

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**THE MEANING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS**

ÓRLA SIOBHÁN THERÈSE CRONIN, B.Sc. (Hons)

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Psychology

July 1996

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

PSYCHOLOGY

Doctor of Philosophy

THE MEANING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FAMILY
PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS

by Órla Siobhán therèse Cronin

This research addressed the lacuna in the psychological literature regarding the psychological functions of material objects, and specifically, photographs, in family life. A review of the literature on photographic theory and an evaluation of existing empirical research on photographs, considered in conjunction with existing family theories, yielded seven empirical propositions regarding the meaning and psychological significance of family photographic collections.

These propositions were: that photographs are treated as vehicles of both information which is accessible to anyone, and of an emotional 'shock' which is particular to the individual viewer; that the defining feature of photographs is their relationship to time; that lay conceptions of photographic meaning can be characterised as either 'realist' or 'symbolist'; that photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context; that family photographs are significant because they reflect family unity; that family photographic collections construct, as well as represent, personal histories; and that inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs.

Three studies were undertaken to examine these propositions and to elucidate the meaning and functions of family photographs. The first study explored domestic photographers' conceptions of the meaning and function of photographs in their lives and in the lives of their families.

The second study compared the conceptions of domestic photographers regarding the meaning and functions of family photographs with those of professional photographers. It was found that professional photographers are more committed to the use of family photographs to portray family unity to the outside world, and therefore could be considered to be reinforcing social norms governing the representation of families in photographs. Professionals tend to see themselves as 'capturing' reality, and this lends weight and credibility to their role in promoting the rhetoric of 'happy families'.

The third study extended the analysis of the role of photographs in the family system to consider the manifest content of photographic collections. Regularities were identified in the photographs which indicate that family photographic collections are influenced by norms of representation governing the depiction of families.

The manifest content of family photographs illustrates the importance of the 'special' relationships which photographs have to time. It also illustrates that the 'ideal' family, as portrayed by photographic collections, is one which appears happy and cohesive, which is leisured and cosmopolitan, which is child-centred, which has a clear identity which bounds it from its environment, and which is enacted through specialisation of the roles of family members in relation to each other, particularly in terms of power and intimacy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	vi
List of Illustrations.....	viii
Acknowledgements.....	x
Chapter 1: Photographic theory and family photography.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Conclusion.....	15
Chapter 2: Empirical studies of family photography.....	16
Introduction.....	16
Family studies.....	16
Implications of existing research on family photographs.....	40
Individual research.....	40
Implications of existing empirical research on individuals and photography.....	53
General criticisms of existing research.....	54
Conclusion.....	55
Chapter 3: Photography and family theory.....	59
Introduction.....	59
What constitutes a 'useful' family theory?.....	59
Symbolic interactionism.....	60
Family systems theory.....	64
Strategic family theory.....	64
Minuchin's Structural Theory.....	65
Distance regulation theory.....	67
Family paradigm.....	71
Family life cycle theory.....	72
Social Exchange Theories.....	74
Families and communication.....	76
Families and ritual.....	77
Family myths and stories.....	79
Family roles and individual identity.....	84
Families and time.....	85
Families and physical space.....	86
Conclusion.....	91
Chapter 4: Research programme and methodology.....	92
Research questions.....	97
Methodological considerations.....	99
Why is epistemology an issue?.....	100
What epistemologies are available to me?.....	101

How does one 'choose' an epistemology?.....	102
Rationale for a multi method approach.....	105
Seeking integration.....	105
Methods employed in this research.....	106
Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 5: Study 1: Family photographs' potential for meaning.....	113
Introduction.....	113
Method.....	114
Analysis.....	115
Results.....	116
Photographer	120
Equipment.....	121
Purpose of photograph.	122
Choice of topic.	123
Photographic composition.....	125
Communicative potential.	126
Communication with others.	128
Photographic message.....	129
Archiving.	133
Discussion.....	135
Conclusion.....	140
Chapter 6: Study 2: The professional photographer's impact on the family album.....	142
Introduction.....	142
Technical issues and professionalism.....	145
Photographic meaning	145
Functions of photographs.....	145
Method.....	149
Participants.....	150
Recruitment.....	150
Materials	150
Procedure.....	151
Results.....	151
Technical issues and professionalism.....	157
Photographic meaning	159
Functions of photographs.....	160
Discussion.....	161
Conclusion.....	165
Chapter 7: Study 3: An archival study of family photographic collections.....	166
Introduction.....	166

Method.....	167
Recruitment.....	167
Procedure.....	168
Coding scheme.....	170
An introduction to the families.....	176
Results.....	198
1 Who appears in family photographs?.....	198
2. When are photographs taken?.....	202
3. What events are photographed?.....	206
4. What is the spatial relationship of family members in photographs?.....	208
5. Where are family photographs generally taken?.....	211
6. What is the prevailing style of family photographs?.....	212
7. What are the most common postures for family members in photographs?.....	213
8. By whom are family photographs generally taken?.....	213
9. What is the affective tone of family photographs?.....	214
Discussion.....	214
Relationship of these findings to previous empirical research.....	220
Conclusion.....	222
Chapter 8: Discussion, conclusions and limitations.....	223
Discussion.....	223
Limitations of this research.....	227
Suggestions for further research.....	228
Conclusion.....	229
Appendix 1: The Author's published papers on phototherapy.....	231
Appendix 2: Interview protocol.....	257
Appendix 3: Sample extract from a scored transcript.....	258
Appendix 4: Quantitative analysis of interview data from study 1.....	259
Appendix 5: Statements used in Study 2.....	273
Appendix 6: Micro-coding of 'event' category.....	277
Appendix 7: Who appears in the photographs?.....	278
Appendix 8: Frequency of photographs in each event category.....	280
Appendix 9: Correspondence analysis of spatial and touching data.....	282
References.....	284

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections	18
Table 2.2: Kobbé's operationalisation of variables and measurement instruments.....	36
Table 2.3: Review of the main empirical studies of individuals and photography.....	42
Table 2.4: Statements comprising Cloninger's Ego Strength Differentiation Scale	47
Table 2.5: Differences in photographic style and content which correlate with sex of photographer.....	48
Table 5.1: Participants.....	114
Table 5.2: Coding scheme	117
Table 5.3: Appropriate topics for photographs.....	123
Table 5.4: Inappropriate topics for photographs.....	124
Table 6.1 : Statements comprising the hypotheses, with predictions of the direction of professionals' and amateurs' agreement.....	147
Table 6.2: Results of discriminant analysis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit test.....	152
Table 6.3: Statements on which professionals and amateurs differed significantly.....	156
Table 7.1: Composition of families and photographic collections	168
Table 7.2: Hypotheses and relevant data categories.....	171
Table 7.3: Coding of date of photograph.....	172
Table 7.4: Events depicted in photographs.....	173
Table 7.5: Frequency and proportion of photographs containing nuclear family and significant others.....	199
Table 7.6: Children alone, and in combination with siblings, and the combinations of other family members with whom they appear.....	200
Table 7.7: Aggregated data showing combinations in which child appears.....	201
Table 7.8: Chi-square statistics for individual families.....	206
Table 7.9: Frequency and proportion of all photographs in each event category.....	207
Table 7.10: Frequency of spatial arrangements for pairs of family members.....	209
Table 7.11: Location for family photographs.....	211
Table 7.12: Photographic style.....	212
Table 7.13: Interaction between photographer and style of photo.....	212

Table A4.1: Agglomeration matrix demonstrating the sequence in which themes 'join' clusters.....	260
Table A4.2: Clusters of themes identified in the transcripts.....	263
Table A8.1: Contingency table of spatial arrangements by family member pair.	282
Table A8.2: Row profiles.....	282
Table A8.3: Column profiles.....	283
Table A8.4: Outcome of Correspondence Analysis.....	283

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 3.1: Kantor and Lehr's Distance Regulation Model (p. 224).....	70
Fig. 3.2: Horizontal and vertical stressors.....	73
Fig. 5.1: The process of family photography.....	119
Fig. 7.1: Coding of spatial relationships between subjects in photograph.....	175
Fig. 7.2: Bates family tree.....	178
Fig. 7.3: Bates lifeline.....	178
Fig. 7.4: Cronin family tree.....	180
Fig. 7.5: Cronin lifeline.....	180
Fig. 7.6: Dannenberg family tree.....	181
Fig. 7.7: Dannenberg lifeline.....	182
Fig. 7.8: Dean family tree.....	183
Fig. 7.9: Dean lifeline.....	183
Fig. 7.10: Johnson family tree.....	184
Fig. 7.11: Johnson lifeline.....	185
Fig. 7.12: Lynch family tree.....	188
Fig. 7.13: Lynch lifeline.....	188
Fig. 7.14: Powell family tree.....	189
Fig. 7.15: Powell lifeline.....	190
Fig. 7.16: Rees-Burke family tree.....	192
Fig. 7.17: Rees-Burke lifeline.....	192
Fig. 7.18: Richards family tree.....	193
Fig. 7.19: Richards lifeline.....	194
Fig. 7.20: Ryan family tree.....	195
Fig. 7.21: Ryan lifeline.....	195
Fig. 7.22: Overall frequency of photographs taken in each year from birth of first child onwards.....	202
Fig. 7.23 (a): Frequency of photo-taking over the Bates family life cycle.....	203
Fig. 7.23 (b): Frequency of photo-taking over the Cronin family life cycle.....	203
Fig. 7.23 (c): Frequency of photo-taking over the Dannenberg family life cycle.....	203
Fig. 7.23 (d): Frequency of photo-taking over the Dean family life cycle.....	204
Fig. 7.23 (e): Frequency of photo-taking over the Johnson family life cycle.....	204
Fig. 7.23 (f): Frequency of photo-taking over the Lynch family life cycle.....	204
Fig. 7.23 (g): Frequency of photo-taking over the Powell family life cycle.....	205
Fig. 7.23 (h): Frequency of photo-taking over the Rees-Burke family life cycle.....	205

Fig. 7.23 (i): Frequency of photo-taking over the Richards family life cycle.....	205
Fig. 7.23 (j): Frequency of photo-taking over the Ryan family life cycle	206
Fig. 7.24: Correspondence analysis of spatial relationship of family member pair.....	210
Fig. 7.25: Postures of family members in photographs.....	213
Fig. 7.26: Facial expression of family members in photographs	214
Fig. A4.1: Dendrogram illustrating clusters	261

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There were many, many people without whose friendship and encouragement this thesis would never have been completed. Some provided academic support and stimulation, and others reminded me of life beyond my desk, and occasionally prevailed upon me to sample it. Though I forbear to mention everyone by name, there are some key figures in my life who affected, and who were affected by, my research and to whom I particularly wish to express my gratitude:

Tony Gale, whose scholarship, pragmatism, patience, good humour and compassion provided both the necessary challenges and the necessary security to help me through my weekly intellectual and existential crises. To have found a supervisor who believed in fostering the development of human beings as well as scholars was fortune indeed, and I am profoundly grateful to him for having indulged my pig-headedness while rescuing me from the ordure on countless occasions;

The present and past members of the Department of Psychology, University of Southampton, who gave me my first chance, and who as individuals and as a body gave me the intellectual and practical support necessary to undertake this research. In particular, I would like to thank Amina Memon, Bob Remington, and Edmund Sonuga-Barke;

Sigurjón Baldur Hafsteinsson, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Iceland, and Jay Ruby, Milton Machua and Elizabeth Nozensky, of the Department of Anthropology, Temple University, colleagues whose hospitality and interest in my work was stimulating and affirming;

Joan Bliss and Jon Ogborn, my present employers, who gave me the time and support necessary to maintain my own research interests;

My parents, Geraldine and Jerry, whose lifelong love and care rendered me in a position to commence this research, and whose influence in my life I will continue to cherish, and Conor, Diarmuid and Dearbhla, who indulge my eccentricities without complaining too much, and whom I am proud to call not just brothers and sister, but my friends;

Beate Küpper, Emily Jaramazovic, Denise Kirkland, Nick Kraven, Kath Walton, Bernard Tenbroek and Marieke Zech, my dear kindred spirits: friends with fire in their bellies, whose companionship has been both soothing and scintillating, and without whose affection and loyalty life would have been much bleaker;

To all those others who courageously inquired about the progress of this thesis, and who stayed around to hear the answer, my thanks.

I would particularly like to thank the individuals and families who took part in this research, who welcomed me into their homes and gave me a glimpse into their lives.

There is one particular person who was called upon to listen, to console, to affirm, to proof-read, to entertain and to distract, and who performed his roles as sounding-board, punch-bag and amenuensis unstintingly. His incisiveness and articulacy, both intellectual and emotional, his sensitivity, his faith in the author of this thesis, and above all, his freedom of spirit, continue to delight and inspire me. However, words fail me when it comes to thanking him, and therefore I ask him to indulge my tendency to floridity once more when I say it is to James Hooper I dedicate this thesis.

This research was financially supported by an Economic and Social Research Council fees award and a bursary from the University of Southampton Committee for Advanced Studies, and by the Faculty of Social Sciences Richard Newitt Travel Prize.

CHAPTER 1: PHOTOGRAPHIC THEORY AND FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY

Introduction

Once upon a time, photography was invented. Like many inventions, it is difficult to date precisely; it was invented in several different places, by several different people, and in numerous different forms, such as the pinhole camera, and the daguerreotype. Like many technological inventions, it passed through different phases of use; it was, and still is, a tool of the artistic and cultural elite; it had and still has many practical applications in art and science. But perhaps the single most important development in photography from the point of view of the 'ordinary person' was the democratisation of photography by Kodak. The movement of photography from the realms of science, technology and art to that of a practice indulged in as a hobby, or perhaps even more tellingly, a habit, by 'the masses' is perhaps most succinctly summed up by Kodak's advertising jingle, coined in the 1930's: 'you press the button, we'll do the rest'.

This accessibility of photography was never more evident than in the 1990's. According to the 1992-1993 Wolfman Report (a large scale market research survey carried out periodically on behalf of the photographic industry), 17.2 billion photographs were taken in the U.S. in 1993, in comparison with the 8.9 billion photos taken in the US in 1977, and 3.9 billion in 1967. While, according to the same source, the market for photographic goods aimed at the skilled amateur/professional is declining, amateur 'instant' photography is still a growth area. Closer to home, the 'Kodacolor Gold' Survey (1990) reported that 80% of households in the U.K. owned cameras.

Information regarding the sampling procedures used in these commercial surveys is not available. However, some smaller scale social science surveys on camera ownership and photography have reported prevalence information as an adjunct to more psychological and sociological findings. For instance, Bourdieu (1965) claimed on the basis of photographic industry reports that in 1965 there were 8,135,000 cameras in working order in France, at least one camera in half of all households, and 845,000 cameras sold each year. It would appear, therefore, that notwithstanding the advent of the video camera, still photographs are extremely common in Western homes.

Despite this prevalence, the meaning and functions of family photography are remarkably under theorised, and even more under-researched in the social sciences, particularly in psychology. This is perhaps a reflection of the neglect of material culture in general in psychology (Dittmar, 1992).

However, if one turns to the discipline of visual communication, a field spanning visual anthropology, visual sociology and cultural studies, in which one would expect theories regarding the nature and functions of photographs to be well developed, a similar lacuna exists. Burgin (1982) claims that there is no homogenous photographic theory to date, but rather a multiplicity of micro theories. This situation is echoed in current discussions of visual communication, such as on 'Viscom' (the electronic discussion group for visual communication). These micro theories are also problematic for a psychologist seeking a 'foot in the door' as the assertions embodied in them are rarely supported with empirical evidence.

Lack of theoretical underpinning of the use of photography by the 'lay person' has not stymied its use as a research tool in social science. Empirical studies in which photographs have been used as a research tool, and the few which have treated photographs as objects of research in their own right, will be reviewed in Chapter 2. Two reviews of the therapeutic applications of photography (Cronin and Gale, 1995; Cronin and Gale, 1996) are included in Appendix 1. While not a focus of the thesis, the use of photographs in therapy, and the assumptions about the normative meaning and functions of family photographs underpinning such use, was one of the starting points for my research.

It can be argued, though, that given the prevalence of 'vernacular' photography, the assumptions regarding the nature of photography, its appropriate uses, and its functions in everyday life need to be examined and made explicit before photography is adopted as a 'neutral' research or therapeutic tool. Furthermore, it could be argued that any practice which is so prevalent in everyday life warrants investigation in its own right. My thesis is motivated by questions such as: Why do people take photographs? What do they use them for? What psychological functions do they serve? Can we learn anything from photographs, and from the narratives surrounding them, about the people who take and look at photographs? Photographs are potentially a rich source of information regarding social representations, particularly within the family; they may reflect the cultural norms which influence family life; they may reveal aspects of roles, structure and relationships within a family (both within and across generations); and they may have great personal meaning for individual family members (Gale and Hollingworth, 1984). Portrayals of family life in professional photography may serve to shape shared beliefs and attitudes towards the family (Brown, 1981). For all these reasons, family photographs warrant systematic study.

The phenomena which form the subject matter of the social sciences can be examined at several levels of analysis, and different kinds of description and explanation are appropriate to each. At the intra-individual levels of analysis, phenomena are described and explained in biological and phenomenological terms; at the interpersonal level, descriptions and explanations tend to be in terms of systems with emergent properties, or in terms of the discourse created between individuals. The group level of analysis links the interpersonal analysis of what goes on between people with the analysis of groups. Research at the societal level (traditionally the level at which sociologists and anthropologists work) involves analysis of societal structures, of the relationships between groups, and of the mediation of relationships by religious, political and economic factors.

The implication of the existence of these levels of analysis is that interdisciplinary research (or the evaluation of research from disciplines other than the one in which the researcher is grounded) inevitably has to deal with a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of scholarship, including the status of 'evidence', the methodology appropriate to eliciting knowledge, and the conclusions which can be drawn from such methodology.

The following review of the existing literature on photography is based on a variety of sources reflecting a range of disciplinary approaches. I seek to create a coherent structure within this fragmented literature by imposing a common propositional framework on it. Therefore, this review will take the form of a series of Propositions regarding the nature and function of photographs, both in general and with particular reference to family photography. The range of convenience of the propositions moves progressively through the intra-individual through to societal levels of analysis. The origins of these Propositions will be described and some quasi-empirical attempts to investigate them will be discussed, though more systematic empirical research will be reserved for Chapter 2. The key strands identified in these propositions will be drawn together and investigated in the course of my research. In reviewing the work of others I shall identify empirical issues and questions which lend themselves to new research. Therefore, this chapter, and the Propositions in particular, lay the foundation for much of my thesis.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

In 'Camera Lucida', an introspective monologue on the 'essence' of photography, Barthes (1980), a cultural theorist, in a monograph reflecting on

his own family photographs, claimed that they could be divided into those which contained a 'studium' (informational and aesthetic value) and those which contained a 'punctum' (a shock, thrill or emotion elicited by the photograph). Barthes, rather cryptically, claims that 'the studium is always coded; the punctum is not' (p. 51). By this he means that the informational and aesthetic value of a photograph is available to anyone. It is interpretable in a similar way by any two individuals who have access to the same cultural codes. (Barthes refers to this as the 'average' effect of the studium, which derives from 'cultural training' (p.26)) The punctum, however, is specific to the individual. Barthes describes it as 'a subtle beyond' (p.59); he sees the source of the shock or thrill of the photograph as located in the viewer. The punctum could be described as a small detail in a photograph which triggers a succession of personal memories and unconscious associations, many of which are indescribable by the individual. Lesy (1980) expresses similar sentiments when he stated that '[photos are]...like frozen dreams, whose manifest content (what is actually visible in the photograph) may be understood at a glance, but whose latent content (the meaning of a photograph) is enmeshed in unconscious associations...' (p. xiv)

So, to express Proposition One as an empirical statement: photographs can provide us with information or provoke in us a reaction based on aesthetics. The informational and/or aesthetic value of a photograph should be accessible to any individuals looking at the photograph who share a common cultural context. Photographs can also provoke an emotional reaction in us.. This latent information cannot be predicted by the manifest content of a photograph, and is dependent on the perspective of the observer.

In order for us to accept the notion of a 'studium' or a 'punctum' in a photograph, two types of evidence are necessary: firstly, if the 'studium' is a valid concept, there must be some norms governing photographic representation, and these norms must encode the information which is subsequently inferred by the viewers. Secondly, if the 'punctum' is a valid concept, evidence must be obtained that regardless of the apparent accessibility of the information of a photograph, there is a layer of meaning which is specific to the individual viewer.

Both Barthes and Lesy appear to take for granted the accessibility of the manifest content. However, Barnes and Sternberg's (1989) study of people's ability to decode non-verbal cues in photographs (part of the manifest content) found that they were not universally able to do so accurately. This study is reported in more detail in Chapter 2, but it does seem to challenge the ease with which Barthes and Lesy claim we decode the referent of a photograph.

