family photography, have been consulted, particularly on the key concepts of social practices, memory, privacy and publicity.

The simplest definition of photography would be the process of capturing, developing and producing images by using light, optics and chemicals. However there is a step, which comes before all these technical processes that is seeing.

Photography first and foremost is an activity of looking and framing. John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (Görme Biçimleri) (2010) claims that the ways we see, look or photograph things depend on the subject, time or place. "The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled," he wrote. According to Berger, seeing is also an act of selection. *Understanding a Photograph* (2013) is a recent collection of essays on the ontology photography. The common ground of these writings on the definition of photography is that photographs always require language, and a narrative in order to be explicit. Photographs by nature do not have a property value so the final product is never unique. It can be reproduced endlessly. Photographer's decision of what is worth to be recorded defines the perspective of the photograph. A photograph carries a message of the subject it indicates necessarily.

Barthes in *Camera Lucida* (1981) defines photography unclassifiable. Photography evades us, one cannot easily talk about photography in general. Without its reference it does not stand as an asset. It always carries its signifier together. So, it is not impossible to perceive the signifier isolated but it requires a secondary action of knowledge or of reflection. What makes photography complicated is this multilayered nature. A nature in which the signifier and the sign is glued together, immobilized and both of them vanishes when taken apart.

The meanings we attribute to a photograph are empirical, rhetorical or aesthetic. (Barthes, 1981) It is difficult to contemplate on photography yet it is external to the object without relation to its essence. For this reason Barthes uses photography with capital P, in order to reference to "The Photography" not a photograph. The multifaceted nature of photography forces us not to talk about the photography instead we generally talk about a photograph. To be more clear, what photograph reproduces has happened once and can never be repeated in time. The framed

moment becomes unique as soon as it is captured; it becomes an object while still alive, open to reproduction.

For instance, in a painting, although the subject matter is there; present, one knows that it is an interpretation of reality. The personal touch of an artist, even the knowledge of that touch, is enough for us to perceive it as one version of the infinite number of representations. In the case of photography, the referent itself stands there with its whole reality yet it is still an interpretation. This adherence makes it very difficult to focus on photography. And for Barthes it is almost impossible to make a clear definition of photography. Barthes argues that the essence of photography is to ratify what it represents. (Barthes 1981) Photography is violent. Not because it shows violence, it is because it always fills the perception with force and because nothing can be transformed and denied.

Susan Sontag discusses this violence on a different ground. "Photographs are a way of imprisoning reality, understood as recalcitrant, inaccessible; of making it stand still but to possess the world in the form of images is, precisely, to re-experience the unreality and remoteness of the real." (Sontag, 2005 p. 127)

Susan Sontag regards photography as an extension of modern consciousness. It changes the attachment of modern beings with reality by introducing the possibility of capturing, framing and archiving it. Sontag says: to collect photographs is to collect the World. (Sontag, 2005 p.1) Through the exploration of first apparent question comes to mind -What differs photography from other modern art forms- Sontag draws a conclusion on the actuality of it. The impression which photography gives is that, it is more than an interpretation of World like in the paintings and drawings. Photography gives us a definite miniature, a real detailed record of the subject, which is more acquirable and accessible.

Beginning from 1977 Sontag published a collection of essays on the definition of photography and explained the boundaries of modern photography. She raises the

question of how overabundance of photography in modern World has modified our perspective of visuality. Sontag conceptualizes photography as an everyday routine in terms of the experience it creates and discusses the subject on a theoretical ground. Sontag argues that, the abundance of photographic images in modern world aligns incidents, records or things at the same level. The possibility of recording each and every event equalizes their meanings. The distant gaze conceptualized by Sontag as “chronic voyeuristic relation” to the world causes people to picture events, immortalize them and never otherwise have enjoyed. (Sontag 2005, p.8)

Unlike Barthes’ argument that photography standing as a witness of time and makes past as certain as the present, for Susan Sontag to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed. Just as the camera is a sublimation of the gun, to photograph someone is a sublimated murder—a soft murder, appropriate to a sad, frightened time. (Sontag, 2005)

For Sontag the desire to frame a photograph comes from the desire to turn experience into a way of seeing. Having an experience is becoming equal to have it as a photograph and camera miniaturizes this experience and transforms history into spectacle. By collecting images from the world we create a hierarchy between the events, define which experience is worth to save, and possess that sense. Because for Susan Sontag, those images do not explain; they acknowledge. But the results of this instant access are another way of creating distance. To possess the world in the form of images is precisely to re-experience the unreality and remoteness of the real. (Sontag, 2005)

Sontag’s ideas are significant for this study, as it is the first theoretical work refers to the “relentless and violent” character of photography. While the subsequent studies in the field of visual anthropology or sociology have a more affirmative perspective on photography, Sontag emphasized the uncontrollable nature of photography from

the very beginning. This articulation that Sontag offered for the relationship between representation and real, is helpful for understanding the attitudes of interviewees towards digital photography.

Susan Sontag and Roland Barthes agree upon the violent character of photography in terms of its reckless nature on saving and keeping objects, events or experiences. Unlike Sontag's argument Barthes regards this feature of photography as emancipating. For Barthes what photography makes, by holding a unique relation to real, is to unchain the referent. That referent; namely the subject holds the authenticity of past, which exceeds the power of representation.

"Is history not simply that time when we were not born? I could read my nonexistence in the clothes my mother had worn before I can remember her. There is a kind of stupefaction in seeing a familiar being dressed differently." writes Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida*, (1981, p. 64) while looking at his old photos. What photography shows us is the lack of someone or the absence of a specific time by merely proving its presence. By holding in our hands a document of a past reality we actually verify that it is already preceded. The object we see in a photograph has been here in this place and yet immediately detached. It is a proof of both presence and absence.

Thought of past, our roots or ancestors comforts us whereas that of the future is disturbing. Photography as a concrete testimony of past gives the illusion of keeping and holding it still. But on the other hand it is also a proof that exact time is also passing. Thus, photography is a constant reminder of death for Barthes, because to prove a presence it has to dispatch that specific moment. "For Death must be somewhere in a society; if it is no longer (or less intensely) in religion, it must be elsewhere; perhaps in this image which produces Death while trying to preserve life. Contemporary with the withdrawal of rites, Photography may correspond to the intrusion, in our modern society, of an asymbolic Death, outside of religion, outside of ritual, a kind of abrupt dive into literal Death." (Barthes 1981)

Through his personal photos Barthes makes an intense analysis on the essence of photography. The book is based on two concepts; *studium* and *punctum*. *Studium* refers to the cultural and linguistic reading of a photograph, while *punctum* is a personal look focusing on a detail that touches the viewer and institutes the direct relationship with the subject of the photograph. Barthes exemplifies these two concepts through his mother's childhood photograph; by doing this he reinterprets his familial relation with her passed away mother.

As Marianne Hirsch defines in her book *Family Frames*, (1997) the picture of Barthes' mother provokes a moment of self-recognition. For Hirsch, this familial look suggests how stories of the personal photographs position members of family in relation to one another, in their pre-determined roles and interactions. Additionally, Barthes' method of reading photos as "*imagetexts*" (Hirsch, 1997 p.3) provides an example of how familial representation are formed through narrative.

As photography has become the family's expressive instrument of self-representation the studies that regard photography as a social practice has also started to increase. Pierre Bourdieu's *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (1990) shows that photography is a structural and systematic socio-cultural activity preserving the present and reproducing moments of collectivity and displays how different classes of people distinguish themselves and shape a group identity. Through the analyses of empirical data within a local context, Bourdieu showed how family photography deeply formed its conventions and rituals within a short period of time.

Geoffrey Batchen in an essay from 2008, observed that "family photographs challenge us to find another way of talking about photography, a way that can somehow account for the determined banality of these, and indeed most other, photographic picture." Batchen focuses on the certain repeating aesthetics of family photographs and takes the subject to the area of everyday culture. American anthropologist Richard Chalfen, suggests the term "home made photography" and

suggests that family photography must be regarded as a process, a doing, an act of communication and a symbolic activity.

In a similar vein, Gillian Rose's *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment* (2010) explores through family photographs and their public display. Rose uses the fieldwork gathered from the interviews with mothers from UK. The book offers considering photographs as objects embedded in social practices, and suggests using the term as "doing photography". By doing so, Rose proposes that photography produces particular social positions, relations and affects. In the final analysis, she explores what happens with family photos when they appear in public (media) due to the events like 9/11 or missing children.

The studies on the subject of photography have become intertwined with the theories of memory. Because a photograph belongs to the past by the moment it is created, it becomes an appropriate room for memory. In his groundbreaking work *Matter and Memory* (1896) instead of the idea that memory is a concrete cognitive structure, Henri Bergson advocated that memory is a living, complex process fed from today and reconstructed momentarily. Marcel Proust, in his autobiographical work *In Search Of Lost Time* (2008) calls this remembrance evoked by a stimuli as "involuntary memory". Proust's definition of memory is based on a reckless and sudden impetus in a very similar manner with Barthes' concept, *punctum*. In the final analysis, memory is defined as a non-linear process and with the help of references memory is constructed momentarily.

Maurice Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory* (1992) is a pioneering text for collective memory studies. According to Halbwach, human memory can only perform within a collective framework. Halbwach illustrates this thesis by showing examples from various groups of people. Secondly, Halbwach shows how memory is selective and constructed collectively by the communities according to their present needs. In the path that Halbwachs created for collective memory studies, Paul Connerton's *How*

Societies Remember (1989) considers memory as a cultural notion and discusses how memory is transmitted through bodily practices and performances.

Jose van Dijck writes on the subject of memory in digital era. She made an expansive analysis and introduced the term “mediated memory” in her book *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age: Cultural Memory in the Present*. (2007) In *Mediated Memories*, Dijck thinks through in which way the new tools of technology shape our memories and how these tools are also shaped by processes of memory. In her words, “Memory is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other.” (van Dijck, 2007 p. 21). Dijck concentrates on both sides, memory as a cognitive brain activity and a cultural concept. As she argues the interdisciplinary approach to the term is necessary because memories are created at the intersection of biology, technology and culture. Jose van Dijck offers to mark the differences between the concepts of cultural and private memory yet she disagrees to isolate these two types of memories as well.

In the article *Technologies Of Memory: Practices Of Remembering In Analogue And Digital Photography* Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering make a detailed research with 110 participants. The main argument of this study is that, the changing face of photography is not a result of digital technologies; rather it is part of a complex socio-cultural transformation and technological development. The discussions are formed on four categories of photo practices related to the analogue/digital shift: photo-taking; photo-storing; photo-viewing; photo-sharing.

Digital Snaps, The New Face of Photography (2014) is an edition book conducted by Jonas Larsen and Mette Sanbye. The articles are selected from various disciplines, focusing on the transformation of traditional social and cultural practices around analogue photography to a new form. The authors offer the term “ecology” to understand the new faces of photography, because the transition is not a basic change from digital to analog, instead photography is in the middle networked technologies. Martin Lister’s opening article “*Overlooking, Rarely Looking And Not Looking*” discusses the term “media ecology” further. Politics of popular snapshot

photography become complicated with the convergence of computers, mobile phones, cameras and the Internet.

In the article *“How Digital Technologies Do Family Snaps, Only Better”* (2014), Gillian Rose argues that by digitization, “doing” family photography is intensified. Rose criticizes conventional studies for seeing domestic photography mere signs. She regards family photos, as visual objects embedded in social practices and with digitization these practices do not disperse. Instead they become more accessible and intense.

“Friendship Photography: Memory, Mobility and Social Networking” (2014) by Joanne Garde-Hansen offers a detailed fieldwork conducted among young people. Garde-Hansen argues that networked digital photography and especially mobile phone cameras place friendships instead of families to the center of domestic photography.

1.4. This Study

The organization of this study is formed based on the structure of interviews. The natural flow of dialogs is mainly divided by old/new photography dichotomy. Since the subjects of interviews have different approaches to old and new forms of photography, I decided to analyze the two phenomena separately and find the commonalities onwards.

When the questions and the aim of the project introduced to interviewees of first group, their primary reflection was highly positive. All of the subjects started to talk about film photography, especially their own private albums, and continued with the correlation between photography, past and memory. They respond the first questions affirmatively until I proposed them to consider digital photography. At this point, all of the interviewees changed their attitudes and started raising their concerns about the uncontrolled nature of digital photography. The unquestioned appreciation for photography and the nostalgic discourse around photographic acts

disappeared gradually when the conversation switched to the recent practices of the new technologies.

As for the second group, the participants barely describe the meaning of photography for themselves; almost do not attribute any meaning for saving a moment. When asked about the relation to memory, they linked memory and photography. Though, sharing is as important as saving a photo. Commenting, editing and getting credits (likes) from viewers are also significant acts for this group. None of them has a concern about the privacy or mobility of digital photos and question the security of social media platforms.