Barthes' notion of the punctum, on the other hand, underpins much of the use which is made of photographs in therapy. Photographs are 'dreams, slips of the tongue', according to Akeret (1973). However, what is missing in Barthes' treatise is any acknowledgement of the link between phenomenology and 'cultural codes'. Implicit in his argument is the assumption that 'culture' somehow exists 'out there' and that it does not impinge on individual affect (hence his desire to experience the essence of photography by becoming 'a primitive, without culture' (p.7)). It seems that Barthes, having expressed dissatisfaction with 'discourses...of sociology, of semiology and of psychoanalysis' due to a 'desperate resistance to any reductive system' (p.8) nevertheless reduces feeling to a completely intra-individual essence, the origins of which he does not specify. His conceptualisation of the punctum as pure, unadulterated feeling does not sit well with any notion of reality as being constructed, or memory being to some extent collective (e.g. Halbwachs, 1950; Edwards & Middleton, 1988) or with a conception of archetypes (Jung, 1968), which can be defined as the images and constellations of feeling which crystallise universal human experiences and which have been claimed to universally permeate human memory.

The first question generated by this proposition, therefore, is 'Does every photograph which is claimed as significant by its owner contain either a studium or a punctum?'

If it is established that the studium/punctum distinction is a useful one, might research tell us anything more about the nature of the studium and punctum? Is the studium, as Barthes and Lesy claim, accessible to any observer, and is the punctum of any one photograph different for every individual?

An empirical test of the accessibility of the manifest content of photographs was described above. However, the particularity or otherwise of the 'punctum' of a photograph is more intractable to empirical investigation. 'Pure' affect could perhaps be partially measured using psychophysiological techniques to evaluate whether the existence of the punctum in a photograph is subject to individual differences. However, it may also be possible to investigate the punctum obliquely, by permitting it to retain an association with the studium. If we accept that it is possible that the punctum is a personal, emotional reaction to a photograph which is nonetheless influenced by the culture to which that viewer belongs, then what needs to be sought is evidence that a viewer has a personal, emotional reaction to a photograph, without specifying that that reaction is either unique or totally independent of the manifest content, and also, an acknowledgement that the meaning of a

photograph is malleable, and therefore has the potential to be experienced differently by different individuals.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

Time is one of the 'punctums' identified by Barthes. He says that to ask whether a photograph is analogical or coded (i.e. a sign or a symbol) is not a useful question. Rather, he says, unlike a painting, which may or may not be a figment of fantasy, when we see a photograph we cannot deny that its referent once *existed*. A photograph is therefore an emanation of a *past* reality. Bazin (1967), who theorised photographs from the standpoint of cultural studies, also emphasises the relationship of photographs to time, but extends the argument to suggest that photographs, like statues and other icons, exist in order to create an ideal world which has its own trajectory through time. Similarly, Walker and Kimball-Moulton (1989), sociologists who examined albums created by amateur photographers in order to investigate the psychological and social functions of photo albums (and their value to scholars as documents of social life), claim that photography has always been about time. They state that 'the act of photography anticipates the future by ripping the appearance of a moment out of its time, creating a tangible image for the future of what will be the past. The things photographed have their own dynamic (which means an unseen but implied past and future)' (p.157). However, they draw a distinction between 'types' of time. They state that the sophisticated photographers of the 19th century tended to work with public time, i.e. the conventionalised continuum of the nation's or the people's past, present and future, the time of nature, or the time of the universal human life cycle. Amateur photographers of the 20th century tend instead to work with personal or familial time, they claim, though Walker and Kimball-Moulton do not discuss whether public time has merely become more subtle and implicit in photographs rather than disappearing from them altogether.

Sociologists have also highlighted the relationship between photographs and time. For example, Boerdam and Martinius (1980) reiterate Bourdieu's (1965) statement that photographs are a protection against time. More precisely, they argue, on the basis of twelve interviews with couples about photography, that photography has the function of helping one to overcome the sorrow of the passing of time, either by providing a magical substitute for what time has destroyed, or by making up for the failures of memory, acting as a mooring for the evocation of associated memories; in short, by providing a sense of the conquest of time as a destructive power.

Colson (1979) claims that 'people take up photography at times of rapid change in their lives when the photograph is most clearly expressive of the wish to hold time still, to have greater opportunity to consolidate the ordinarily fleeting experience of the moment' (p. 273). If one accepts that photographs can be used as a tool to manipulate our subjective experience of time, Colson suggests, then that 'the rapid and often bewildering changes in life style and technology which characterise our culture and the reduced stability of the family unit' (p.274) make the current popularity of photography more understandable. Colson is a psychoanalyst, and his thesis was based on five sources of information: his own 'extensive familiarity' (p. 273) with photography and photographers, biographical works about photographers, interviews and articles appearing in popular magazines, and in photographic portfolios, familiarity with clinical work with several patients who had a major interest in photography, including six psychiatric hospital patients, interviews with four mental health professionals for whom photography is a hobby, and the relevant psychoanalytic literature.

With the exception of Barthes, all the theorists who emphasise the relationship of photography to time allow for a social dimension to time. They acknowledge that conceptions of time are socially and historically relative. There have also been attempts to evaluate some of these claims empirically. For example, Kotkin (1978) suggested on the basis of 'hundreds' (sic) of photographs, that we conceive of our lives as a series of eras and stages and our albums reflect and reify the way we think of those units of time. However, it is difficult to evaluate such 'evidence' as the above researchers provide; few direct quotations from respondents or other illustrations of the data underpinning their claims are provided, and therefore the relationship between the identified themes and the qualitative data on which they were based is impossible to elucidate. In effect, any description of the interpretative process which would enable us to evaluate, or even trace the origins of, the authors' conclusions is lacking in the reports of their research.

With regard to the plausibility of its relationship to time being a valuable attribute of a photograph: the value of the structuring of time to the individual has been documented by psychologists. For example, when Fryer and Payne (1984) studied a sample of people identified as coping with unemployment in a creative and positive way, they found that one of the distinguishing characteristics of this group was the ability to generate their own personal structuring of time. It is therefore clear that a sense of time contributes to an individual's phenomenology, and thus, that photographs may contribute to our subjective experience of time.

Proposition Two also appears amenable to empirical investigation, and gives rise to a number of questions. Is an (or even the *most*) important aspect of photography its relationship to time? And if so, what is the perceived nature of this relationship? *How* is time represented in photographs, and to what ends? Does the distinction between the 'kinds' of time (i.e. public or social versus private and familial) represented by professionals and amateurs hold true? If time can be represented in photographs, what *kind* of time is it? Generational time? Individual life cycles? How intimately are our awareness of the passage of time and our practice of photography linked?

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

The last proposition invoked the issue of instrumentality and photography, i.e. what do people *use* photographs for?. This brings me to the issue of what the 'lay person' (i.e. someone who is neither a professional theorist nor a professional photographer) thinks about photographs, what significance is attributed to them, and what he or she does with them.

Sekula (1975), discussing the nature of the photograph, claimed that 'a binary folklore' exists around photography. He claimed that photographic communication occurs within a 'symbolist folk myth' or a 'realist folk myth'.

The 'symbolist folk myth' entails photographs being treated as the 'substrate' of meaning, i.e. a photograph by itself doesn't mean anything until it is interpreted, and the meaning of a photograph will not necessarily be apparent from the manifest content. This echoes the sentiments of Silber (1973), who stated that 'the snapshot is in many ways a symbolic form of communication, relatively independent of the literal identification of the events portrayed' (p.10).

The 'realist folk myth', on the other hand, treats the photograph as a copy of 'reality'. Barthes (1980), for example, states that '...from a phenomenological viewpoint, in the photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation' (p.89). Similarly, O'Connell (cited by Leon, 1981) stated that 'the image by its flatness and precision persuades us to accept the moment it portrays as the essential one.' Sontag (1977) attributes the 'realist' position to the population in general. She states that 'photographed images do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire'. She goes on to discuss the evidential power of photos, claiming that 'the picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's

in the picture. A photograph seems to have a more innocent, and therefore more accurate, relation to visible reality than do other mimetic objects' (p.5). Schwarz (1992) sums up this view nicely:

'Both history and popular lore have encouraged us to view photographs as direct, unmediated transcriptions of the real world, rather than seeing them as coded symbolic artifacts whose form and content transmit identifiable points of view' (p.95).

On the basis of Proposition Three, therefore, one would expect that 'lay' conceptions of the nature of photographs would fall into one or other of these 'myths'.

There is some empirical support for the existence of the 'realist' myth. O'Connor, Beilin and Kose (1981), in their empirical investigation of children's belief in photographic fidelity, found that preoperational, and to a slightly lesser extent, operational, children treat photographs as reflecting reality with greater fidelity than drawings. Vial (1988), in the course of interviews with twelve people, claimed that the realist myth was distinguishable in the discourse of lay photographers. She stated that people treat the photograph as proof that something occurred, and that its power derives from the fact that it transcends the boundaries of time and space and the fact that its referent is instantly recognisable. Because of this, she says, the viewer runs the risk of taking the representation for the referent, i.e. treating the photograph as "true".

However, this discussion of myths, particularly in Sontag's case, does appear to be rather facile. The general tenor of the discussion of realist myths seems to be that 'lay' people do not have the privileged access to semiotic theory which academics do, and therefore are somewhat naïve in their dealings with photographs. This may indeed be the case, but I would argue that the theorists just described have fallen into what Wetherell and Potter (1988) term an 'old-fashioned' view of language, whereby there is an assumption of a direct mapping of a person's internal mental event onto the language they use.

Accounts are taken to be simple, unintrusive, neutral reflectors of real processes located elsewhere. However, Wetherell and Potter point out that in sociology, philosophy, and literary theory, as well as in social psychology, there has been a shift towards examining the 'action oriented' nature of discourse. This recent emphasis on 'what talk *does*' renders the mere identification of symbolist and realist myths regarding photography somewhat trivial unless we carry the issue further and ask the empirical questions 'To what uses are these myths put?' 'What does treating a photograph as a direct reflection of reality *achieve*?' 'What does treating a photograph as a symbolic representation *achieve*?' A similar approach is warranted for the investigation of the 'punctum' of a photograph (Proposition One). We need not ask 'what is it

about this photograph that 'causes' an emotional reaction in the observer', but rather 'once a photograph is identified as being significant for an individual, what is it used for?'

Proposition Four: Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context.

Proposition Four is focused on the interpersonal and group levels of analysis, and takes much more account of the uses of photographs than the previous propositions do. The notion of photographs gaining their meaning in a narrative context not only raises questions regarding the use of photographs as springboards for narrative, but also regarding their use as memory aids, particularly if one construes remembering as primarily a social activity (Ruby, 1982). Spence and Holland (1991) pose the question of whether there might be a 'collective narrative' which surrounds family photos and, if so, whether it differs from individual narratives.