Although immediate reaction of first group is still on the side of analogue photography, it is obvious that they have a perception, mostly negative, of digital photography, which should be counted while defining contemporary photography. And this perception does not appear until I insert questions such as “How do you keep your photos?” or “When did you update your family album?” The interviews showed that it is necessary to update the definitions of some connected cultural concepts as well. The issues raised about digital photography is standing on four main topics, which are “over abundance of images”, “privacy”, “security”, and “social media exhibitionism”, on which I will be focusing on.

Although interview groups took different attitudes, there are also many similarities when we look from the perspective of social practices. Firstly, is the organization of a family album or the design of a social media account could be a platform for representation of the self and a tool for the construction of identity? Are the social acts (commenting, narrating, archiving, organizing an album, framing and hanging on a wall) that make photography a vivid and dynamic cultural activity still exist in the digital form of photography? If so, what are the convergent sides of these cultural activities in the new format? Where social media stands among all these transformations? All these questions in mind, this study tries to understand a medium change and its possible social influences.

CHAPTER II

ANALOGUE PHOTOGRAPHY: MATERIALITY, MEMORY AND NARRATIVE

2.1 Introduction

“What does photography stand for?” will be the first main question of this section. Thus, this chapter will be about the existing definitions of photography along with the responds from interviews. Together with the literature on photography onwards, I will focus on interviews and social practices around. Eventually, this chapter will argue that, after digital turn, photography has become more important for people, even turned into an object and secured its place as a nostalgic concept. On the other hand, like every nostalgic concept it gradually takes a distance to present and stays in the past.

This section focuses on photography as a material trace, a tool for memory, and a social practice, in Bourdieu’s terms; “a practice that has a function of the integration of the family while also having a function of integration as a rite of solemnization.” (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 19) By digitization of photography these practices and the definitions that we attribute have transformed. Anyhow, this section will remain faithful to the classical literature that regards basically the old form of photography, representing the truth.

Photography before digital has a purpose of saving certain moments for the future. This does not mean that, there is a sharp line between the practices of old and new forms of photography. Yet, it is necessary to mark the turning point and trace the history of the definition of photography in order to understand both.

2.2 Family Photography as a Form of Representation

In order to understand the effect of digital technologies on family photography, it is necessary to describe how it was understood in the years prior to this technological development. In this study, I will try to show how family photography transformed

both as a form of representation and as a practice after merging with digital technologies. I will explain new social and cultural practices around photography and new themes that these practices highlight. But before all this, I have to define and describe the family photography. Also, this first part of my work answers the questions of what family photography represent, by focusing on its visual signs I will specifically try to reply what do these family photos tell us. I regard family photographs as a cluster of signs, in Barthes terms, as a structure where sign and signified is glued together. (1981) In this regard, I will explain what are the common signs that make an image family photography and briefly what those signs stand for.

Photographs have commonalities in their styles and forms regardless of time and subject. While shaping the frame of this study, I have repeatedly taken photos of people I have never met and examined them in detail. These were the family photographs I usually found in second-hand bookstores, or the family photographs that are used in the texts I have read and the ones I found online. Even though these photographs belong to different cultures and different periods of time, they have particular common features. Photographs provide information through some visible signs. They can tell us when and where photographs were taken; by reading the visual signs we also gather information about families' lives and culture. One can analyze photographs in this method, as Barthes conceptualized as "studium". (1981) The studium is those features of a photograph that are culturally readable. Studium consists of a semiological analysis of photography, and an idea based on establishing analogies between signs and symbols and meanings in photography.

Eventually, I tried to categorize the visual features. For this categorization I used anonymous family photographs and took their common visual features. Also, I took advantage of some points suggested by Julia Hirsch in the *"Family Photographs, Content, Meaning and Effect."* (1981) The physical resemblances, the gestures/poses, the faces, the seating arrangements and the places are the subjects through which I will analyze some chosen family photos.



Figure 2.1 Old Family Photo from 1960s

A family photograph consists of at least two people who have specific poses and attitudes. But before going through the details of these poses I will focus on the first apparent feature of family photos, titled by Julia Hirsch as “physical resemblance”. Physical features are essential clues to kinship: noses, eyes, and foreheads, which tell us what ties link these faces to each other. (Hirsch 1981, p. 3) The traces of the inherited features lead us to discover the familial ties and ask further questions.

“We wonder as we look at the faces about the closeness and separateness, about the dependency and rivalry, the love and ambivalence which strike all family relations.” (Hirsch 1981, p. 4) Even though we do not know anything about the family on Figure 2.1, through tracing the physical resemblances between family members



Figure 2.2 Mother and two children

we try to find which woman could be the mother of the children. Since there is no physical intimacy other than the grandmother who hugs the child next to her, there are only facial similarities left to solve the familial roles.



Figure 2.3 Mother and two children from 1980s

Gestures and poses are other signs of family photography. Photographers make subjects tilt their heads, hold hands or look at each other in order to express their relationships. When we do not know the people photographed, we put all our trust into specific gestures: “a woman and the cradled infant in her arms are mother and child; a man standing and leaning slightly over the woman seated next to him—husband and wife.” (Hirsch 1981, p. 15)

Individuals underline the familial roles with gestures of closeness, which was initially introduced by photographers, later became a tradition. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 are two very similar photos taken at different times and places. These photos are representations of mothers, who show their roles as the caregiver by hugging the two children. These photographs are meant to be the reminders of the faces, houses or clothes but they also document an abstract thing by a tiny gesture, which is the tie between the mothers and children.

The traditions attributed to photography have their roots in history of art. Invented in the first decades of the 19th century, photography is a result of combining numerous technical discoveries, lasted for years. But it is widely recognized after Kodak camera went on the market with the motto "You press the button, we do the rest" in 1888. (Edwards, 2006 p. 47) And photography became available for the mass-market in 1901 with the introduction of the Kodak Brownie. In a very short period of time it became a middle-class habitude.



Figure 2.4 William Dobson, Portrait of a Family, 1645, (Yale Center for British Art)

Family photography seems to have a modest place in history of art. The reason behind the easy acceptance of family photography as a middle-class practice should be sought in Renaissance paintings. “The phenomenon we know as the “family photograph” arises in an age which like the Renaissance is intensely curious about the self, its share in history, its place in time, and draws heavily on the Renaissance portrait both for structure and content.” (Hirsch 1981, p. 11) The representation of the family is, indeed, not separate from the representation of the self. Thus, scenes, gestures and poses in old family photographs find their reference in the history of art.

William Dobson’s family portrait of is a fine example of a Renaissance family depiction. Each family member shows their closeness by putting a hand on the shoulder of the closest person. They all lined up towards the viewer in the shape of a

C letter. Father, as a figure of authority is located higher than the others, in the center of the portrait. Mother is also located in the center comparing to the children, but not superior to the father. There is also a hierarchical set up between the children, probably according to their ages. Indeed, the fact that the father sits in the center cannot be interpreted merely as the artist's preference or an artistic tradition. The artist chooses to represent not only the image of the family, but also the existing roles of family members by emphasizing the hierarchy between them.

This is an image of people who would like to show a familial commitment. The emphasis is on the unity and integrity of the family as well as the family roles. "Photography, then, does not abandon the ancient metaphors of family but transforms and spreads them; it brings about a profound social revolution more than an aesthetic one." (Hirsch 1981, p. 42)

The classical family photographs in which everyone stand in a row and looks straight at the camera is a fine example of depicting family roles and hierarchy, whether taken by a professional photographer in studio or by an amateur at home.

The layout of formal portraits often appears to describe a plane: we see triangles with bases and apexes, configurations with points and angles which make us ask who in the family is at the top, who is subordinate, who is out of line, who has power, who submits, and who defies. The lines in a formal portrait are almost always clearly drawn; they move from parent to child, from child to parent, along lines of blood and property, of dependence and duty, which the family follows from one generation to the next. (Hirsch 1981, p. 95)

The relationships between family members are shown latently, whether the subject of the image is love, joy or grace, the viewer sees only the hands put on shoulders, (see Figure 2.5 and 2.8) heads that lean on towards each other, or arms that hold and grasp. The serious and solemn looks of the eyes, the formal clothes, and body postures give the impression that the family members act as if they are performing a formal task.

Highlighting the notion of family as a corporate entity seems to be one of the leading objectives of family photography. Figure 2.6 makes a strong emphasis on the unity of the family. Here, the grandmother and grandfather, who is no longer alive, joins the image with their portrait photographs hanging in the background, highlighting the continuity and unity of the family with living and non-living members. The photographs are not placed on a table or stand in front of the family members; they are put intentionally in the back and positioned higher than everyone. It would be naïve to say that this photo belongs to a group of friends. This is a strong image, which carries the features that a family photo should have. Similarities on the faces, deceased parents who positioned above everyone, men, women and children are lined up in a hierarchy, people who wear formal clothes are explicit signs that tell us this is a family photograph.



Figure 2.5 Nuclear Family Photo



Figure 2.6 Large Family Photo

In the story “A Photographer's Studio for the Merry Men” (Mesut İnsanlar Fotoğrafhanesi), written by Ziya Osman Saba in 1945, the protagonist decides to visit a photographer's studio alone, for having a nice studio photograph. There is no reason for this photograph such as graduation, wedding or any kind of celebration. The protagonist justifies his situation to himself before entering the studio and thinks that he would have this photo to keep for his future lover.

“I may as well go inside one of those photographer's studios where the merry men have their photos taken, and say, I am a happy man as well, you may take my photo. And the photographer may not object to it, he may not say you do not have anybody, what shall you do with the photo. Even if he asks about, of course, I may have a lover one day. I would say the last nice photo of mine that he is to take, may be kept in a hidden place in her handbag, in pleasant smells.” (Saba 2019, p. 16)

As expected, the photographer watches him carefully from head to foot, and feels anxious about the intention of this young and lonely man but takes him into the studio. After several attempts and various directives such as “*Stay natural!*, *Don't*

oppress yourself!, Think of beautiful, joyful things!”, the photographer ends the session and states that he unfortunately cannot take photographs of this young man.

Apparently, the request to have photo in the studio alone and without any valid reason is not a very reassuring situation for those years. The first directive of being photographed is a legitimate reason such as wedding, graduation or birthday and the second is a social group. When a lonely man wants to have him photographed in a studio without a reason, his intention is questioned and he is looked at with concern. In the beginning of the story, the protagonist expresses how happy and satisfied he is with his life. To prove his condition he could have his own photo like all those happy individuals in photos. But after photographer asks him not to force himself to smile, he starts questioning his own life. Photography, then, is a tool of being a part of a community and proof of a stable life.

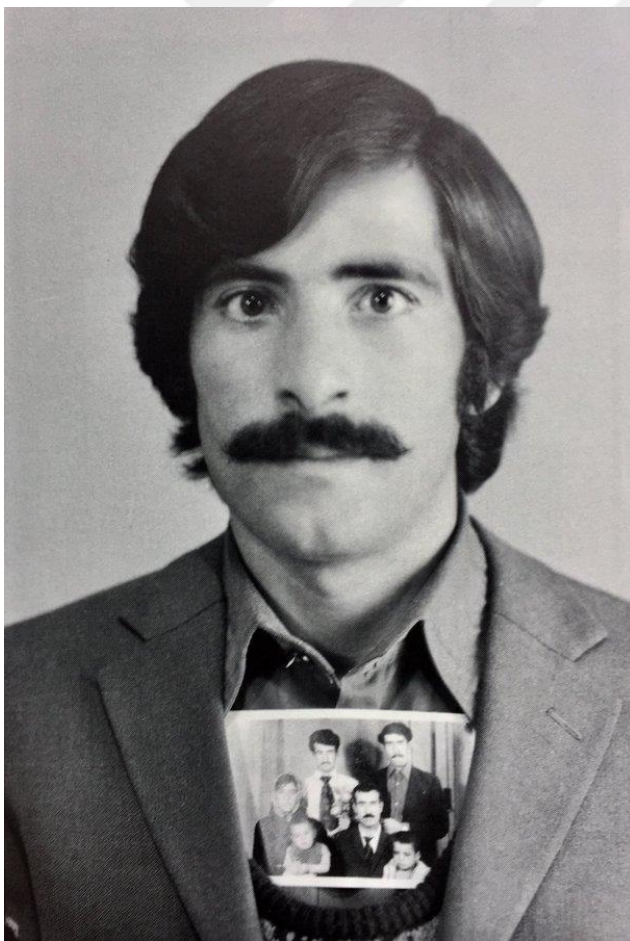


Figure 2.7 A Man with His Family Photo in Germany , C. Mathesie, 1974, Kreuzberg

The Figure 2.7 is an interesting example. This man, who was working as a laborer in Germany, took a photo of him in a studio by putting a picture of his family around his chest. He would probably receive the family portrait by mail, would reply with his own portrait and wanted himself included in this nice family frame. The desire to become a part of a social group, in fact, is one of the reasons why photography creates its own traditions in such a short time. Photography is a medium that can document the familial togetherness, integrity and continuity and show it to other people. Family members both once again believe and confirm that they are part of a group and display it to the members of society they are living in.



Figure 2.8 A Family with Four Children

Standing in a serious and formal expression is a general attitude in old studio photographs. The subjects, probably, think of the future audience while posing. People who laugh, speak, walk or lie down are almost non-existent in black and white photographs. We can define the facial expressions in these photographs as serious, calm or confused. However, we do not think people in the photos are unhappy. They have a confident, peaceful stance. One of the reasons behind the serious or confused faces (see Figures 2.3 and 2.8) is that photography is regarded as almost a ritual. Families go to the studio with their most beautiful clothes and carefully arranged hair

in order to have a group photo. For some families, it is a ceremonial practice that is repeated every year in the festive times with all family members. In these photographs, where families produce their own iconic representations for future audiences, the individuals are being posed according to a certain symmetry and hierarchy. Being in the public space, is another reason of serious, calm or confused facial expressions. The families go out of the house to a place that is not “private” and take these photos after various commands. In other words, knowing that they are posing for a future audience, having this “ritual of photography” rarely on special days and being outside the house, that is to say in public space, can be considered as the reasons for the serious, calm and confused poses in these photographs. Families want to show the most decent and firm representations when looking at the future while recording their happy moments.

Studio photos begin to decrease in number after amateur photo cameras become widespread. It is difficult to find the exact dates of the transition from studio to amateur personal photographs. But it is clearly understood from the changing aesthetics of photographs, in Turkey, families start owning and using personal photo cameras mostly during 1980s. By this change, photographic practice moves from the public space, to the private space gradually. Photographic spaces change from studios to houses, firstly taken in the most beautiful rooms; designed for guests and gatherings and later in the kitchens or living rooms. The themes of the photographs change gradually as well, from special occasions to everyday events. The seating arrangements of the family members become more casual. Libraries or flowers are chosen as backgrounds at first, then the camera moves to different parts of houses as photography become more mobile and cheaper. Outdoor photos begin to appear; picnics, cars, gardens become subjects of representations as well.

Nurdan Gürbilek defines 1980s as an extension of worldwide transformations in which culture demands its autonomy at most. These are the years that inner worlds, sexual preferences, and private pleasures become more visible; everyday culture imposed its autonomous demands in Turkey. (Gürbilek 2009, p.10) During 1980s,

cultural identities have a ground to express themselves more liberally without the need of a mediation by any political engagement, however, the political arena in which cultures speak to each other has lost its power and has turned into a neutral arena. (Gürbilek 2009, p.11) First of all, the economic developments triggered this transformation. The development that transforms the economic structure to a great extent is the opening of Turkey's market to the world by Turgut Özal, the president of the period. A rapid transformation was achieved with large investments in infrastructure, transportation and communication areas where economic growth is compulsory. New right-wing economy policies resulted in flow of global capital and a boom of self-confidence. (Bora 2003) As both Tanıl Bora and Nurdan Gürbilek have pointed out, the disappearing authority of the repressive regimes before the 1980s and the rapidly developing economic situation resulted in relief and indifference in society. People who practice the opportunities such as private TV channels, advertisements and newspapers have transformed to this new situation and finally have switched to an exhibition culture.



Figure 2.9 Gathering from 1980s



Figure 2.10 Family Gathering from 1980s

In parallel with this transformation, photography becomes a more accessible and mobile technology and moves from public to private space. As a result, poses, gestures, hierarchy, objects, and spaces in photographs change. Although Figures 2.9 and 2.10 are photographs of two different families taken from different second-hand shops, the atmosphere of two photographs, furniture in the background, table settings, relaxed postures of the people are quite similar. Photo camera shifts its angle from the plain backgrounds of studio photographs to indoor where family members get together. Thus, “family photographs starts providing information about the layouts of rooms, the styles of furniture, the size of houses, and the menus at picnics. They also invoke all the symbolic meanings, which place and time have for us as beings in culture and society.” (Hirsch 1981, p. 47) Photographic space, background and objects used in the photograph are very important for the interpretation of the photograph. “The objects used in the photograph and the backgrounds, whether they are chosen by the photographer or by the people in the photograph, give important clues as to which culture the photograph belongs to, the

cultural memory and historical context of that society.” (Ulu 2013, p.109) The prosperity of the family is shown in studio photographs with small details such as a flower in the hands (Figure 2.11), a half seen bookshelf on the side, or a velvet curtain standing in the background. In the new condition those small details replaced with large furniture, the open television in the back or garish clothes.

To conclude, family photographs hold sentimental and personal qualities that reach further than the owner and that should be studied, also within the fields of semiology and culture. “Through photographs, each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself—a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness.” (Sontag 2005, p.5) The visible signs, gestures, postures, seating arrangements of individuals, or the background objects are elements of family photographs which aim to represent the continuity and unity of families and to create personal histories and narratives.



Figure 2.11 Bride and Groom

2.3 Family Photography as a Material Object

Whenever I have time, when I am on the train travelling, when I have nothing else to do, I take the pictures and look. They link the past with the present. The more you look the more it becomes prominent. I start with one picture and then switch to others. Sometimes I start with old family members then switch to my grandchildren's photos, who are now thousands miles away. Then I look at my father who passed away years ago. So, this brings a lot of memories and I think this is good. As I said they always link the past with the present. (Mr. A, interview, 15 November 2015)

The above-mentioned quotation is an answer of one of the interviewees to the question "What photography means to you?" It appears to me that this reflection succinctly summarizes the first group of interviewees. Broadly speaking, they consider photography a material medium to preserve the past memories and moments. Photograph, for the interviewees, is an object that captures and preserves the moment of for the sake of future uses; it is a record of a moment to be lost, a resistance against the nature and flow of time, its dissipating aspect. Photography is also a narrative, a story to for the living as well as for the future generations, a remnant from the ancestors. Photography as a medium of representation of reality, moment and memory is appreciated by the first group of interviewees. They mostly described the act of looking at photos through the analogy of travelling through time, reading a story of the past or witnessing history from a distance. Thus, for the first group of the interviewees photography as a material object bears traces of an irrecoverable past.

It is no doubt, photographs after all are material objects; something that we hold in our hands, pass to each other, keep for the future or hang on a wall. As Batchen succinctly tells us they have "volume, opacity, tactility and a physical presence in the world" (Batchen, 1997 p.2)

Idiosyncratic nature/form of an object designates its uses to a great extent. Having turned into a material object, one might bring a photograph around in her bag. Yet, this materiality signifies only one aspect; material objects exist and circulate in space and time and bounded with different regimes of value. Hence, analyses of objects,

their forms or functions, should take into consideration of their specific cultural and historical milieu (See Appadurai p.4). They are part and parcel of our social and cultural experience (Edwards and Hart, 2004 p.4). This also entails that material objects designates and are designated through human relations, used and consumed not only in terms of their materiality but also in terms of sociality and culturality. Thus, there exists a reciprocal relationship between materiality and sociality/culturality of photography.

A point worth considering is that sociality/culturality of photography can be restricted neither to space and time in which photography is taken nor to social and cultural milieu in which it is consumed. Cultural interpretations of photography, be it as a category or when it refers to a collection of images, apparently favors the former approach. Content and composition of photographs, things such as how people pose and are dressed, what they do, are certainly important to understand its cultural and social specificities. It is not a just a *mise-en-scene* for an event to be remembered. After turning into a material presence, it becomes integral to human actions and practices. According to Edwards and Hart (2004) what makes photography a cultural object is its relation to the social rituals and performances that we attribute photographs. It is the habitual rituals that turn a thing into a cultural object. Objects contribute to the formation of a culturally constituted world because “they are a vital visible record of cultural meaning that is otherwise intangible” (McCracken, 1988 p.74). Then again, apart from these aspects, photography in each moment of its consumption after it is taken, takes a (material) form that allows us to hold or interact with the past and shapes our relationship with it.

Nonetheless, culturality/sociality of photography can hardly be separated from its materiality. Photography as an object can hardly resist the flow of time, falls into decay; its color and texture alter over the course of time. Objects, according to Alfred Gell (1998), are not just tools for human actions or extension of human body; indeed, objects can be seen as social actors in and of itself. Surely, it is not the objects themselves but the social effects they construct by their specific format/shape.

One of the first group of the interviewees, Mrs. E., raised in a migrant family has stated that

I am coming from a family who migrated from Balkans. Our relation to photography is very strong. I generally carry some of my family photos with me, always in my bag. Since we did not have a place to visit as a homeland, we often visit photos; make comments on family members who passed away. In other words, we keep the connection with our homeland through family snaps. Besides, some of the relatives migrated to other parts of Europe. We also keep familial ties with them through photos. Exchanging photos of their new life have been a very major event for my parents during the first years of migration. Actually, photography is vital in both ways, the photos also had an impact in terms of belonging here, as in there, my family start collecting memories here, proving that they are the owners of this life too. You know, everyone sends those photos to each other. Everybody sends and documents that they are fine and happy with their new homes. (Interview, 14 Jul 2016)

As it is manifest in the two above-mentioned answers, and implied in the other interviews in between the lines, the interviewees mostly recount what they do with photography. Such social rituals and cultural acts in fact can only be possible, provided that we regard photography as a material as well as cultural object. This being the case, photography by turning an appearance into a material, makes it accessible in many ways. It opens the possibility of carrying a motherland by carrying a piece of paper in the bag. "Objects influence the field of social action that would not have occurred if they did not exist, or, in the case of photographs, if they did not exist in this or that specific format." (Edwards and Hart, 2004 p.4) The specific format of an object affects the way we use it.

In the same vein, a middle-aged male interviewee, Mr. O. stated that

Think about it, you could carry an image of a person who is not with you. I know people who carries little portrait photo of a person he loves in his shirt pocket for months, close to his heart. So, it is not just a piece of paper. That person while giving the photo touches it and then you touch. It is like keeping aura of someone with you. (interview, 3 Nov 2016)

Thus, borrowing Batchen's expression once again, "volume, opacity, tactility and a physical presence [of photography] in the world" are key to our relationship with photography on the one hand, and how its materiality bears a quality of a tangible/material and intangible trace of an irrecoverable past. The moveable character of photos, makes it exchangeable, reifies the past and turns them into a substance that has its own history.

Besides, photograph as an image has peculiar dynamics. The content of the image carries a story but the image itself turns into a mnemonic tool: "Acknowledging the material makes the act of viewing more complex and more difficult, as the act of viewing cannot any longer be processed in the same way. Instead it has to take account of the materiality of the photograph and the presentational forms in which it is entangled, in a way that will fundamentally cohere the photograph as an image" (Edwards and Hart, 2004 p.15).

In his *Camera Lucida*, a seminal work in the studies of photography, Roland Barthes (1981, p. 67) describes the famous Winter Garden photo of his mother as "very old, the corners were blunted from having been pasted in an album, the sepia print had faded, and the picture just managed to show two children standing together." As Edwards and Hart points out, in Barthes' statements, the Winter Garden photograph per se turns into a relic of history ("very old"), the marks of its physical ("the corners were blunted") and chemical deterioration ("the sepia print had faded") tellingly recounts "the fact that it once belonged to a broader visual narrative, pasted in an album, the pages of which were, we can conjecture, repeatedly handled as they were turned, re-enacting its narrative in many different contexts." (2004 p.1)

One of the questions of the interviews was related as to whether the interviewees remembers the last time that they had their photographs printed in paper. None of the interviewees was able to remember the exact time doing that. Yet again, when asked as to whether they feel any difference between digital and printed photograph, all of the interviewees, except two, expressed that they favor the classic film

photography. With its printed form, the first group of the interviewees consider photography something “more living” compared to its digital copy. One reason of this reaction is that, a printed photo is appealed with more sensory modes than a digital copy. Touching, smelling, turning its front and back and feeling that, it is handled from other members of family or other people makes the photo more perceivable. A digital copy is a virtual thing and stays as a code, a potential image until someone finds and opens it. Thus, material presence of photography in its printed form bears relatively different qualities and invokes different feeling and emotions. Printed photos, photo frames, various forms of family albums, and variant uses of these material objects both indicate and constitute cultural production and consumption of photography, which take different forms in the case of its digital counterpart. For instance, printed photos stand in the middle of cultural and familial relations with regard to photo frames on the walls and family albums. While the family albums enhance materiality of photography these family re-enacts the past, which is no doubt irrecoverable, as something tangible. Their resistance against the flow of time, and their chemical deterioration and physical deformations make them more precious. After all, they represent a broken link between present and past. Something to hold on.

2.4 Family Photography as a Social Practice

As discussed in the previous section, photography is a material object which has visual qualities, surrounded with particular practices. By emphasizing on the relation between materiality and culture, the discussion is carried to the area of social and cultural practices. This section is about photography, not only as a visual medium but rather as something people do; as a social practice. It will explore what particular things people do with photographs and the results of those doings.