Walker and Kimball Moulton (1989) concentrated on exploring the structure of the narratives accompanying the presentation of family albums, and the role of these narratives in creating the meaning of the family album. They argue that the accompaniment of a family photographic collection by a verbal narrative is one of the four key features of family photographs, the other three being that the family photographic collection is essentially a private collection, is available only to small audiences, and assumes a possessor who will preside over its display. (They do not, however, provide any methodological detail which would allow the validity of this claim to be examined).

They further claim that every photograph album is constructed on the basis of some implicit narrative, although as Lesy (1980) suggests, the narrative may take several different approaches. Some narratives are addressed to the reality that lies behind the images, so that the photographs and the narrative are related as illustration is to text. Some focus more explicitly on the photograph itself, i.e. they directly address the photographic image rather than the reality which underlies the image. Walker and Kimball Moulton (1989) claim that their 'narrators' recognise the problematic relationship between photograph and reality, that there is an incomplete correspondence between a photographic image and the reality it records, and that an active camera changes the reality it is engaged in. (This is in contrast to the stark dichotomy of realism and symbolism embodied in Proposition Three).

Musello (1980) claimed that his sample of middle-class 'Euro-American' families approached photographs as 'mechanical recordings of real events', not as symbolic articulations, stating that 'meanings and interpretations are most

often based on a belief in the photograph's value as a document of natural events and on recognition of its iconic referents'. However, he goes on to state that

'The photographic allusion is increasingly expanded ... as viewers interact with the natural events depicted and draw references and significances from a broad range of events, experiences, people and responses which they recall, derive from, relate to and attribute to the depicted contents. The use of the 'home mode' (domestic photography) seems heavily reliant on verbal accompaniment for the transmission of personal significances. Photographs presented to others are typically embedded in a verbal context delineating what should be attended to and what significances are located in the image, and providing contextual data necessary for understanding them' (1980, p.39).

With regard to the social aspects of remembering, Edwards and Middleton (1988) point out that relationships are both a determinant of remembering, providing a criterion of significance (defining what is worth remembering and how memories are linked together to tell the story of people's lives) and providing also a forum for the process itself (a context within which communicative remembering is done). In the other direction, remembering is a determinant of relationships. Relationships can be defined, negotiated, redefined consolidated, disputed, through conversations about the past.

Edwards and Middleton place particular emphasis on the use of photographs in joint remembering. They state that learning how to remember the past through conversations about family photographs involves learning how to 'take meaning' from such pictures in a sense similar to Heath's (1982) notion of taking meaning from written texts. That is to say, using family photographs as *aides memoires* entails the family seeing photographs as depictions of events from a shared family history. It is the clues available in photographs which enable them to serve the family as reminders of the context of events. Those events themselves are then recreated and conventionalised in conversation about the photographs. These reconstructive aspects of memory are well documented in the psychological literature on memory (e.g. Bartlett, 1932; Loftus & Loftus, 1980).

The emphasis of Proposition Four on the importance of the narrative context of photographs has several important implications for any research into the meaning of photographs. Firstly, it implies that any investigation of the meaning of photographs must pay as much attention to the contexts in which photographs are used as it does to their manifest content. Secondly, it reinforces the message (which is implicit in the other Propositions) that the function of photographs is primarily the creation and maintenance of meaning,

and to this end a hermeneutic approach to the investigation of the nature of family photography must be employed at some point.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

This proposition is even more specific regarding the use of photographs: it states that photographs are not only used to create meaning, but specifies the content of that meaning. Hirsch (1981) claimed that the unity and permanence of the family is one particular aspect of the family which photographs may document or idealise or even create. Hirsch stated that 'formal photography...masks statistics of adultery, divorce, mental breakdown, and juvenile delinquency' (p.32); therefore [photographs] sustain the myth and the notion of family as institution; therefore they have a social utility'. Sontag (1977, p.8) claimed that photography came along to memorialise, to restate symbolically, the 'imperilled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life'. Spence and Holland (1991) also ask whether we 'strive to remember, perceive or portray the family group as 'cohesive'. (p.7).

Bourdieu (1965) sees photos as having social functions which are wholly connected to the structure of the family in a modern world, with the family photograph as an index or proof of family unity, and, at the same time, and instrument or tool to *effect* that unity. He discusses the process by which this is achieved in detail: citing Durkheim (1970), he says the taking of photographs immortalises and reaffirms the sense of unity engendered by the family's festivals and rituals.

Proposition Five implies that issues of cohesion and permanence of the family should be salient in the discourse surrounding photographs, i.e. the latent content of photographs should contain some reference to family togetherness. The manifest content of photographs may also contain messages for the family concerning its unity (or otherwise). For instance, would one expect festivals and rituals to be prevalent in the manifest content of photographs, particularly at times where unity is under threat, e.g. during times of stress or during life cycle transitions (Reiss, 1981).

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

This Proposition follows from the previous one, and is derived from Milgram's (1977) query regarding whether 'photographs may act on the real world and begin to shape it' (p. 32). It is a stronger, more constructionist version of Beloff's claim (e.g. 1985) that our personal histories are validated by

our photographic collection. Beloff states that we do not represent the more mundane aspects of our quotidian lives, such as work, argument, boredom, sadness, in photographs, but rather present universally positive and/or idealised versions of family life. This is achieved by photographing a very narrow range of events, and by the photographer's exhortations to the subject to smile. Beloff (1993) points out that the 'face-work' (Goffman, 1967) which is carried out in photographs enables them to be 'texts of identity' which are scripted by the photographer and the sitter together. This is similar to Hirsch's (1981) thesis that decisions made regarding the retention and discarding of family photographs are made not in the name of 'historical accuracy' but for the sake of a standard of meaning which the images either uphold or betray. Holland, Spence and Watney (1986) also talk about the use of photographs to create and validate the image of the family. Their thesis is couched in far more political terms: they state that

'From our most seemingly 'private' family albums...we are positioned and organised, according to the photographic conventions which sort out and handle differences of race, class, age, sexuality and so on. In all its dominant versions, across the largely spurious barrier between amateur and professional, photography works to position us as sexed individuals within a network of unequal power relationships which it validates, with its ideology of photographic 'truthfulness', as natural and immutable. At the heart of this network lies the image of the family - one of the central units by which photography makes sense of the world. Into this image are dissolved all the complexities of wage labour, domestic labour, gendering patterns, child raising, householding, education, leisure, entertainment, holidays and so on, which photography organises, circulates and, most importantly, validates' (1986, p.1).

Williamson (1984) claims that the question of what is *repressed* in family photographs is a significant one. He states that the family, besides being used as a unit of social cement, is also an extremely oppressive thing to be in. Photography, he claims, erases this experience not only from the outside, in adverts of happy, product-consuming families, but also from within, as angry parents, crying children and divorced spouses are systematically omitted from the album. Instead, Williamson claims, contemporary photography, in its preference for informal photos, is predominantly concerned with fun. In earlier family images, he said, it seemed enough for the family members' external appearance to be documented, but now this is not enough, and internal states of constant delight are to be revealed on film. 'Fun', he says, 'must not only be had, it must be *seen* to be had' (p.21). Spence and Holland (1991) ask:

'For whom is the image so carefully manufactured? Is each individual looking for their own ideal image? Are members of the group

presenting themselves for each other, or for unknown others, for future generations? Is this a joint self-celebration, or is a presentation of the imagined family group for the critical scrutiny of outsiders?' (p.7).

So, Proposition Six contains strong statements concerning the use of photographs to confirm our self-image or the image a family holds of itself, or to represent the idealised image of ourselves and our family and suppress negative connotations. One would think that it would be relatively easy to ascertain whether photographs represent real or idealised versions of the family. However, if one espouses a social constructionist perspective, where reality is constituted through shared meanings (and is constantly re-invented by interacting individuals), one cannot preclude the possibility that rather than photographs being a product of family life, family life is a product of photographs, i.e. photographs may be used to construct a shared reality in the family. This has serious implications for any empirical investigation of Proposition Six, and warrants the detailed discussion of methodology which will ensue in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, key research questions indicated by this proposition are: 'What is the relationship between the individual's perceptions of their family and the representation of the family in the family album?', 'What image of the family do family photographs convey?', 'Are there any occasions or topics which are inappropriate subjects for photographs, and if so, why?' and 'Are there implicit norms which govern how families may be represented in family photographic collections?'

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

Proposition Seven is encapsulated in Hirsch's (1981) claim that relationships appear in photographs as sets of Propositions. She claims that 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. It is this assumption that underpins much of the use made of photographs in therapeutic settings, a practice which is evaluated in Cronin & Gale, 1995 (See Appendix 1). The empirical question generated by this proposition is whether there is any relationship between family dynamics and the manifest content of photographs. Though this Proposition will not be tested directly in this thesis, e.g. by comparing the results of an analysis of family photographic collections with the results of a family measurement instrument, the *potential* of photographs to hold up a mirror to family dynamics will be evaluated.

Conclusion

The seven Propositions above have generated several themes which will be drawn together in this thesis: firstly, family photographic collections can be examined at every level of analysis, from intra-individual to societal and cultural. Secondly, the issue of what photographs mean, and how that meaning is constructed and maintained is a salient one, warranting a methodology suitable for hermeneutic inquiry. Thirdly, the importance of the action (i.e. behaviour and meaning) surrounding photography and photographs has been highlighted, and therefore an empirical approach which takes into account the dynamic and malleable nature of meaning is indicated.

Some of the empirical questions I have identified are more tractable than others. In the context of this thesis, a tractable question could be considered to be a question which is amenable to the empirical tools at a psychologist's disposal, which is operationalisable, and which does not confine exploration to the intra-individual level of analysis.

In Chapter 2, I will review existing research on family photography to evaluate the extent to which these propositions are supported by empirical evidence. I will then consider theoretical accounts of the family in order to contextualise these propositions within family theory. At the end of Chapter 3 I will present a set of empirical questions which are based on these propositions and which guided my research on the meaning and functions of family photographic collections.

CHAPTER 2: EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY

Introduction

Though I commented in Chapter 1 on the general neglect of photographs in social science research, there have been some empirical studies of family photographs in other disciplines, primarily sociology and visual anthropology. In this chapter, therefore, the research questions and rationale underpinning these studies, the methods employed, the main findings, and their implications for the propositions delineated in Chapter 1, will be described and discussed.