A practice is a regular way of doing something, positioning certain objects, notions, physical gestures and sentiments. According to Andreas Reckwitz (2002, p.250) not all practices are necessarily social practices. “A practice is social, as it is a “type” of behaving and understanding that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different body/minds.” (Reckwitz 2002, p.250) Thus, in

order for an act to be social practice, it must have a repetitive structure and need to be practiced at different times by different people. I appreciate family photography as a social practice in this regard, and following lines will try to explore these practices in which photos are embedded.

According to the answers from interviewees of this study, various things is done with family photos: developing, duplicating, archiving, categorizing, making albums, framing and hanging on walls, and sending to the other members of family. All of these acts, I count as practice, have significant meanings in the social construction of family and will be discussed relatively. Additionally, “the act of gathering around and looking at family albums” is an important practice that will be covered ahead.

2.4.1 Family Album

It appears that, most of the practices done with photographs is related to the personal family photos. Developing, duplicating or categorizing etc. are acts served for the formation of a family album eventually. Since keeping family album as a social practice converges all these doings (developing, duplicating, archiving, categorizing), I will primarily focus on the characteristics of family albums and on the features that make it a social practice.

The entire first group of the interviewees of this study has a family album. Although they do not update their albums regularly after digital turn, all of them agreed on the necessity of an ideal and fully organized family album. The subjects are clear that this album should contain selective images of decent and regular family occasions. All of the interviewees, except two, agreed that classifications should have done with chronology. Some of the interviewees wrote dates behind their photos. Two of them took the photos of the original photos and keep them on their mobile phone galleries as well. Only one subject, Mr. K, still prints his photos regularly. He makes spiral bound booklets out of family photos, stating that, he is doing this for his son “to be occupied with their own life not with the billboards, popular culture objects or advertisements.” (Interview 17 February 2017)

The content and arrangement of family albums tell us something. From the poses to the occasions where the photographs are taken, albums show similarities no matter

how many different identities families have. Most albums start with black and white photographs. All of them contain wedding photos, baby photos or military photos. From the childhood photos of the subjects to the photos of people who passed away, the organization of the albums that subjects mention also have certain resemblances.

The poses, events or arrangements in these albums are similar because these albums are made with the same incentive and which is “familial togetherness” (Rose, 2005 p.41). In this sense, regardless of how it really is; the family album is a record and an evidence of a happy and unified family. So family photos actually contribute to the construction of an ideal family by framing the certain moments.

An interviewee pointed out how he was collecting the black-and-white family photos of people he never met:

There are black and white photographs sold for fifty cents. You know, the ones people give to bookstores together with second-hand books. I started collecting those in order to make albums recently, but then I thought this is violating the privacy of people I did not know. This bothered me and I left. But whenever I see in front of a bookstore, I take a look at the photographs of people I don't know. I always linger in front of the stands. They are sold for fifty or one hundred pennies. But I do not buy anymore; I just like the story there. I like to try to understand what those photos say. (Mr. U, interview, 14 Jul 2016)

In a similar vein, one of the first group interviewees, Mr. A. has stated that besides his personal photos, he keeps the photos of his friends' grandparents in his album.

I even have photos of my friends' grandparents. I like keeping those old photos. ... Even the people I don't know very well, the people I have never met, they mean something to me. ... I relate them with the pictures of my grandparents. I remember a picture of my grandmother sitting on a divan (sofa) just like my friend's grandmother's pose, wearing not exactly the same clothes but very similar, probably the traditional clothes of that time. So, you see, you find the similarities of that time. It brings the similar times that you went through. And that divan, you don't see those nowadays. And the emotions they evoke ... I have never seen my grandfather sitting with my grandmother. Because he died younger. But I see my friend's grandparents sitting together. I have a feeling that they are allied. (Interview, 15 November 2015)

With family photos, regardless of whether we know their owners, we construct a story; a story that articulates with our understanding of family. Family photo symbolizes “familial togetherness” as in the case of Mr. A, who keeps photos of a friend’s grandparents. By doing this, he completes the missing image of his grandfather who passed away earlier than his grandmother. According to Marianne Hirsch, “photography’s social functions are integrally tied to the ideology of modern family. The family photo both displays the cohesion of the family and is an instrument of its togetherness; it both chronicles family rituals and constitutes a prime objective of those rituals.” (1997 p.7) Another female interviewee Mrs. G has stated that looking at group photos makes her feel stronger:

For example, when I look at an old family photo I see togetherness, especially the ones people standing side-by-side, smiling and putting arms on each other’s shoulders. It gives me courage to look especially at these collective photos. I am getting strength from those people together. For example, everyone used to be somewhere else before one of us call for the shoot. Although people used be scattered around they would easily come together. Then when gathered for photography you would feel the enthusiasm, that comes from being family. It was not just the past itself, it was family ties that mattered. (Interview, 20 January 2017)

Therefore, family photos help to visualize an idealized familial image for both families’ feelings of cohesion and to keep these feelings awake. Although they have not updated their family album recently, most of the interviewees in this study agreed and accepted that the family album is essential for familial relations, and that should be transmitted to future generations.

2.4.2 Narrative/Imagetext

As the interviewees of this study pointed out, another social practice that is strongly related to family photos is “the act of gathering around and looking at family albums”. Undoubtedly, all those practices of developing, collecting, organizing, and categorizing become more relevant when a group of family members come together and “read” those photos. All of the interviewees stated that they come together

occasionally, in order to look at family photos. As stated by Mr. O, his family necessarily come together and visits the albums:

A visit from an acquaintance, especially someone who we have not seen for a long time, is basically a reason for us to take the family album from its shelf. Or while talking about a person whom our children never met, we took the album and introduce that person. But you know we never close that album after checking a single photo. We constantly move on to another photo and to the memories it bring. Looking at the old photos is a ritual but not like a planned, organized one. It is a spontaneous family time. (Mr. O, interview, 3 Nov 2016)

The narrative here becomes as essential as the album itself. It is through the narrative, subjects recall the shared incidents, may re-invent the hierarchical relations among the domestic sphere. The roles are shaped with each look, the traditions and the familial representation is being re-constructed consistently. As Marianne Hirsch (1997, p. 3) pointed out, there is a photograph that Barthes specifically mentions in his prominent text *Camera Lucida*, as he named winter-garden. It is the image of Barthes' mother from the times she was five year old, standing with her brother in the winter garden of their family home. Through the thoughts and feelings that this photo brought, Barthes describes his relationship with his mother and the effect that his mother's death had on him.

Furthermore, "the picture of his mother provokes a moment of self-recognition which, in the reading process, becomes a process of self-recovery, a discovery of self-in-relation." (Hirsch 1997, p. 2) Barthes re-establishes the familial relation with his mother after her death through the reading of her photograph and by doing this "he bridges the gap between his five-year old mother and his own mourning for her." (Hirsch 1997, p. 1)

This is the familial story we can read in Barthes's description- the mother's death and the son's mourning, his anticipation of his own death, the multiple and mutual looks through which mother and son are constituted as subjects in relation to each other. Family is structured by desire and disappointment, love and loss. Photographs, as the

only material traces of an irrecoverable past, derive their power and their important cultural role from their embeddedness in the fundamental rites of family life, the rites Barthes performs in *Camera Lucida* and buttresses with his fundamental belief in photographic reference. (Hirsch 1997, p.5)

Family photos thus live in narrative. Neither they are pure narration nor the visual reflections of family rites. They are the “imagetexts” as Hirsch (1997, p.3) borrows the term from W. J. T. Mitchell, implying that the family photos are visual texts on which one builds a narration in order to sustain the familial relations and construct the individual subject in the family. Thus, family photos not only refer to the subject, by the help of narrative, they contribute to the sentiments of familial togetherness, security, and continuity. To put it another way, photography is a visual document without any doubt, but it does not give the whole story of the scene it visualizes. It only gives the hint, a partial display of a moment and the audience completes the rest.

Photographs offer a frame of social practices through which a consistent and unified family image is constructed and protected; familial relations are re/built. For this, photography functions as an imagetext by which the family's narrative would be revealed.

2.5 Family Photography as a Mnemonic tool

At a banquet given by a nobleman of Thessaly named Scopas, the poet Simonides of Ceos chanted a lyric poem in honour of his host but including a passage in praise of Castor and Pollux. Scopas meanly told the poet that he would only pay him half the sum agreed upon for the panegyric and that he must obtain the balance from the twin gods to whom he had devoted half the poem. A little later, a message was brought in to Simonides that two young men were waiting outside who wished to see him. He rose from the banquet and went out but could find no one. During his absence the roof of the banquet hall fell in, crushing Scopas and all the guests to death beneath the ruins; the corpses were so mangled that the relatives who came to take them away for burial were unable to identify them. But Simonides remembered the places at which they had been sitting at the table and was therefore able to indicate to the relatives, which were their dead. The invisible callers, Castor and Pollux, had handsomely paid for their share

in the panegyric by drawing Simonides away from the banquet just before the crash. (Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 1966 pp. 1-2)

This event recounted originally by Cicero in his *De oratore*, inspired Simonides of Ceos to devise the principles of the art of memory. At the aftermath of the incident, Simonides was able to identify the bodies by remembering the order of seating at the banquet. Since Simonides, orderly arrangement has been regarded essential for good memory. Since then, the method of the mnemonic (of places and images) has been used for the Roman rhetors as well as the modern ones. (Yates 1966, p. 2)

With the invention of photography and later with the invention of the cinematic apparatus, the oral culture of our ancestors has metamorphosed into the visual culture, while the latter absorbed the former to a great extent into. While the significance of the art of rhetoric, and the mnemonics, whose foundations were laid by Simonides of Ceos, are still appreciated in the visual culture, photography came to be an advanced technology of mnemonic, and has been regarded as such since its invention.

Photography as a mnemonic device, records things, as they are, and makes the ephemeral permanent and accessible. So, it becomes an instrument to return a moment or a place in the past. Is there a place that one locates things from the past? Where our memories are stored? How do we link the past with the present? After all, do we all refer to the same past? All these questions in mind, this section will inquire further whether photography can be a “home” for past/memories? And in this regard as to why one relates photography to memory?

The question of how personal memory is formed has been discussed by many fields from neuroscience and psychology to philosophy. The first known theory is Plato’s Wax Tablet metaphor in Plato’s *Theaetetus* (c. 360 BC). According to this theory, mind is assumed to have a block of wax. Whenever an object of perception is wished to be converted into an object of thought, it is imprinted in this block of wax. The mind is stamped with an impression of the object. “We remember and know what has been

imprinted for as long as the impression of it remains.” (Whitehead, 2009 p.16) Plato and many other early classical texts view memory as a solid thing, revealing the preserved information as such. However, modern theories of memory surely disagree with such theories, as it would seem bizarre for a modern mind, and suggest that memory is a complex non-linear process, triggered by different sensory stimulus.

Henri Bergson in his pioneering work *Matter and Memory* (1896) rejected the idea that memory is just an exclusive cognitive process, instead he suggested “an action oriented response of a living subject to stimuli in his or her external environment prohibits the idea of pure memory preceding its materialization in a mental image.” (van Dijck, 2007 p. 30) Bergson argues that the past image of a thing or an event in our mind is not its remembrance. We call past experiences from present through the actions of mind and filter the impressions of the past. Hence, “the present dictates memories of the past: memory always has one foot in the present and another one in the future.” (van Dijck, 2007 p. 30) Memory, for Bergson, is not a storage of past experiences. Instead, the past image is being generated each time it is invited by the present mind. Rather than recalling a memory from where it is saved, the mind is shaping it in a new setting accordingly.

In a similar vein, Jacques Derrida points out that “there is no past independent of the present, as there is no present independent of the past. Memory can never rescue the past through reflexivity, since there is no past in itself to be rescued.” (Santos, 2001 p. 170) For Derrida it is not impossible to retrieve the past, nor the present can be freed from the past. In other words, past, present and future cannot be considered as detached concepts. Thus, the memory, for Derrida, is not an entity that one can grasp its edges. Memory is only accessible within the order of name, text or narrative. That is to say, “memory as an act of being is inscribed in traces, or survivals of a past, which mark every ongoing inscription. It does not have any concrete existence in itself and it is always contiguous to the act of being narrated. Memory is discontinuous and always related to the act of being narrated.” (Santos, 2001 p.175)

Most of the interviewees in this study share the notion that photography is a medium in order for transmitting and preserving memory. During the interviews, they described as to why they are keeping archives of photos as follows: for saving the past, for keeping the record of memories, for visiting the old times and for transmitting familial ties to the upcoming generations. The respond of one of the interviewees, Mr. M, to the question “What photography means to you?” summarizes the gist of the disposition of most of the interviewees with regard to the function of photography:

Photography means memory for me. When we look back, what we see is our past that we recorded to remember. I see memory as a form of resistance. So, it is possible to say that photography is also some kind of resistance. It is a resistance to the flow of time that flies. It is a way of freezing time. (Mr. M, interview, 11 November 2016)

The nature of time, that which flies away, seems to be the one of strongest motivations for keeping archives of photos. During the interviews of this study, most of the subjects confirmed this repeatedly. When asked as to why they keep the records of life, most of them argued or implied that they created and saved those records mostly for their children in order for them to see the significant moments of their past or for themselves to remember their roots.

No doubt, photography as a mnemonic technology, something to remind us our pasts have always been of significance. Nonetheless, in the times where we are overwhelmed, and perhaps suffers from an overabundance of visual stimuli, old photographs, family albums in particular, have become of great value. As Mrs. G states in her interview, such old photographs connect the present with the past:

My husband was interested in photography. He had been taking photographs of everyone. At that time, I could not understand [his motivation]. Oftentimes, I was warning him not to take that many photographs to save some films. To my surprise, those photographs has become of great value. They remind us our youth and what we could and could not. I mean, the past is important. To say from where we came and where we went. One has to know the roots. [...] Photographs are meaningful in this respect. You can have

[some idea of your past]. Our experiences are the biggest capital that we have. When you have photographs, they do not go away. (interview, Mrs. G, 22 November 2015)

2.5.1 Memory and Narrativity

As it was briefly mentioned in the previous section, narrative is where memories are constructed. In other words, memories are bound up with narrativity. We record and keep photo albums, videos, letters and similar objects that we attribute meaning as if they are the keepers of our memories. But in reality, we construct narratives/stories around these objects, and through narratives we construct our identities. Halbwachs' thoughts on collective memory might also help us to understand the relationship between memory, narrative with respect to the construction of identities:

“We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated. But precisely because these memories are repetitions, because they are successively engaged in very different systems of notions, at different periods of our lives, they have lost the form and the appearance they once had.” (Halbwachs, 1992, p.47)

According to the theories of memory, since our way of remembering is not linear, what triggers memory is the story that the photo reminds, rather than the realistic image in front of us. In other words, it is the narrative through which individual memory is built, and in the context of family albums, familial ties have been transmitted. In the case of one of the interviewees, Mr. A, one can see how a certain photography from a distant past rekindles memories:

Recently I started communicating with our distant relatives, with two of them, two sisters... One of them is much younger than me I used to carry her as a baby the other one is on my age. And I asked them if they have any old pictures. So she sent me some old photos. They bring back lots of memories. I was happy to receive them but at the same time I was feeling a bit sad that those days have passed. But I really enjoyed looking those pictures. And I like the way they remind me good old days and we started to tell stories about those days. So all these are good things about photography. I really like looking old photos. (Mr. A, interview, 15 November 2015)

Indeed, the robust materiality of family photograph creates the illusion of a secure space for memory. By revoking emotions of togetherness and nostalgia of the past through the narrative but most importantly by enlivening memory, which is shaped in the present continually, photography holds a sense of individuality and collectivity, of identity and history. As van Dijck argues “humans have a vested interest in surviving, and therefore they invest in creating and preserving imprints, of themselves- their thoughts, appearances, voices, feelings and ideas. They may want these images to be truthful or ideal, realistic or endearing, but most of all they want to be remembered” (van Dijck, 2007 p. 52). Of course, this is only one part of the coin, as humans wants to be remembered, they also seek to remember the past on which to base their identities, among many other things.

2.5.2 Cultural Memory

Just as we cannot consider an individual's identity independent from the socio-cultural milieu in which she lives, an individual memory, in the same way, cannot be located outside the sphere of cultural memory. As Maurice Halbwachs states, “it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories” (1992, p. 38). This is because, according to Halbwachs, our lives, from birth to death, are never solitary. It entails that we are highly bound with social practices and cultural values, enabling and disabling us at the same time. We are not only surrounded with the other individuals, but also enclosed within particular groups (familial, religious, economic, political or social). We belong to these groups, and even though the degree of loyalty and conformity to the groups we belong surely vary, we adapt to their cultural milieu, share their common concerns, and construct our identities in the process. (Whitehead, 2008 p.126)

As the construction and protection of personal memory is possible through the medium of narrative, “memory objects become sites for negotiating the relationship between self and culture at large, between what counts as private and what as public,

and how individuality relates to collectivity.” (van Dijck, 2007 p. 21) In other words, the formation of the individual memory and thus the cultural identity is comprehended and maintained through the bridge that objects of memory build between self and culture.

The connection between individual and collective memory is intrinsic; these two spaces are interlaced. Family photography, in this respect “can operate at this junction between personal memory and social history, between public myth and personal unconscious. Our memory is never fully ‘ours’, nor are the pictures ever unmediated representations of our past.” (Hirsch, 1997 p.13) By taking, saving, sharing and looking at photos, we also construct images of our selves (identity), within the cultural environment we belong. In this vein, cultural values and photographic representation may come into conflict as in the case of Mrs. E. During the interview, she mentions the story of a half-cut photo from her family album, which illustrates this point:

It was a play in elementary school. My teacher gave me role, in which I was going to become a modern Turkish lady. So, they prepared a costume for me to wear. One of the kids was given the role of a modern Turkish gentleman. We went arm in arm in the theater. When my father saw the photographs of the play later on, he was very angry both with the outfit and with that I was arm in arm with the kid. I had cut the kids out of these photos. (Interview, 14 Jul 2016)

As the occurrence portrays, photographic representation of an event may violate a parents’ (religious and/or cultural) values, as it becomes a document of violation. Surely, such a photograph should not go into the family album as such, in order for not conforming with cultural values to whom each member of the group is supposed to adhere.

CHAPTER III

DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHY: CONCERNS AND NEW MODES OF COMMUNICATION

3.1 Introduction

Within the last decade, the material form of photography has been changed and marked a new phase in history of art. By then, we have made a division and called analogue as “old photography” and digital as “new photography”. There are two sides of this evolution. First one is the changing aesthetics of photography. By aesthetics I refer to the visual signs that are used to understand the content and the aim of photography, which Roland Barthes conceptualized as “studium”. This term corresponds to the semiological reading of the photograph; it is about meaning and message; it emerges from the direct relationship between the image and the reality it represents and points. (Barthes 1981) The second fold of this evolution is the newly developed practices, social functions and meanings as a result of the new digital technologies and image-based software applications. This section explores the new forms and changes that the photography underwent, from the perspective of personal photography and its convergence with digital technologies. Specifically, the main question of this chapter is, how and to what extent the traditional representation of family and the social practices of analogue photography has transformed in the transition to digital photography.

Digital photography can be defined as the art and science of producing and manipulating images that are composed of bit maps and pixels. There are many ways to produce digital photographs such as directly using a digital camera, or mobile phone camera, by capturing a frame from a video and by scanning an old analogue photograph. After photograph taken to the digital platform, it can be manipulated, retouched or cropped by using a wide variety of special effects of image processing software and applications. Additionally, it can be shared, sent or post through social media tools. The digital photograph can be printed by using a simple printer or can be sent it to a photo studio to be developed on a particular paper.

It has been over 20 years since digital photography has started to alter printed photography. This means that serious amount of people have developed social practices only through the digital version of photography. The integration of digital photography with mobile phones and the Internet has opened up new possibilities in terms of circulation and accessibility. Photography has become an inseparable part of everyday lives, different from the analogue form; digital photography has penetrated our personal routines. Photos are captured, looked at and shown to other people in a similar manner with the classical form; what differs digital photography from the old practices is that it constructs networks and relationships instantly and ubiquitously. Contrary to the arguments that with new technological developments, photography is on the verge of losing its privileged place in modern culture (Batchen 2000 p.143), it is necessary to state that it has been transforming into another form of seeing and recording. Recent studies have mainly arguing the idea that photography is in transition and “digital and analogue technologies are seen as relational in terms of their practices of use and the meanings of the texts that are produced by their use.” (Keightley and Pickering, 2014. p.4) The division of digital and analogue is possibly not as solid as it appears. Instead, with a closer look, the new practices seem to be more complex modified forms of earlier forms.

The first part of this chapter is about the new form of family photography. Through the analysis of chosen family photographs from digital platforms, I will try to find convergent and distinctive features of old and new photography. As mentioned earlier, although family photography seems to survive in a totally different form; stored in mobile phone galleries or computer hard drives rather than private albums, shared through social media accounts to a more general audience, and used in all parts of everyday life instead of special occasions, there are continuing and evolving practices as well. I shall consider both continuing and changing practices and will try to show the new features of family photography. In the previous chapter, I tried to explain family photography and focused on the visual signs that carry an image to the category of family. In a similar vein, in the first part of this chapter I regard the digital version of photography as a representational form and try to find how those old

features such as poses, gestures, seating arrangement or representation of hierarchy between the family members have transformed.

After exploring the question how families are represented in the new form of photography - what those photos show and what that visual content signifies -, in the second part of this chapter I will focus on how social practices that are linked to photography -such as taking, collecting, sending- have transformed after digital technologies. According to interview results, photography is still a highly appreciated practice. Photography keeps its place as a medium of record of past events. Secondly, new practices have surfaced with the coming and adoption of the recent technologies. It is worth mentioning here that not only the digitalization of photography but also the convergence with other media appears to be the forerunner of the transformation. Inevitably, the future scenarios of photography consider the reign of mobile phones and the Internet, instead of printed images, family albums or traditional analogue cameras. And finally, interviews indicate that there are concerns about the novel performances of digital photography such as storage problems due to the high amounts files, the future of personal memory and the blurred boundaries between privacy and publicity.

3.2 The New Face of Family Photography

Family photographs are significant objects for representing familial unity, history and cultural engagement. As mentioned in the previous parts, through studying visual elements of family photographs –the seating arrangement, poses, gestures, places- one could map the familial roles or the time period of a photograph. After digital technologies, not only the material form of photography has changed, but the content of the images has been influenced as well. Therefore, the above-mentioned visual signs have transformed accordingly. Novel forms of representation developed; thus traditional style of family photography is modified. As mentioned in the earlier sections, this change has started when photography moved from studio to indoors, after personal photo-cameras become widespread. The neatly arranged studio photographs decreased in number and the casual, homemade photos become more prominent.



Figure 3.1. Nuclear Family with Birthday Girl (2017)

Photography once again is transforming with the development of digital technologies from paper to monitors. Digital photographs are virtual forms and stay as codes until the time they are looked at. And this virtuality makes photography more spontaneous and fluid. Besides, convergence of camera with phone speeded the transformation process. The hybrid devices that we virtually wear, that people carry in their pockets and use it in every parts of everyday lives have changed photography both in form and function. In analogue times, photography was a form of representation having certain conventions. Especially after merging digital technologies, it became a more layered and complex form of representation. In this part of the study, the changing face of the photographs will be evaluated. New -digital- photographs in the category of family will be evaluated and the question of how they represent family will be explored. Family photograph is the most commonly used category of analogue photography. Although it is difficult to draw the borders of family photography in digital version, I will try to focus on the novel “traditions” after digital technologies and the new forms of visual signs that are bound to classical family photographs.



Figure 3.2. Family with Three Children (2018)

As photography moved from studio to houses and the use of personal cameras increased rapidly, studio photography also updated itself to a new style. Although the traditional studio photographs have become outdated they did not come to an end. They modified themselves with broader names such as professional photography, concept photography or outdoor photography. The usage of family photographs has spread to a much wider spectrum with themes like wedding, birth, baby shower, anniversary, birthday, or graduation. (Figure 3.1)

Contemporary candid photography has entered to private realms of families, — starting from the invention of personal cameras and as mentioned earlier—and changed the content of images. The first thing that stands out in the new photographs is the absence of a regular seating arrangement. The families in the photographs are posing in more casual forms rather than a certain hierarchy. (Figure 3.2) The father or mother is not in the center of the photograph; the children are not lined up with the order of age or height. In old photographs, one of the family elders could join the image, while in the new situation the nuclear families appear more. (Figure 3.3)



Figure 3.3. Family with Grandmother

There are photographs in which one of the family members hugs all of the remaining others. In most cases it is the father, most probably representing the protection of family. (Figure 3.4) Different from the classical family photographs, in the new form, children are in the center, in many cases children could be the main reason of having photographs, because of the events such as birthdays or graduations. In traditional studio photography, the familial tie is expressed by a hand put on the shoulder while in the new form it is represented by more firmly hugs and closer bodies. The affiliations of kin are performed through different poses ranging from fathers carrying kids on their shoulders to all family members jumping together. We can find nursing mothers, half naked babies, kissing parents in photographs; subjects are posing in the natural setting as untouched as possible. Instead of arranged hairstyles of old studio photographs, subjects purposely stay closer to the daily style of their hair and clothes. Looking at the camera is not a compulsory component of new family snaps anymore;



Figure 3.4. Nuclear Family with a Newborn (2019)

there are many examples in which children are not even aware of the camera, playing in their natural atmosphere.