Despite the numerous claims which have been made regarding the meaning and function of family photographic collections, few of these questions have been tested empirically. However, a handful of researchers have carried out empirical work on naturally produced photographs (as distinct from photographs generated by the researcher). A wide variety of questions have been asked in these studies. Some have focused explicitly on the content of photographs; others have been more concerned with the contexts in which they are produced and used. In some cases, the empirical component of the research is only mentioned as a footnote, or is reported anecdotally, and appears to be incidental to the main arguments in the report (for example, Boerdam & Martinius, 1980; Chalfen, 1987; Kotkin, 1978; Vial, 1988; Walker & Kimball-Moulton, 1989). In these cases, I have only considered the theoretical component of such 'studies', and they have therefore been discussed in Chapter 1.

In this chapter, I will argue that despite some worthwhile efforts which have contributed to our knowledge of the meanings and functions of photographs in family contexts, a detailed and methodologically sound empirical examination of the content of family photographs, and their functions in families, has yet to be undertaken. In addition to describing work that has been done to date on *family* photographic collections, I shall also discuss research conducted with individuals and their photographs, since the findings of these have often been extrapolated to family contexts.

Family studies

These studies have been mainly of three types:

- a) Archival studies: the results of archival studies are generally triangulated, with measurements of family functioning, and seek to draw inferences about normative family interaction based on the manifest content of family photographic collections (Blinn, 1988; Gardner, 1983; Titus, 1976). It is from studies such as these that Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding the structure of the family can be drawn from the manifest content of

photographs' has arisen (see Chapter 1). Brown (1981) falls into this category also, in that he carried out a study of artificially generated 'family' photographs in order to examine the normative representation of families over historical time and family life cycle.

- b) Ethnographic studies: these studies seek to uncover the functions of family photographs (Halle, 1991; Hoppál, 1989; Chalfen, 1987, Musello, 1977; Kobbe, 1993;). They have tended to focus on issues relating to Proposition Five in Chapter 1: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'.
- c) Mixed method studies: these attempt to uncover the nature of both the manifest and the latent content of family photographs and the implications of these meanings for family interaction (Kenyon, 1989; Bourdieu, 1965). Proposition Six in Chapter 1: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but are created by them' is likely to be the one best illuminated by these studies.

Summaries of empirical research on family collections are presented in Table 2.1.

Key to method section: PA - photo analysis; I=interview Q=questionnaire.

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
Blinn, 1988 Do families' social identities manifest themselves in the family photograph collection?	5 Japanese & 5 U.S. families	I PA Q (self-rating) Q (FES)	PA & Qs: Cohesion Expressiveness Conflict Independence Achievement Intellectual/cultural Active-recreational Moral-religious Organisation Control	Moderate correlation between PA & Q (self rating) on some dimensions. No correlation between PA & Q (FES). Interviews not reported.	Conclusion: some aspects of families' social identity is manifest in the family photograph collection. Problems: Questionable statistical analysis No explicit operationalisation of dimensions measured. No clear linking of findings to theory.
Bourdieu, 1965 Wished to examine the implicit codes governing the content and composition of amateur photographs	662 amateurs, 200 professionals + unknown number in market research surveys	mainly Q some I with photogra phers, some PA	Main issues relevant to family photography: Extent to which frequency of photo-taking is affected by presence of children in household Reasons for taking photographs Gender differences in photography Attitudes towards photography of professionals and amateurs	64% of households with children have at least 1 camera vs. 32% of households without children. Birth of a child often leads people to resume photography; rate of cameras in use drops from 63% for households with a child younger than 5 to 50% for households with a child aged between 6 and 13. On the basis of this, Bourdieu claims that family photographs exist in order to reinforce the unity of the family . Photographs can be seen as a means of documentation or information (13%), a work of art (2%) or to show to loved ones (6%), but according to Bourdieu, for the most part, photographs are used to evoke the memory of a festivity and thereby become a ceremony in their own right. More men take photographs than women (exact percentages conflicting in two editions of book) 70% of photographers interviewed consider that some amateurs take better photographs than professionals	Very strong claims made on the basis of rather thin frequency data.

Table 2.1: Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables	Results	Comments
Brown (1981) What is the relationship between - historical time - family life cycle stage - number of children and the visual representation of - family roles - family companionship - family intimacy in magazine advertising?	521 photos taken from adverts in 5 current affairs magazines dated 1920-1977	PA	Independent variables: Life cycle stages (LC) Historical time (HT) Dependent variable: - activities represented - companionship - intimacy	<u>Family roles</u> 1. Decreasing emphasis on wives' involvement in household tasks ($F=2.564$, $p<.05$, $N=332$) & increasing emphasis on involvement in recreation ($F=3.693$ $p<.01$ $N=332$) (HT) 2. No change in depiction of wives involved in economic provision & therapeutics ($F=2.506$, $sign=.01$, $N=332$) (HT) 3. No significant changes in wives' involvement in housework, recreation or economic provision (LC) 4. Presence of children at family life cycle stages 2, 3 & 4 associated with a decrease in the wives' involvement in therapeutic activities toward their husbands ($F=3.015$, $p<.05$, $N=332$) 5. Depiction of husbands in economic provision & recreation was stable but sparse (HT & LC) 6. Mothers more likely to be depicted in the physical care aspects of parenthood ($F=4.335$, $F=3.058$, $p<.05$; $N=261$); while fathers more likely to be involved in recreation over historical time ($F=4.534$; $p<.05$; $N=332$) but marginally less over the life cycle ($F=.818$; n.s.) (HT, LC) 7. Children were overwhelmingly involved in recreation (LC) 8. Grandparents were primarily depicted in child care; esp. at LC stage 2. 9. No apparent move towards more egalitarian family roles (HT) <u>Family companionship:</u> 1. Increasingly important over HT. ($F=5.322$, $p<.05$, $N=133$) 2. Same sexed sibling companionship predominated (HT, LC) 3. Cross sexed sibling companionship in recreation increasingly less popular ($F=7.069$, $p<.05$, $N=288$) (HT) <u>Intimacy:</u> 1. Increasing intimacy between husbands & wives ($F=10.969$; $p<.05$, $N=325$) & siblings ($F=4.262$, $p<.05$, $N=125$) (HT). Shift toward same sex family attachments (HT) 2. Curvilinear pattern of husband -wife intimacy, the high points occurring during the pre- & post-parental stages ($F=11.999$, $p<.05$, $N=325$). (LC) 3. Parent-child intimacy decreased during the parental stages ($F=2.297$, $p<.05$) (LC) 4. No significant change in either sister-sister intimacy, although a significant decrease was found in brother-brother intimacy ($F=4.442$, $p<.05$, $N=40$). (LC)	Concludes by pointing out that there is a controversy regarding whether advertising influences societal values, or merely draws upon & therefore reflects them. This is a methodologically sound illustration of the manifestation of cultural norms in family photographs, though the statistical analyses of the findings is questionable.

Table 2.1 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Gardner, 1990</u> Examination of photographic representation of kin relationships in families over the life cycle. Hypothesis: kin & friends most likely to be included in the family album during the pre-parental stage & when school age children are present, whereas a more exclusively kin-oriented image of family life will prevail during the pre-school years & at later stages of the life cycle	20 U.S. families	I PA	PA:Who Occasion Location Activity Photograph or Date of photograph Independent variable: Life cycle stage Dependent variables: Social boundaries Geographical boundaries	(not significant) Family albums are most likely to: 1. Present a kin oriented image of family life in during post-school age 2. Depict nuclear family members or extended kin 3. Highlight nuclear family events 4. Be local rather than cosmopolitan in orientation 5. Include scenic, posed or gender-neutral pictures 6. Include photographs of nuclear family activity which occurs most often during the summer months and Christmas season.	Problematic sampling of photographs - only those selected by the family were examined. Conflation of norms of visual representation and actual family dynamics - the validity of Gardner's findings cannot be assessed from the information she provides.
<u>Halle, 1991</u> Hypothesises that photographs are used to diffuse the family's concern over its own 'fragility'	105 families; mean no of photos in each: 26.17	I PA (photos on display only)	Number of photos displayed Event Photograph style Who is in photo Where are photos displayed	1. Photographs are predominantly of kin (on average, only 5.5% of photos were of non-kin) 2. Photographs of at least 1 grandparent are displayed by 48% of households. 3. Pictures are predominantly of informal leisure pursuits: only 23% of photographs displayed were of formal occasions. 4. Photographs were predominantly displayed in groups (89% were groups of 4 or more photographs). 5. Less than 0.5% of photographs are of individuals alone displayed alone, which Halle interprets as evidence of a taboo on solitary photographs.	Photographs interpreted as manifesting the family's awareness of its own fragility & the desire to capture & freeze moments of togetherness and good times. No account of methodology or data

Table 2.1 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections

Research questions	Sample	Method	Variables	Results	Comments
Hoppál, 1988 How are photos used to maintain identity in immigrant Hungarian families?	300 photos, 10 families	PA	Reasons for taking photos Events photographed.	1. Photos are part of the family ritual, & are used to create the folklore of a community. 2. Informal photos can be used to: de-ritualise rituals, symbolise community togetherness, form an idealised family history, intensify experiences, preserve memories, provide a link with the past, conjure up and to learn the family past, initiate new family members	No report of data Interesting ideas, but sparse on methodological detail.
Kenyon, 1989 "What sort of experience is the stuff of vernacular photography"	63 mature students	Q Rep. grid Card sort	Photographable events Frequency of events photographed	1. <u>Photographable events</u> , in order of importance: holidays in general, family occasions, summer holidays, hobby events, and "other". 2. <u>Kinds of photographs most frequently taken</u> , in order of frequency: places, family snaps, holiday, nature, family portraits and "other". 3. <u>Motivations for taking photographs</u> (number of respondents mentioning): memory (47), capturing/preserving (12), for the future (9), holding special moments (29), marking events, situations and occasions (21), special occasions (8), family or friends (8), places (20), aesthetics (23), technical issues (10), emotional maintenance (13). 4. <u>Dimensions on which photographable situations were judged</u> : poor taste vs. socially sanctioned, public vs. private, socially meaningful vs. aesthetic, everyday vs. unique.	Ranking and sorting methods generated useful quantitative data, but sacrificed richness and interpretability of the findings. Over-complex repertory grid procedure rendered results from that component of the research unreliable.
Kohbe, 1993 Investigated the relationship between personal and family time orientation, social reticence, perceived family functioning, photographic orientation, meaning of family photos, and display of photographs	135 U.S. mothers	PA Q	Meaning of photos Healthiness of family functioning No. of photos, No. displayed, where displayed Type of photo Motivation for taking photos Degree of visual orientation of participant Social reticence Personal/family time orientation	1. There was a significant correlation between family past orientation and photographic orientation ($r=.28$, $p<.01$) and between family past orientation and photographic meaning ($r=.58$, $p<.001$) 2. Social reticence was significantly negatively correlated with photographic orientation ($r=-.29$, $p<.01$). 3. Positive family functioning was significantly correlated with photographic meaning ($r=.44$, $p<.001$), but was significantly negatively correlated with photographic orientation ($r=-.31$, $p<.001$). 4. Perceived healthiness of family functioning was significantly negatively correlated with number of family photographs taken ($r=-.31$, $p<.001$) 5. People who are more past oriented have significantly more family photographs ($r=.28$, $p<.01$) 6. There was no relationship found between ageing and importance placed on family photographs.	Makes no reference to family theory - hypotheses are virtually atheoretical No interpretation of the correlations Results point to a correlation between manifest content and family functioning, but meaning of that relationship is under-theorised.

Table 2.1 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Musello, 1977</u> "Is home mode photography a communicative system: is there both implication of symbolic intent and inference of communicational meaning in family photos?" What is the relationship between the components of photographs and the processes of production, use and display of photographs?	8 families	I PA	Examined interaction of each of the categories: participants, settings, topics, message form, code with: planning, shooting, processing, editing, exhibiting	1. "Home moders" typically do not seek to imply meaning or expression through the processes of taking photographs, and meaning is invested and attributed by viewers, rather than inferred through interpretive strategies. 2. Use of family photographs is founded essentially in a realist myth of mechanical reproduction and photos are treated as "natural" rather than symbolic events. 3. The main function of family photographs is merely documentation, with subsidiary uses being communion, interaction and presentation of self.	Very little operationalisation of process and content categories. No reporting of actual data (including number of photos analysed): just his interpretation of data. No account of method of photo analysis or of method of coding interview transcripts.
<u>Titus, 1976.</u> Hypothesised that the family photo reflects more role learning for parents during their first life cycle transition than during subsequent transitions.	23 families	PA (photos taken in first 3 months of each child's life)	Number of photographs of various combinations of family members	1. Significantly more photos of the first child than the second 2. More photos of the parents performing caretaking duties with the first child than the second 3. More photos of the first child on its own; but there were more photos of the second child with significant others.	Statistically problematic - no account taken of increase in degrees of freedom with each successive child. Operationalisation of "parenting" behaviour was excessively narrow.

Table 2.1 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of families and their photograph collections

Blinn (1988) posed the question of whether families' social identities are manifest in their photograph albums. Her aim was to establish the relationship between information about families' social identities derived quantitatively from coders' ratings of family photographs, family self-ratings of social identity, and family scores on a 'true and false' instrument that measures social identity. The research took place in six phases:

1. Sampling: Blinn's sample consisted of five Japanese and five American families. All of the American wives and none of the Japanese wives were employed outside the home. The Japanese families were recruited by placing a notice in the parents' newsletter of a local Japanese school, and the American families were recruited through word of mouth at the researcher's university.
2. Semi-structured interviews: Interviewees were asked who generally takes and cares for family pictures, who directs the picture taking session, how often are pictures taken and displayed, and the 'meaning' of each picture to the family members. (Blinn does not describe how these interviews were conducted and there is no information regarding whether family members were interviewed individually or together, and if the latter, whether they were asked in turn or just asked to find a consensus. Blinn makes no reference to the data from these interviews in her analysis).
3. Family Photo Assessment Process: The third phase consisted of the development of the 'Family Photo Assessment Process' (FPAP), which consisted of the researcher counting who is shown in each picture, who appears to be dominant or the centre of interest, the number of different events, the number of candid versus 'demystified' behaviours (behaviours which involve self-parody), the number of different events, the number of candid versus planned arrangements, and the number of formal versus informal behaviours. The next step involved translating the resultant numerical data into semantic differentials about the content of the pictures, picture taking behaviour, and care and display of pictures. The final step involved rating the family's identity, as represented in the photographs, on ten dimensions which were based on Moos' (1974) 'Family Environment Scale' (FES). These ten dimensions were cohesiveness, expressiveness, conflict, independence, achievement orientation, intellectual/cultural orientation, active/recreational orientation, religious/moral orientation, outdoor/nature orientation, and temporal/historic orientation.
4. Reliability: inter-coder reliability for these categories was 0.98 (Cronbach's Alpha). However, Blinn does not provide an operational definition for the visual correlates of Moos' dimensions, and therefore we have no way of assessing the validity of the coding system.

5. Self-rating: each husband and wife was asked to rate their family on the same ten dimensions derived from the FES.
6. FES: they each completed a Family Environment Scale.

Blinn concluded that the correlation between FPAP and families' self-assessments on the dimensions derived from the FES was high enough to infer that there is moderate congruence between the assessment of some dimensions of sociovidistic identity (a term adapted from Chalfen, 1974), meaning the family's identity as represented photographically) and family self-description, but there was no correlation between FPAP and FES.

Wives' *and* husbands' self-ratings correlated with the FES dimension of conflict; the wives' self-ratings further correlated with the dimensions of cohesiveness, achievement and intellectual/cultural, and the husbands' self-ratings correlated with the dimensions activity/recreational, and moral/religious. (Correlation co-efficients were not provided in the report).

There were several areas where Blinn's interpretation of her results is questionable. Families went through their albums while being interviewed, and it is therefore possible that their self-ratings were constructed to be congruent with the photographs. The soundness of Blinn's methodology and statistical analyses are difficult to evaluate from the report of her research. Blinn concluded that photographs can be used to predict self-description, rather than as psychometric measurements. This is a plausible conclusion, but one interesting aspect of Blinn's data was not discussed: coders' ratings and wives' self-ratings were correlated more closely (6 out of 10 cases) than husbands and coders (4 out of 10 cases). It has been suggested (Musello, 1977) that it is primarily wives who are responsible for compiling the family photographic collection; therefore, it may be possible that the photographs represent the wife's conception of the family identity. Though Blinn did obtain data regarding who took photographs and maintained the collection, which could have illuminated this issue, these were not reported.

This study attempted to systematically study the relationship between family identity and family photography, and is one of the few to do so. The results of Blinn's study, notwithstanding its flaws, do seem to point towards Proposition Six in Chapter 1 ('our family histories are not only contained in family albums, but are created by them'), but her research does not enable us to draw any conclusions regarding the relationship between manifest content and family functioning (Proposition Seven).

Bourdieu's (1965) research examined, from a devoutly sociological perspective, the 'implicit canons' which he claimed govern the content and composition of amateur photographs. His monograph is based on data yielded

by a questionnaire study, with 692 participants, conducted by Bourdieu and his associates, and also by six surveys conducted by commercial market research organisations.

Several aspects of photography were considered, including family photographs, amateur photography clubs, and the profession of photography, but only conclusions regarding family photography will be discussed here.

Bourdieu claimed that the main function of amateur photography is a family function: he claims that photography solemnises and immortalises the high points of family life, and thus helps to maintain both the family's identity and its solidarity. This is a common claim, and is embodied by Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'. However, Bourdieu's claim is based on quantitative data which were extremely liberally interpreted. The quantitative data regarding the practice of photography were merely that 64% of households with children have at least one camera, as against 32% of households without children, and the birth of a child is often correlated with an increase in photographic activity. Though these frequency data do point towards a family function, it should not be inferred from frequency alone that that function is to maintain families' unity and identity.

Bourdieu further claims that photography is ritually associated with festivities, family ceremonies or social gatherings. He bases this on questionnaire responses to the question 'why do you display or show photographs?' Thirteen per cent of respondents saw photographs as a means of documentation or information, and 2% saw photographs as a work of art. Only 6% of respondents claimed that they took photographs to show to loved ones. We are not informed what function was attributed to displayed photographs by the remaining 79% of participants. Bourdieu concludes that the showing of photographs not only evokes memories of festivities, but becomes a ceremony in itself, thereby assuming the same function of unifying the family as other ceremonies do. Again, this is a plausible claim, but one which is not warranted by the data as reported. Bourdieu does not report how many photographs were actually taken of festivities and other rituals, and therefore it would seem that the data which might best support his argument that family photography is used to promote family unity and identity by being associated with rituals, ceremonies, festivities and social gatherings either were not collected, or were not reported.

Bourdieu also investigated gender differences in the practice of photography, but his argument is somewhat contorted. He claims that wives are responsible for maintaining contact with the extended family and effectively are the official 'rememberers' in the family. (A similar claim is

made by others, for example, Firth, Hubert and Forge, 1969). However, Bourdieu's survey indicated that wives use cameras less often than husbands. (The data supporting this claim are described as '39% as against 59%', though it is not clear whether this refers to number of photographs taken or number of occasions during which photography is practised, which is not necessarily the same thing. The data in the French edition, to which the reader of the English edition is referred, hardly clarifies matters: we are told that 66.5% of men take photographs, versus 52.5% of women, but this is not broken down by marital status). Bourdieu accounts for this difference in photographic activity by stating that 'it is incumbent on the head of the family to carry out the ritual of solemnisation that the wife can only imitate, copy or duplicate' (p. 180). Even if one accepts the claim that whoever uses camera most often is likely to play the role of celebrant in family rituals, which is a tenuous enough claim in itself, it is difficult to see how this makes the person taking fewer photographs a mere 'imitator'. It is here that Bourdieu's explicitly sociological analysis becomes most problematic: his interpretation of his frequency data may mask substantial differences in practice in individual families, and standard deviations, which might help elucidate this issue, are not reported. The issue of gender differences has been raised by several researchers. Bourdieu claims that men are the primary photographers of the family; Gardner (1983) found that women took most of the family photographs, and Musello (1977) found no sex differences in the taking of photographs, though he claimed that females were more frequently responsible for the photographic collection. Of course, Bourdieu was working in the 1950's, and it might be expected that distinctions between gender appropriate behaviours, with 'who holds the camera' being one, may well have been eroded in the 40 years between Bourdieu and Gardner's research.

One other finding of Bourdieu's which is of interest is that, in interviews with 200 professional photographers, 140 professional photographers believed that some amateurs take better photographs than professionals. Unfortunately, we are not told how 'better' was defined; it may refer to aesthetics, functionality (i.e. usefulness) or perhaps choice of subject. Nevertheless, irrespective of the definition of quality used, it is a surprising finding, and one which warrants further investigation.