Broadly speaking, the old version of studio photography is static while the new version is dramatic. Family members wearing same clothes, holding balloons, trekking among trees, sitting on the ground or walking on the seaside with fully smiling, surprised or happy faces convey the stories behind the images with bolder visual signs. Before digital era, photographic image is merely regarded as the record of the facts. The family was in their most formal attitudes, performing a pose through which they want to be remembered in the future. Today, as we enter the era in which digital photography

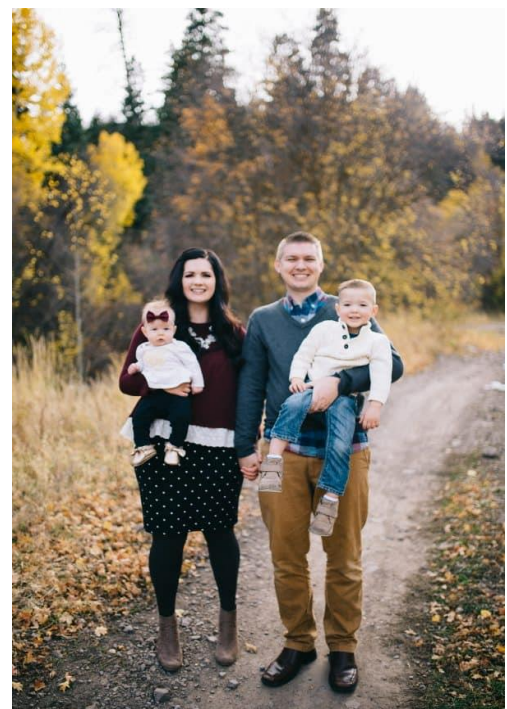


Figure 3.5. Family in the Forest (2017)



Figure 3.6. Mother and Daughters in the Picnic (2019)

has become prominent, as a result of the ready manipulation tools and the layered form of digital photography family photography is not regarded as a record only. It has become a platform in which families –with the assistance of photographer– create their happy moments and then record those. The happy image of families is first produced, like a *mise-en-scene*, sometimes with unusual objects, poses and costumes; in places where in fact families are not living in.

The content and aesthetic features of digital photographs that are produced at “home” have also transformed in the shift from analogue to digital photography. Nature of these new digital versions of “home made” photographs is “casual” like the ones that are shot by analogue cameras. Nonetheless, the difference is the spontaneity of digital photographs. The content of digital photographs is shaped faster than analogue photographs because the digital image becomes immediately

transformable, transmissible and taggable in real time. Studies of personal photography, digital photography and camera-phone photography show that camera-phone photography is a proliferating version of snapshot photography. (Van House 2011)



Figure 3.7. Mother and Children Playing (2019)

Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8 are similar images of two different mothers with their children. The photographs are very different from the old analogue versions in which a mother sitting quietly and cradling the child. Certainly, mothers or fathers were playing with their children before digital technologies can record this. It is not the widespread consuming of digital photographs that changed familial role of parents. Yet, the opportunity of recording everyday life of a family transforms the content of that possible record. The double-sided relationship between the medium and its content is a broader subject, which exceeds the borders of this study. However, it is



Figure 3.8. Mother and Children Playing (2019)

worth to mention that the speed and ease of digital photography open up the possibility of capturing the tiniest moments of everyday lives. Eventually, digital imaging tools have influenced the general aesthetics of family photography.

Analogue photography and digital photography have partly different technical and spectacular (viewing) dynamics. Therefore, the content, aesthetics and representational practices of the two versions differ from one another, to some extent. This is to say that, while the technique is changed, the visual signs of family photography that carry familial representations only evolved rather than eliminated by the technological change.

3.3 From Family Albums to Computer Folders

The over-abundant character of digital photography is one of the main issues raised by the subjects of the first group interviewees. Except one interviewee, all of the subjects complained about the impossibility of categorization, organization, archiving and most importantly storage of the photos. Only, two of them were able to make

an organized folder system for their personal photo archives, yet one subject is still not comfortable about the date-based classification of these folders. Rather, he states, a classification according to names, occasions and locations would be better for finding the exact photo whenever needed. (Mr. A, interview, 15 November 2015) But most of the subjects think that this is an inextricable situation, and this is caused by the nature of digital photography.

Let's say I go on a trip from here to Trabzon. Imagine that I take pictures on the way. Imagine how difficult is to store those photos. Let's just not print them, Let me save in digital formats. For example, I want to find the picture I took in Samsun. How do I find it? I will watch that series from Istanbul to Samsun so that I can find that picture. That picture in Samsun is necessary for me, but I have taken a pile of unnecessary pictures until Samsun. (Mr. O, interview, 3 Nov 2016)

There is only one interviewee, who still gets regular prints of his family photos in order to keep them organized. But interestingly, these prints are not in classical postcard size, in fact he designs booklets out of his personal photos, putting four or five of them in an A4 sized layouts, prints them and merges the pages with a spiral binding. These photos seem to be disorganized as well; photos of different events are put in the same page. The only common feature of the photos in booklets is that, they all belong to the same year. On the other hand, there were images taken from newspapers, which seem to be irrelevant from the whole concept of the booklet. These images, as Mr. K explained, “belong to a politician who is a close family member.” (Interview, 17 February 2017) Although this interviewee has found a way to semi-classify and store the digital personal photos, he was not comfortable with the digitization process of family photos. He is maintaining all these practices of classification in order to conduct the uncontrolled nature of digital photography, as he argues. Since he does not trust the digital technologies, he secures the memories of his family by turning the photos into a concrete object. (Mr. K, interview, 17 February 2017)

Another interviewee, Mrs. E, counts her Instagram and Facebook accounts as archives of personal photos. After explaining how the family album is significant for

herself, her parents and relatives, she slightly passed to the difficulties that digital photography has created. Although she thinks that, the photos shared in social media accounts are providing the opportunity of archiving and organizing them, she still regards printing and making albums as the main practice of keeping memories.

It bothers me that digital photos are piling and scattered there, staying in the digital format. Because it does not look like a photo to me, when it is not printed. And sometimes we erase photos. To make room in our mobile phones and computers, we delete many photos. Even though there are numerous photos of the same day, I do not like deleting photos. But then I cannot find the photo I am looking for. I have photos that are transferred to the hard drive. For example, our engagement photographs have remained in digital format. I did not have time for selecting and printing those. I sometimes just open the hard drive when needed and take a few. This bothers me a lot. (Mrs. E, interview, 14 Jul 2016)

Subjects' attitude towards digital photography is either defensive or critical. They are defensive as if they are judged for not performing old ways of keeping photos; they feel guilty for not maintaining a systematic family album. Since the digital photos are difficult to handle, my first group interviewees feel obliged and maybe anxious because of the gigabytes of data to be organized. They are critical because the new forms of everyday practices, and their convergence with the technologies of Internet and mobile phone seem to be exceeding the abilities of human beings. Most of the subjects have articulated this disquiet with the developing technologies, a global transformation of networks, technologies and practices.

Thus, in the end only one interviewee from the first group is totally finds digital photography convenient, and sustainable. Mr. C keeps logs and folders of his family photos. And he thinks that the printing process have had its day already. He articulates this change in medium from analogue to digital as a part of continuous transformations in digital technologies.

It was a little uncomfortable that these digitals were taking the place of old photography because we attribute a meaning to the photo album. It is nostalgic. But now I look more practical. You know, it is desirable to keep an object from the past, to carry things from the past, but I am convinced that it

is more important to construct the future. ... Change is an inevitable phenomenon; we must learn how to adapt to it. So, when it comes to digital photography, we need to learn using it rather than mourn the old one. (Interview, 8 Sept 2016)

My first group interviewees, whose ages are over 40 years, mostly regard the old, namely material mode of photography as the main form. And they prefer to have limited number of photos, in order to manage the uncontrolled nature of digital photography. They show a resistance, towards the digitization of photography, not that they do not use the new technologies but because they see the digital form of photography as an intermediary mode, which should have turn into a material print. The photo in the mobile phone gallery or on computer screen is a middle form, which will be transformed into a material medium. The interviewees regard the digital photo as an ongoing, incomplete duty, because they consider the actual photograph as an organized, concrete album. And, for the subjects of this study, this incomplete task is difficult to accomplish due to the high amounts of photograph archives.

On the other hand, as mentioned in the first section, photography is defined by the classical theories and by the first group of interviewees of this study, primarily as a material object surrounded by social practices. The discomfort that my interviewees have is also a result of the difficulty of handling with a virtual object and eventually comparing it with the actual form. Once again, I would like to underline the fact that the subjects of the study are using digital technologies and the new forms of practices. Besides, they have an idealized view of photographic practices, which is highly bounded with its materiality. Therefore, they regard the digital form of photography as a potential object.

Furthermore, materiality brings the practice of looking together, sending, archiving, making albums and keeping the photos organized. Transformation within “the nature of the photographic object and institutional practices that surround it means that translation from the material to the digital becomes a cultural, rather than simply a technological process.” (Sassoon 2004, p. 198) Here, instead of setting the base of my arguments on the loss of material existence and disappearing practices around it,

I would like to examine what has changed in the transition from analogue to digital. I will discuss the extent to which the social practices mentioned above are equivalent in the new forms of photography.

The second group of interviewed subjects whose ages are between 15-18 years, adopt a dissimilar attitude than the first group, in terms of the way that they attribute meaning to the practices of photography. They did not have a critical or defensive approach because they do not regard photography as a private realm of doings and meanings. Some of them have family albums in printed forms, created especially by their mothers and include the photos from special occasions like graduation ceremonies or familial celebrations.

Rather than being disturbed by the fact that photo galleries are full or having to deal with too many photographs, these young people perceive the over-abundance as a technical problem. They do not feel bothered because of the high amounts of gigabytes. Although some use tools such as hard drives to store their photos and documents, it seems that some of them do not need such storage and accept that the data loss is part of the process. Actually, they regularly delete photos, from their galleries or Instagram accounts. Deleting seems to be as easy as taking photos.

Joanne Garde-Hansen in UK conducts a similar study, through 94 questionnaires and five focus groups in 2009-10, aiming to provide a framework for thinking through the practices of memory and forgetting by young people. According to the results of this study, “they effectively brand their identities through online self-portraiture. Aware of how they want to see themselves and how they want others to see them, the teenagers recognized their own development as young people, the changeability of their everyday lives and the constant need to replace images in light of new haircuts, clothes, pets, activities, friendships and places.” (Garde-Hansen, 2013, p. 112) Obviously, this young group does not have an idealized practice of photography; instead they regard it as a continuing process. As Mr. T states,

I think it is a good that I have so many photographs. That I have so many friends and am quite active in social life, contributes to the number of photography. I share the ones that I attach importance, and I am deleting or transfer the rest whenever I find them. Sometimes, when the storage of my phone is low, I am transferring them to my computer or an external disk. (interview, 9 Jan 2018)

For both interview groups, photography is a tool for identity construction, either with the old practices of sociality or with the new modes of communication; recording, sharing and commenting. Networked digital technologies by linking personal utilization to public realm and open up the discussion of the connection between self and world, which will be the subject of next section.

3.4 Publicity and Privacy: Novel Performances and Concerns

Analogue photography and digital photography have partly different narrative and spectacular (viewing) dynamics. Therefore, the consumption practices of the two kind differ from one another, to some extent. During the interviews, when interviewees talk about their disposition towards “sharing” their photos, oftentimes the recent concerns are voiced of the impact of technological change over socio-cultural sphere, fueled by data scandals of the massive social media networks. Much of the remarks made by the interviews on the subject involves the place of social media vis-à-vis our daily lives and the blurred boundaries of the private and the public. The technical/technological change has been reproducing the notions of the private and the public. As posited in the media convergence theory, various communication technique and media reshape the communicative environment, in which the “users” do not consume but also produces contents, hence called as “prosumers.” Digital photography is by all means a significant actor in this stage.

Sharing personal photos via social media, e-mail or instant messaging services are among the most prevailing uses of digital photography. All of the interviewees, except two, have stated that they are sharing their photos in online platforms. Instagram appears to be the most popular application among teenagers, followed by WhatsApp, Facebook and Snapchat. The second group of the interviewees, comprised of teenagers, stated that they almost never make use of e-mail services

for sending and receiving photographs. When they wish to share their photos privately, WhatsApp is the platform that they prefer. The majority of young male and female respondents consider that Instagram is a place for artistic photos, for sharing memorable occasions. Oftentimes Instagram shares are supposed to be lasting and accompanied with literary/aphorismic texts in the descriptions.