Brown (1981) examined the portrayal of family life-cycle change in magazine advertising. The aim of this study was to determine the presence, strength and significance of relationships between the independent variables of historical time, family life cycle stage, and number of children of each sex, and the dependent variables of family roles, family companionship and family

intimacy. The 'families' used were those depicted in 521 magazine photographs spanning 58 years. Brown's definition of life-cycle stages during marriage were: pre-parental, all children under six, children over and under six, all children over six, and post-parental.

The pictures were exhaustively coded in terms of roles exemplified by each family member. These roles were: personal care, economic provision, household tasks, child care, recreation, 'therapeutics' (care giving towards spouse), buying, gift giving or 'indeterminate'. Two other dependent variables were companionship (sharing of activity) and intimacy (physical and emotional closeness). The latter was assessed using Levinger and Gunner's (1967) 'interpersonal grid', which, based on the notion of proxemics, assumes that horizontal distance between persons is a measure of intimacy.

Brown's findings were as follows:

1. An increasing emphasis on wives involved in household tasks performance and recreation over historical time was observed.
2. The depiction of wives in economic provision and therapeutic behaviour remained essentially the same over historical time.
3. There were no significant changes in the wives' involvement in housework, recreation or economic provision across the family life-cycle.
4. However, the presence of children during the parental stages was associated with a decrease in the wives' involvement in therapeutic activities towards their husbands.
5. Depiction of husbands in economic provision and recreation was stable over time and life cycle, but their involvement in housework and therapeutics was rarely depicted in magazine advertising.
6. Throughout the period spanned by the magazines, mothers were more likely to be depicted in the physical care aspects of parenthood, while fathers are more likely to be involved in the play aspects. The mother's involvement in child-care did show a decrease; however, it does not seem to have decreased because of any compensating increase in the father's involvement. Overall, in terms of roles, there was little in any of the photographs to suggest any move over historical time towards more egalitarian family structures.
7. Across the period examined, children were overwhelmingly involved in recreation. Family life cycle stage made no difference to this.
8. Grandparents were primarily depicted in child care; particularly at life cycle stage two.
9. Family companionship became increasingly important over time, particularly at earlier stages of the life cycle, for both spouses and children. Same sexed sibling companionship was found to be the preferred pattern

- over time and the life-cycle. Cross sexed sibling companionship in recreation was found to have become increasingly less popular over time.
10. Increasing intimacy between husbands and wives and siblings over time was noted. There was a shift toward same sex family attachments over time.
 11. Over the life cycle, a curvilinear relationship was found for husband wife intimacy, the high points occurring during the pre-parental and post-parental stages. Parent-child intimacy evidenced a decrease during the successive parental stages. Finally, no significant change in either sister-sister intimacy was noted, although a significant decrease was found in brother-brother intimacy over the family life-cycle.

Brown provides numerous tables and graphs of his data, but these are difficult to interpret. He provides very few details of absolute frequencies of photographs in each category, but provides proportional data whose provenance is unclear. Without having the absolute frequencies of photographs in each category available, it is difficult to establish what the proportional data mean (i.e. does a score of '0.52' for husband depicted as being involved in recreation during life cycle stage 1 (p. 99) mean 52% of all photographs, and therefore 270.92 photographs, 52% of photographs containing husbands, and therefore 172.64 photographs, 52% of photographs containing photographs of husband taken at life cycle stage 1, and therefore 67.08 photographs, or 52% of photographs of husband involved in recreation, in which case, as the total number of these photographs is not reported, it is not possible to establish how many photographs this represents). None of these seem likely, as absolute frequency of photographs can only be a whole number.

Brown made much use of ANOVA for his statistical analysis. ANOVA is used to test hypotheses that a sample of scores is drawn from different populations, and it does this by comparing two estimates of the population variance. However, it does not make sense to talk about population variances when, in the case of Brown's data, each family role category has only one score, i.e. the number of photographs in that category, or the proportion of photographs in that category. The position is further complicated by the fact that family role was a nominal variable (which Brown augmented with 'dummy variables' (p.26) for his statistical analysis). Therefore, Brown's results are better treated as interesting hypotheses rather than statements of fact. (Attempts made to contact the author to clarify these issues have been unsuccessful).

Brown concludes by pointing out that there is a controversy regarding whether advertising influences societal values, or merely draws upon and therefore reflects them. Until this controversy is resolved, we cannot draw any conclusions from Brown's study regarding behaviour in actual families. It is,

however, an illustration of the cultural norms which may influence the depiction of families in photographs. Therefore, this study indicates that Proposition Six from Chapter 1 ('Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them') must be taken very seriously indeed before accepting any evidence that family functioning manifests itself transparently in photographs (Proposition Seven).

Gardner's (1983, 1990, 1991) series of studies used a family systems approach (conceptualising the family as a bounded universe) to examine whether and how the family defines its boundaries and gender roles through the photographs it takes and collects, and whether the content of these photos varies across family structure, gender, demographic variables and life cycle stage.

Gardner focused on three aspects of family life: the permeability of the family's boundaries, and therefore the extent to which a family is an open or closed system, the extent to which the family is local or cosmopolitan in origin, and the family's visual presentation of gender roles. These were operationalised as: the extent to which nuclear family, kin and non-kin are depicted in the photographs, the geographical location in which the photograph is taken, and the extent to which sex-specific or non-sex typed roles, as assessed by independent coders, were depicted in the photographs.

Gardner's sample consisted of 20 American families who were recruited via a telephone directory. (These represented 28% of the total number of families contacted). Nineteen members of the sample were white, and 27 defined themselves as Anglo-Saxon. The median annual family income was \$20,000. Five of the families were 'middle class' (which was defined by Gardner as both of the spouses holding white collar occupations), seven were 'working class' (defined as both of the spouses holding blue collar occupations), and eight were 'mixed class' (husband's and wife's occupational classification differed). Only families which had a formal family album, as opposed to an unorganised collection of photographs were included; therefore, the photographs which Gardner examined were likely to have been highly selected, a possibility which is also indicated by the extremely low maximum and median number of photographs (316 and 54 respectively). It is possible such that a highly selected set of photographs only enabled the researcher to draw inferences about the family's desired or ideal pattern of interaction, rather than providing information about actual interaction patterns, as she claimed.

Each couple was interviewed twice, a week apart. Both spouses had to be present at the first interview, but only one, usually the wife, needed to attend the second.

A family genogram was constructed spanning three generations containing information regarding relationships and physical location of family members. The purpose of this was not only to build rapport, but also to provide an adjunct to the information in photographs, for example, to generate information regarding consistently absent family members. However, Gardner makes no mention of any subsequent analysis of the genograms.

Upon completion of the genogram, each spouse was asked a series of questions about their everyday behaviour during the last year, three years ago and the first year of marriage (or ten years ago, whichever was the more recent). Questions focused on the following issues: what family members did in their spare time, which friends and relatives they got together with the most often (in each case a description of the activity they engaged in, who with, how often, and where was obtained), who usually took the photos and maintained the collection, and what involvement the other family members had in these processes. They were also asked to answer for children, and completed a standard demographic questionnaire.

The second interview was with one spouse, and it was at this stage that the photographs were examined and coded (inter-rater reliability was 0.91). 513 codes in all were generated, but only those of 'theoretical interest' to Gardner were included in the analysis.

The codes analysed were: who, occasion, location (geographical and 'social', for example, town-home, town-friends, town-school etc.), activity, photographer, and date of photograph. Gardner provides very little information on the actual coding process, and seems to treat such issues as establishing the date of the photograph as entirely unproblematic. She does not mention what role her participants played in identifying such information in the photographs, but I find it hard to believe that Gardner and her co-raters were able to code the photographs, in one sitting, without some help from participants in, for example, identifying people and places.

The number of photos in each category as a proportion of the total number of photos in the album was calculated. The total number of photos in each family's album ranged from 16 to 313, with the median number being 54.

None of Gardner's findings were statistically significant. The data were therefore presented using simple descriptive statistics. 'High' frequency of particular photographs was defined as over 19%. Her findings suggest that, in general, family albums are most likely to depict nuclear family members or extended kin, highlight nuclear family events, be local rather than cosmopolitan in orientation and include scenic, posed or gender-neutral pictures. Also, picture taking tends to be a nuclear family activity which occurs most often during the summer months and Christmas season.

Various social processes associated with the creation of the family album were strongly related to gender. For example, the wife was the primary picture taker within most families. She also usually decided which photographs would be included in the album and was essentially responsible for its creation and update. Thus, the visual portrayal of family life was largely the wife's domain. Gardner claims that this pattern is consistent with the 'gemeinschaft' (community oriented) quality of the female world and highlights the central role of women in the creation and maintenance of kinship ties (Bahr, 1976).

When discussing the function and meaning of the photo album, families most often described how it enabled them to 'relive' or recall past events and people. Others stressed the album's importance for documenting changes in the growth and development of children. Also frequently mentioned was how the album functioned to reaffirm the bonds of family members to each other and highlight their common experience. Gardner does not report the frequency of these statements.

The independent variables of social class and family life cycle also had an effect. The family photograph albums of 'middle-class' families contained a high proportion of kin pictures, including all types of kin except the relatives of the husband (this latter finding is quite possibly due to the fact that the wife is predominantly the photographer in Gardner's study, and therefore might be considered more likely to photograph her own rather than her husband's relatives). They were also likely to include photographs of friends, particularly those of the couple. However, friends of the wife were unlikely to be visually represented.

There was a low incidence of pictures of family members engaged in 'traditional' gender behaviours (as defined by Gardner) e.g. woman doing housework, man doing D.I.Y. According to these findings, the image of family life presented by the middle class was that of a relatively open family system. The social boundaries of their family world were permeable and broad. Not only were kin and friends visually represented, but a variety of relationships from each social network appeared. The extensiveness of their world of experience was also reflected in their portrayal of geographical boundaries: there was a low incidence of photographs taken locally. This general pattern of 'openness' was also evident in their portrayal of gender roles. That is, such families were not bound by narrow and stereotypical conceptions of gender behaviour. If these visual constructions of social reality are viewed as indicative of a family's more general orientation to the world, then the family paradigm of middle class families is best characterised as cosmopolitan. According to Reiss (1981), such families are oriented toward a broad range of activities and interests extending far beyond other confines of their immediate

social world. The findings were in the opposite direction for working class families, whose orientation tended to be 'closed'.

Gardner defined life-cycle stages as pre-parental, pre-school, school age, and post school age. Contrary to expectations, families were most likely to present a kin oriented image of family life during stage 4. When data were reanalysed controlling for length of marriage, it was revealed that longer married couples have a higher proportion of photographs depicting all types of kin (i.e. both nuclear and extended family). Family life cycle stage has a tendency towards a significant effect only on the portrayal of extended family.