The first group of the interviewees, comprised of the adults, on the other hand, mostly prefers WhatsApp, for sharing photos, and in the private/family groups in most cases. Only three of the interviewees stated that they make use of the social media (Instagram and Facebook), but also expressed that they are using social media in a controlled way. For instance, they prefer not to share their own portraits, if not necessary. Mrs. E has expressed that

[In most cases], I do not share my photos much. But if I participate in a conference, and if I my photo taken with the other people; I will share it. This is because; in this case it is an announcement, sharing information in a way. I would share such photos, but not many personal photos.

The almost invisible categorization of photos as shareable and non-shareable is suggested by most of the other interviewees. Non-shareable photos, particularly for the interviewees above 40 years old, are the ones where they appear doing nothing, be it their bodies, faces, clothes or postures. Besides, sharing food photos and photos that presents the interior of the houses fall into the category of non-shareable photos for this group of the interviewees. For a photo to be shareable, it must document an activity, an event or something of the kind. In this regard, sharing photos of a person who is only standing and posing for the camera are exemplary of the non-shareable photos. The main characteristics of the non-shareable photos are exhibitionism and pretentiousness. Mr. U, a story-teller by profession, stated that

The photos of the people who are telling stories make me excited. I remember that even before I started the profession of storytelling, I observed such photos at length. [It made me excited] to see that in these photos people appear to have had gotten into the mood of stories. Later when my friends and wife took my photos when I was storytelling, and I tried to see the same in these photos, the moment of excitement during storytelling. If I am

supposed to share a photo of myself, this can be a photo of the moment that I am telling stories, which portrays the excitement in the faces of the audience and my act. This can be shareable, because there is an event to be shared at that moment.

The image of Mr. U is still there but he becomes less visible in the composition and in the event. Now that he has become part of an occasion, he is no longer concerned as to whether or not it is shareable. One interesting point appears to be that, people who are not comfortable with sharing certain images of themselves online, would not mind putting the same photos in family albums. There are photos in family albums showing dinner tables, barbecues and picnics. There are even photographs of people posing while eating and smoking in their family albums. Photographs in which people appearing as posing inside of a house, in the living room, are not uncommon. Thus, the cause for concern here is not as to whether or not these moments are photographable, but rather according to which criteria they are to be shared with the other people. Certainly, concerns with regard to sharing practices involve the questions of privacy. However, this becomes most visible not in the case of analogue photography much, but rather when a personal photography is to be shared or displayed in the online platforms.

Like the first group of the respondents, the second, young respondents of the interviews appear to have heuristic categories of sharable non-sharable photography. Different from the first group, the ranking of a photograph is based on its aesthetic (subjective) features. They stated that oftentimes they share photos depicting the mundane, ordinary occurrences of their daily lives. What makes a certain photo artistic/aesthetic is sometimes its colors, angle or the creativity of the owner. The content of a photograph shared might be uninteresting for the public or for the most, it would be sufficient that it means something for the person who shares it. They make use of filters, photo-manipulation tools and collage making applications in order to make a certain photograph (more) artistic/aesthetic. If a photograph is not worth to share in Instagram as a *post*, then it is shared a *story* in Instagram or in the other platforms. Mrs. Y explicated this phenomenon in her interview as follows:

Not everything can be shared in Instagram. If it is a good photography and you would like it to be lasting, you post it in Instagram. And also if you upload photos each and every day, people can find your profile boring. You share causal and funny moments in the stories, and you can share nicer and more aesthetic photographs as post, with a nice sentence below.

The first and the second group of the interviewees appear to show different disposition toward the private-public distinction. The boundaries between private and public are more blurred among teenagers. They prefer to share spontaneous, aesthetic, causal, uninteresting, natural, creative, unconstrained, or uncommon photos without considering the common concerns about privacy. Some of them prefer to lock their accounts. However, they stated that the reason is behind this is not the privacy concerns but as an attempt to keep away the “stalker” accounts. (Stalking involves activities that someone secretly tracks a certain people to obtain information on the content that he or she openly shares or how often he or she stays active in the given platform.) Some of the young respondents also stated that they do not want their profiles to be seen by family members. They either use a protected account or block their family members and keep their posts secret from their families. They appear to be concerned with potential judgment of their families for the content that they share. The Internet and the social media in this regard represent a space of freedom, a space, which is controlled by none other than themselves.

While the first group of the interviewees is not comfortable about the circulation of their photography online, for young people, privacy entails sharing freely, in their own space, with their own rules and criteria, away and free from their families or any other authority. For the first group, sharing photos online is starkly different activity than showing family albums to acquaintances in the living room. It raises some concerns and challenges accordingly. This group of the interviewees expressed that the main problem with sharing photography online is that the moment a photograph is shared online, it gets out of control, in particular with regard to the ownership and distribution. Mr. M shared an incident after which a photo of himself he never liked was shared constantly;

For a news report, my friends gave one of my photographs that I never liked. It had gotten into circulation. Now, whenever one of my writings is published somewhere, or a news is to appear somewhere about the literary magazine we publish, the news editors somehow reach this photograph of mine and make use of it. I have a feeling that this particular photograph of mine will be used forever. In the past, we cut the photographs that we did not like. Everyone had pictures that are cut in halves. Or, for instance, there is someone in the photo that we are not in touch anymore; we would cut him or her out from the photograph. Now, in the case of the digital photography, on the one hand it is extremely easy to remove [someone from a certain photograph], on the other hand, they are not in your control. (Mr. M, interview, 11 November 2016)

For Mr. M, as for the most of the first group of the interviewees, there is another concern raised by digital photography. Once a photo is being shared and gets into the circulation, there is no way to undo this act. Deleting the original in most cases is far from the ultimate solution. Even in the cases of the deleted content to which no one has viewed, will be retained in the servers at least for a certain period of time for legal purposes. Besides, the users can hardly control the data they publish on the Internet. None of the frequently used online platforms offers intuitive and smart control mechanism for certain reasons.

Remarkably, when talking about privacy concerns, the interviewees also expressed naivety of their own ideas, to worry about the lack of control of dissemination of their own content/photographs in the times we are all surrounded and surveilled by cameras all the time. (Mr. M, 11 Nov 2016, Mr.C, 8 Sept 2016) Thus, the concerns of the interviewees on the matter of the privacy are not solely about the dissemination of images and the lack of control mechanisms. Reading between the lines and the examples told, there appears to be a certain uneasiness, among the first group of the interviewees, that is brought about by technical/technological change, which has dramatically transformed socio-cultural environment, communicative practices and interpersonal relationships. It seems that, as Zygmunt Bauman has expressed, we are “living in an age of uncertainty” to which he calls, “liquid times.” (Bauman, Lyon 2013)

Much of the uncertainty of the times is brought about the computerization (digitalization), which is more and more invading every aspect of our daily lives. In

the writings of Jürgen Habermas, this phenomenon is expressed as the colonization of the life-world by the systems-world, which entail the subordination of practical rationality by the technical rationality. In parallel to the invasion of technology into our private lives, the intensity of the public concern in this regard grows. More and more, people appear to be taking privacy concerns seriously. The recent incidents such as the massive Facebook-Cambridge Analytica data privacy scandal make people aware of the certain ramifications of technology. Interestingly enough, 10 years ago, anyone who made such comments would easily be labeled as paranoiac. However, today considerable amount of people believe that we are living in an Orwellian society and surveilled constantly.

As security concerns, in particular in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, have led to a more widespread invasion of privacy in every sphere of daily life to the extent that, as David Brooks remarked, “people have lost even the language of privacy, and an understanding of why privacy is important” (Brooks, 2015, “The Lost Language of Privacy”). Brooks asserts that privacy is a key concept with regard to individuality, because each individuals needs to have a private space within which “ half-formed thoughts and delicate emotions can grow and evolve, without being exposed to the harsh glare of public judgment.” In this private space, individuals can be freely “develop ideas and convictions away from the pressure to conform. There has to be a spot where you are only yourself and can define yourself.” Brooks suggests that technology have the potential to make society “more open and transparent, but less humane and trusting.”

From a sociological perspective, public-private, publicity-privacy, personal-professional distinctions have also undergone various reconceptualizations. In all variations, the intricate relationships of these notions with the formations of identities are highlighted. Zygmunt Bauman (2013) suggested that networks have replaced communities, to some extent. Comparing the two universes, Bauman states that “If community has you, you belong there! You have your network. Your network belongs to you, that is reversal of the situation.” For Bauman, contemporary people are dreaming of publicity rather than privacy. Identities are formed around the

principle of “I am seen therefore I am.” This is because, according to Bauman, computerization of the world has spoken to the fear of people being alone, not being accepted or recognized. Privacy has in the end lost its attractive for these very reasons. Identity as a task and performance has become “a war for recognition.” (Bauman calls for reflexive understanding of technology and the far-reaching consequences that drives socio-cultural changes.)

Digitalization of (personal) photography and the new practices around it, thus, stands at the crossroads between the formation of identities (and identification of selves through self-expression, personal memory, representation, and communication) and transformation of networks, which are owned by people (democratically) but by the corporations, in the post-modern world.

As photography, due to its capacity for recording and documenting what is real, is distinctive from the other sharing practices, it also allows, and perhaps reinforces, new modes of publicity, making people “seen” with almost no effort and ubiquitously. In this new regime of socio-cultural environment, the terms such as the Orwellian or panopticon society falls short explaining the picture. The new social and cultural practices around technology in general, and photography in particular, involve not (only) a panoptic structure, but rather synoptic one. Unlike panoptic structure, where the few watches the many, synopticon, as the reversal of this structure, the many watches the few. While privacy is less and less of a concern, publicity is not an imperative, but much sought after by the people (Öğün, 2018). In the same vein, Bauman wrote in his *Liquid Surveillance* that

In the liquid modern society of consumers ... everything moves from enforcement to temptation and seduction, from normative regulation to PR, from policing to the arousal of desire; and everything shifts the principal role in achieving the intended and welcome results from the bosses to the subordinates, from supervisors to the supervised, from surveyors to the surveyed; in short, from the managers to the managed. (2013, p. 53)

3.5 Memory in The Digital Age

The relationship between memory and personal photography is another subject affected in the shift from analogue to digital photography. As I mentioned in the previous sections, the interviewees interpreted this relationship of memory with photography as a positive correlation. They regard personal photos and personal family albums as the transmitter of their memories. But when it comes to recent practices, besides talking about the everyday usage of digital photography, the subjects of first group preferred to mention how the new forms of visual communication negatively influence memory.

As for the younger group I interviewed, they do not have any experience other than digital photography and since they intensely use all the communication tools brought by technological developments, they do not primarily regard photography as a record for the past. The first and foremost objective for this second group seems to be representation rather than archiving. The motive behind taking photographs is driven by showing and sharing. *“Showing a nice place”, “showing a trip to a nice place”, “picturing the moments spent with friends”, “sharing a nice outfit, shoe, book or haircut”, and “sharing a newly purchased item”* are the reasons for taking photographs, as the young interviewees have stated.

In his story *On Exactitude in Science* (1998), Borges mentions a map, which is so detailed and so perfectly drawn that it finally overshadows the region it represents and surpasses it. (Lister, 2013 p. 36) Baudrillard (1998) “used this metaphor to envisage a stage in the practices and technologies of signification whereby representation finally obscures the real.” (Lister, 2013 p. 36) Similarly, as the attitudes of interviewees have revealed, the increase in the number of photos, the easy access or the mobility of images does not necessarily intensify remembering. Although it is possible to record each and every detail of an event, and the number of images taken is much higher, subjects are not sure about the value of a photo in terms of familial memory. For the first group interviewees, whose ages are over 40 years, the new form of photography does not fully provide a sense of holding memory. Rather, by recording every detail of human action, digital technologies

would cause missing the essential moments. According to Mr. M, the reason behind this possible loss is the non-selective character of digital photography:

During my studies, I had a camera and I was continuously taking photographs. One of my close friends passed away. In the aftermath of his death, I shuffled through my photo album. To my surprise, I realized that we had had no picture together. And I got saddened. Nowadays, there is a similar situation in the case of digital [photography]. We take photos of everything without thinking, but later on, when we look back, we have not recorded some valuable things and moments. Our memories are inadequate. In the case of [analog] photography, we were more careful in this respect. For instance, parents, when their children were born, have their children's photo taken quite a few. They [the children] would have so many photos with different poses. I have three children. I have almost no photos of my third child. Even though the opportunities and means are abundant, I have so little recollection of his infancy in this respect. (Mr. M, interview, 11 November 2016)

According to first group of interviewees, the over-abundance of photos, the easy access to both taking and deleting images, the technological illiteracy and the fact that photograph is no longer a material object are the main causes behind the broken connection between memory and photography. And most of them argue that we should find a way to balance and keep this relationship alive. Considering this, it seems that, instead of modifying the old meanings they attribute to the social practices around photography, subjects prefer to reduce people's interaction with it. Since digital photography is, by nature, outrageous and excessive, it is human beings who should have the control over it.

A female interviewee calls the situation as "visual attack" and believes that it makes human beings amnesic. She states, "The old had said that reading the writings of gravestones makes you forgetful person; there is such a belief. In the same vein, this visual attack that we are going through are making us forgetful. We are missing things. In order to focus more, we need to see less often." In a similar vein, Mr K. focuses on the instantaneity of digital photography and claims that, "while we concern to take series of pictures of the same event, we do not concentrate the event itself. We do not grasp the details of that moment because we will surely have chance to look back to that photo. So we are recording the image, while we fail to perceive

the moment.” One of the most important features of digital photography that distinguishes it from analogue is that we see the image taken, instantly. As Mrs. B states, “we used to shoot the things that were precious, or the things that were photographed would become precious. Now everything is being photographed at any moment. We take photos and we delete immediately. You see dozens in a row. It is easy to shoot, technically it is easy to keep, but it's equally easy to delete and lose.” (Interview, 16 September 2017)

Except for two people, all of the interviewees (both young and adults) are using smart mobile phones. They send and receive images, share interesting or significant moments of their lives, friends and family. Instagram is the most popular platform among younger subjects. But for older group Whatsapp seems to be the common ground for all activities. So, it seems that although adults think that the photography's mission of conveying memories has perished, it is still valid as a communicative tool for them as well.

As Susan Sontag argues, photography is becoming a process of circulation and display, rather than being a record or archive. (2004, p.26) The transformation that photography went through has been shifting many other practices accordingly. In fact, digital photography is a sequence of a broader transformations, “in which the self becomes the center of a virtual universe made up of informational and spatial flows; individuals articulate their identity as social beings not only by taking and storing photographs to document their lives, but by participating in communal photographic exchanges that mark their identity as interactive producers and consumers of culture.” (van Dijck, 2008, p.62)

One of the main motives of taking photos was to freeze the passing moment. Now, it is being replaced by the act of sharing the moment. Therefore, personal photography seems to be no longer functions as a transmitter of memory, instead it is replaced by communicative uses such as sharing, showing or capturing. As a virtual presence, digital photography stands outside the secured realm of family narrative where

parents are in charge of constructing a consistent identity. (Garde-Hansen, 2013 p. 112) Each member of the family is now in charge of its own identity and network.

Rather than the personal album or shoebox of memories in the dusty cupboard, the mobile “archive” suggests that even in relation to their own personal memories the individual now performs the role of a public librarian or trained archivist, ordering and maintaining documents relating to the past with its concomitant status, authority and location within the public realm of the lifeworld. (Garde-Hansen, 2013 p. 112)

“Friendship photography” is a concept offered by Joanne Garden-Hansen (2013), intending the replacement of ordered family albums and their private spheres by online public domains, shaped by networks of friends. For Hansen, “It is the younger generation who will negotiate the transition between the narrative-driven analogue family album and the wearable, mobile friendship album as their own lives develop within both platforms.” (Garde-Hansen, 2013 p. 109) Not surprisingly, during the interviews, the teenagers are prone to talking about the number of images that are stored in their mobile phone galleries or Instagram accounts. Large amounts of photos, for them, are indicators of too many friends and interactions. Photography has turned into a performance for my young interviewees; with the intention of incorporating with a group, constructing their identities accordingly and represent the everyday acts of a mundane life. “Friendship photography, then, expands and contracts the intimacy of the family well beyond personal and collective memory and remembering. It seeks to make an emotional connection in the present, establish a social tie, perform intimacy and joint memory as simultaneously offline and online.” (Garde-Hansen, 2013 p. 117)

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I mainly attempted to inquire into what happened to family photography when a shift from analogue to digital photography occurred. As most of the objects that we use on daily basis, common definitions of photography appear to lack any depth. As Hegel succinctly expressed “the familiar is not necessarily the known.” This is more or less true for any cultural phenomenon. To this end, I explored the definitions of photography and briefly touched upon theoretical discussion around the notion of photography. First and foremost, a photograph is a tool that opens the glazed door of memory but at the same time it has some restrictions. As Susan Sontag warned bluntly that constantly recording and documenting life through photography, as if mimicking the gaze of a tourist, may actually replace the experience itself. To some extent, it is an intervention against the flow of life. (Sontag, 2005) Nevertheless, a small detail in a certain photograph could take one to their distant past childhood. As in Roland Barthes case, a sepia photograph may evoke memories doomed to be forgotten. One can surely reconstruct the past through photography. From these discussions, we learn that photography is not just a technology that helps us to record our experiences. There are also a vast multitude of intentions and purposes in taking photos. More than anything, photography should be regarded as a social practice, a “doing” that which have social and cultural effects.

This study has shown that, family photography is meaningful for understanding the role of photography as a social practice. Family photography, specifically family albums are both material objects and social objects, functioning as the transmitter of familial networks, relations, rituals and memory. It perfectly constructs the ideal picture of a family; it systematically classifies the past events and highlights the parts that family members attribute significance. In this sense, family photos are illustrative examples for both understanding the essence of photography and associated practices such as “getting them developed, sorting them out, making

albums, putting them in frames, sending them to other family members, making sure they were stored safely.” (Rose, 2010 p.10)

The sixteen interviews conducted in order to explore the transition from analogue to digital photography, and the data gathered from these interviews serve as the basis for this dissertation. The interviewees are selected and categorized according to their age groups. First group of interviewees are selected among those people aged above 40 to be sure that they practiced both analogue and digital photography and witnessed the transition to the latter. The second group consists of young people aged between 15-18. The second group of participants was born into a world where digital technologies are ubiquitous and made many old technologies such as analogue photography obsolete or uncommon. Not many of the younger generation have any individual experience of analogue photography. In most cases, their understanding of photography is formed only through the practices of digital photography and mobile phone technologies.

The interviews have opened up many discussions and conclusions. The results of the study can be examined in three categories. First of all, the transition from digital to analogue photography is still an ongoing process. The division between digital and analogue photography is possibly not as sharp as it appears. Instead, with a closer look, practices associated with photography seem to be more complex but at the same time they are modified versions of earlier forms. This is to say that, while the technique is altered, materiality, culturality and sociality of photography only evolved rather than eliminated by the technological change. Photography still keeps its place as a medium of record of past events. From the interviewees we may conclude that photography is still highly appreciated practice. Secondly, new practices have arisen with the coming and adoption of the recent technologies. It is worth noting here that not only the digitalization of photography but also the convergence with other media appears to be the forerunner of the transformation. Inevitably, the future scenarios of photography consider the reign of mobile phones and the Internet, instead of printed images, family albums or traditional analogue cameras. And finally, interviews indicate that there are concerns about the novel performances of digital

photography. Such concerns are linked with the new forms of socialites and practices related to digital photography.

Photography has always been a representative tool for families. There seem to be a tendency that considers the digitization will bring about a fall in importance for family photography and it is most likely to lose its privileged place. It is true that photography comes out of the secured space of the family. Previously it was only used in familial ceremonies, events and meetings, since it was not mobile, low-cost or easy to use. One can hardly declare the death of family photography. Rather, the boundaries of personal uses of photography have widened and the photo camera has extricated itself beyond familial usage. The findings of this study have shown that, in ceremonial activities such as birth of a new baby, weddings or graduations, photography has virtually become indispensable. Therefore, one can claim that family photography is still present and significant, yet in the era of Instagram and an overabundance of photographs, family photography has become relatively less visible.

The results of this study indicate that the fact that family photography is less visible is because of the absence of a classified, organized family album in the digital era. Because family albums are concrete objects, they give the sense that; one is in the possession of something unique, intimate, and transferable to the future generations. The interviews of this study indicate that photos scattered on computers, mobile phones and social media accounts hardly appeal to the sense of an idealized image of a complete family. All the interviewees, except one, stated the difficulty, if not impossibility, of categorization, organization, archiving and most importantly storage of their photographs, because of the large file sizes.

What I have argued so far is that the themes of family photos have been preserved (birth, wedding, graduation) yet the form of storing them has altered. It appears to be that social media accounts function in a way that people organize their photos, for these applications extract metadata of photos, such as location and date, and allows to features such as tagging, commenting and mentioning, hence, linking

photos to other people's accounts. Thus, the results of this study is corroborative of Rose's assertion that "digital means of making, displaying and circulating photographs have not altered family photography, but rather intensified it." (2014, p. 95) Rose suggests, the storage, organization and sharing of photos is much easier with digital technologies, families can save both significant and insignificant moments in which the family members seem in more natural poses. (2014, p. 99) Secondly, the themes that highlight important dates and finally circulation of the photos among family members are continuing practices of family photography. In this vein, there are various studies that argue that with the coming of digital technologies family photography is most likely to persist in the coming years, and there appears to be a recent trend in the age of Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp, people are recording, documenting and sharing not just memorable moments, but also turning mundane aspect of everyday life into something more meaningful and memorable.

The relationship of memory with photography is another discussion raised in the shift from analogue to digital photography. Family photos have always regarded a remarkable medium of remembering. Especially first group of interviewees of this study have stated repeatedly that their familial representation is bound up with the memories narrated. Photography has been a medium that has helped to construct and maintain familial stories. It is not only the absence of concrete family albums but also the overabundance of digital photography unsettles the mnemonic character of family photography. The photography is still an object that can recall past events. However, saving for memory is not the initial objective of taking photos. For instance, the photos shared in social media profile or in a mobile phone gallery are exemplary of involuntary remembering, in Proustian sense. However, the aim of taking a photo has changed from "to be remembered" to "to be shared." The family album was, in a way, an answer to the question of "what has been" while the new digital practices associated with photography concentrate "what is going on".

The first group of the interviews is still on the side of defining photography with relation to memory while for the younger group; it is an activity of communication through which they effectively brand their identities and personalities. Considering

the approach adopted by the latter group, there appears to be that, as Joanne Garde-Hansen puts it succinctly, “friendship photography” has replaced “family photography”, which expands the intimacy of familial memory and remembering. (2013, p. 117) Such a shift, among the younger generation can be linked with that they act less as a member of family but more as individuals, adopting different identity construction strategies and is in contact with different personal networks. An important issue that has arisen with the digitization of photography is privacy. Especially after the convergence of photography with mobile phones and the Internet, sharing has become the most common social activity associated with photography. The old form of sharing family photos took place mostly in the private realm of families, and in the exceptional cases, only few family friends were allowed to view these albums. In the case of family albums, sharing was taking place in closed gatherings, and this localized type of communication through images now continues in more multi-layered forms of exchange.

The interviewees of the first group raised their concerns about the integration of social media into their everyday life, and the blurred boundaries of the private and public, although most of them feel the need to use social media on a regular basis. For the younger group, social media platforms have already become an integral part of their lives. Unlike the first group of interviews, they do not question this as a matter of privacy, at least, in the sense that the first group is concerned. They are rather bothered from being followed by the other family members, mainly because of the potential judgment of their families for the content that they share. The Internet and social media in this respect represent for the younger generation a space of freedom, a space where they seek to develop and maintain their friendship networks, free from social and familial judgments.

This research was limited in several ways. Photography, from its inception 190 years ago, has experienced many transformations. But the transition from the printed photo to the computer screen and then to the mobile phone galleries was a much faster shift. The ubiquity of mobile phones and social media has taken the transformation of photography to another new level. This is to say that, many old

analyses on the new techniques, technologies and platforms as well as social and cultural practices associated with photography have become obsolete to a great extent. Most of the existing literature related to photography is related to previous technologies, websites or applications, such as photo sharing platforms such as Flickr or Photosynth, which already become unpopular. On the other hand, many of the studies related to popular platforms such as Instagram, Snapchat are categorized under more general titles such as “social media studies” and analyzed accordingly. Besides, the bulk of the existing theories on the nature of photography have almost a nostalgic approach to printed photography. There exist a need for further research to investigate the emerging social and cultural practices associated with photography that takes into account the popular applications for photo sharing such as Instagram or WhatsApp.

Photography once again is evolving. Family photography is a fair sample to trace this transformation onwards. It is a medium that is designed for a future audience and has turned into a virtual being, something that can be created, sent, shared, tagged and commented instantaneously. The widespread availability of cell phones has also enabled photography to become more instantaneous and mobile, resulted in sheer explosion of images circulating on the internet. With regard to new technologies, as argued by Gillian Rose (2014), familial interaction through dissemination of images seems to be intensified, but family album as a tool of constructing and saving the ideal image of the family has faded. Furthermore, the identity formation through family memory and narrative has replaced its place to constructing identity through individual friendship networks. (Garde-Hansen 2014)

In the era where personal (and in a lesser degree communal) identities are now formed around the principle of “I am seen therefore I am,” as Zygmunt Bauman puts it (2003), photography will sustain its significance in the coming years. There is a potential threat, however, for not just personal photography but also for family photography. With the digitalization of photography, the new practices around it stand at the junction between the formation of identities and transformation of networks. The threat is that these networks are not governed by people

(democratically) but on the control of the corporations. This is something that we should take seriously.



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