Though Gardner reports her findings in detail, and analyses them with due caution in the light of the small sample size, her interpretation of her data is problematic. Given that her research aim was to examine 'whether and how' family dynamics are reflected in family photographs, and therefore her results should have illuminated Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding the structure of the family can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs', the validity of her study and the extent to which it is truly systemic, is in question. Paradoxically, Gardner addressed the 'how' issue without examining the relationship between the family's visual portrayal of its dynamics and the actual dynamics prevailing in a family. Brown's (1981) research demonstrates that there is a relatively systematic code for the visual representation of 'imaginary' families; it is therefore possible that the photographs Gardner examined tell us more about the visual norms adopted by families than they do about the reality of family dynamics. This study also falls short of a truly systemic approach, as she merely examines relationships between the nuclear family and its (social and geographical) environment, while neglecting the systemic nature of the nuclear family itself.

Halle (1991) argued that family photographs encapsulate the goals of the modern American family to spend pleasurable moments with one's family and thus attain the American dream, which is under threat from family breakdown and geographical mobility.

Halle interviewed 105 families, obtained by randomly sampling households in New York city, and documented the styles of photographs on display in their homes. The mean number of photographs displayed was 26.17, and the main characteristics of photographs displayed were as follows: photographs were predominantly of kin (on average, only 5.5% of photos were of non-kin), photographs of at least 1 grandparent were displayed by 48% of households, pictures were predominantly of informal leisure pursuits: only 23% of photographs displayed were of formal occasions, photographs were predominantly displayed in groups (89% were groups of 4 or more

photographs), and less than 0.5% of photographs were of individuals alone, displayed alone, which Halle interprets as evidence of a taboo on solitary photographs.

Halle interprets these findings as a manifestation of the family's awareness of its own fragility and the desire to capture and freeze moments of family togetherness. These results are surprising: one would expect that more formal photographs would be displayed, particularly those taken by professionals, which do tend to be formal. However, Halle does not indicate how he conducted the interviews, nor how the interviews support the inferences he made on the basis of the photographs he observed. He makes no claims for how the photographs he observed might relate to the album as a whole; nor does he suggest how the photographs fulfil the functions he attributes to them. This study, tenuous though the conclusions may be, does indicate that Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness' merits further investigation, and suggests a methodology for doing so.

Hoppál's (1989) research on photographs was part of a larger project examining the maintenance of ethnic identity among a community of immigrant Hungarians in the US. Hoppál examined the photographic collections of 10 families, which yielded 300 photographs. We are not told how the families were recruited.

From his analysis of the interviews and photographs, Hoppál drew the following conclusions regarding the functions of photographs, which, though persuasive, are not substantiated by reference to data: photographs 'confirm the moment' and make it real; the use of photography in rites of passage varies over historical time: sometimes it is used to give a greater sense of importance and mystification to a ritual; at other times, it is used to 'de-ritualise' an event and make it seem more intimate and informal; photographs are used to create a sense of communion and belonging; photographs can be used to translate family myths into an idealised version of family history; photographs are used to preserve memories and to create a sense of continuity with the past; photographs help the members of the family to create and learn the collective family past; and studying the family album collectively with a new member present serves an initiatory function.

Though Hoppál's findings are interesting, it is difficult to assess their validity, as no information is provided regarding the criteria used to sample photographs from the collections, the recruitment procedure and sample characteristics, the interview method and the analysis of the interview data. Therefore, Hoppál's research, though it had the potential to illuminate

Proposition Five, focusing as it did on the use of photographs to maintain family cohesion, cannot be considered to have done so in a reliable way.

Kenyon's (1989) research question was 'what sort of experience is the stuff of vernacular photography?' He conducted research using a combination of questionnaire, repertory grid, and card sorting techniques with 63 respondents, who were recruited from an Open University summer school. The main areas of investigation were people's motivations for taking photographs, the sorts of situations they considered photographable, and the dimensions on which they categorised their own and supplied photographs. Kenyon also collected demographic information regarding the practice of photography.

His main findings were as follows: occasions considered most photographable, in order of importance, were: holidays in general, family occasions, summer holidays, hobby events, and 'other'. (He does not provide information regarding the frequency of various events in the 'other' category). The kinds of photographs which participants felt were most frequently taken in their own households followed a similar pattern to the 'photographable' event. They were: places, family snaps, holiday, nature, family portraits and 'other'. Kenyon interpreted these findings as indicating the actual frequency of photographs of these events, which, given that participants were filling in the questionnaires from memory, away from home, may well be a rather strong claim. It is more likely that these questions elicited normative information regarding what photographs should *usually* comprise a family photographic collection. An analysis of actual family albums would have provided information regarding the validity of these findings.

The open-ended question 'why do you take photographs?' elicited the following responses: 47 respondents quoted 'memory' as a motivation; 12 mentioned 'capturing or preserving'; 9 claimed photographs were taken 'for the future'; 29 mentioned photographs as 'holding special moments', 21 cited events, situations and occasions, and 8 mentioned special occasions; 25 mentioned family or friends; 20 cited places; 23 mentioned aesthetics; 10 mentioned technique, skill or technical issues, and finally, 13 mentioned some form of emotional maintenance. Kenyon interprets these responses as evidence of the use of photographs to manipulate subjective experiences of time.

The analysis of the repertory grids where people were asked to generate attributes of their own photographs followed a similar pattern: the most important elicited attributes of photographs were seen to be: happy/fun (12), memory (10), not boring (10), natural-posed(7), composed (7), personal (7),

technically good (6), interesting (5). 'Memory' and 'not boring' were not seen as important for the 10 'typical' snaps supplied by Kenyon. Multi-dimensional scaling of the results of the card-sorting task, which asked people to judge photographable situations, yielded 4 dimensions: poor taste versus socially sanctioned, public versus private, socially meaningful versus aesthetic, and everyday versus unique.

These results, though they provide some much needed quantitative data regarding the functions of photographs, are rather bland. Kenyon himself recommends pursuing these questions as part of an interview study, in order to elicit their meanings for participants. He also advocated use of more open ended questions: many of the categories above were supplied by Kenyon, and were merely ranked by respondents, and therefore, it is possible that these categories were not the most salient for them. Kenyon also cautions against over-interpretation of the repertory grid results, as the procedure was extremely complex to administer, and therefore may have been unreliable. Therefore, the potential of his research to illuminate Propositions Two, Four and Six was not realised.

The purpose of Kobbe's (1993) study, which was conducted in the United States with 135 mothers (recruited via day-care centres) was to investigate relationships among personal time orientation, family time orientation, social reticence, perceived family functioning, photographic orientation, meaning of family photos and photographic exhibition.

Kobbe's hypotheses were:

1. People who have stronger past versus present orientations feel more attachment to their family photos and exhibit more family photos in the public areas of their homes for symbolic and emotional rather than decorative reasons.
2. Persons who are less socially reticent exhibit more photos in the public spaces of their homes
3. As level of perceived family functioning increases, the attachment to family photographs increases, as does the motivation to exhibit more photographs in public areas of the home for personal reasons.
4. Persons who perceive their family functioning to be higher also tend to take more family photographs.
5. People who are more past oriented have more family photographs
6. As people get older, they place increasing importance on family photographs.

Kobbe defined and measured her variables as tabulated in table 2.2:

Variable name	Definition	Measurement instrument
Perceived family functioning	Measure of an individual's perception of the psychological healthiness of the family	Family Functioning Style Scale (Trivette, Dunst, Deal & Hamer, 1990))
Time orientation	Personal: individual's past and present perspective on life. Family: each individual's assessment of the perceived past and present perspective of her family	Time orientation portion of Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1974)
Social Reticence	Degree of shyness as rated by individual	Social Reticence Scale (Jones & Briggs, 1986)
Meaning of family photographs	The value given to photographs or the degree of attachment to them felt by the individual	Photographic Meaning Scale (Researcher produced)
Photographic exhibition	Open display of still family photographs in home (i.e. excluded family albums)	Photographic Exhibition Scale (Researcher produced)
Photographic orientation	Degree of visual orientation displayed by the subject, including number of photographs taken, amount of photographic equipment, amount of time invested.	Photographic Orientation Scale (Researcher Produced)

Table 2.2: Kobbe's operationalisation of variables and measurement instruments

Kobbe's research took place in two phases. The first phase involved a test of the researcher-produced instruments, and the second phase involved examining the relationship between the variables in order to test the hypotheses described above. As all her instruments proved to have a test-retest reliability of over 70%, only the findings for the the second phase will be reported here.

Her results for the second phase were as follows:

1. There was a significant correlation between family past orientation and photographic orientation ($r=.28$, $p<.01$) and between family past orientation and photographic meaning ($r=.58$, $p<.001$)
2. Social reticence was significantly negatively correlated with photographic orientation ($r=-.29$, $p<.01$).

3. Positive family functioning was significantly correlated with photographic meaning ($r=.44$, $p<.001$), but was significantly negatively correlated with photographic orientation ($r=-.31$, $p<.001$).
4. Perceived healthiness of family functioning was significantly negatively correlated with number of family photographs taken ($r=-.31$, $p<.001$)
5. People who are more past oriented have significantly more family photographs ($r=.28$, $p<.01$)
6. There was no relationship found between ageing and importance placed on family photographs.

Kobbe's study was one of the few to attempt to systematically relate family photography to other measures of family functioning. It points towards the relationship between time and photography which is embodied in Proposition Two ('the essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'). It had the potential to provide an excellent test of Proposition Seven ('inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn on the basis of the manifest content of family photographs'), and of the Propositions dealing with photographic communication in the family (Proposition Four: 'photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context', Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness' and Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'). Her findings need to be borne in mind, as they challenge some common-sense assumptions: for instance, one might have expected that as people got older they might place more importance on family photographs. However, Kobbe does very little with the significant correlations which she found. She makes no reference to family theory in her thesis, her hypotheses are virtually atheoretical, particularly those which are concerned with family functioning, and we have no way of knowing what the correlations mean. For instance, how do families who are past oriented use photographs? What is the qualitative relationship between family functioning and photographic display? What are the 'meanings' which families attach to photographs? Kobbe's results point to an important role for photographs in families, and do suggest that the manifest content of photographs may correlates with aspects of family functioning. Unfortunately, this is all that can be concluded from Kobbe's research.

Musello (1977) suggested (based on the theory of Worth and Gross, 1974) that 'home mode' photography (i.e. family snaps) could be considered a communicative behaviour if it was possible to observe both an intent to

communicate, and inferences made by observers based on the manifest content of the photograph. He also asked, drawing on Chalfen's (1974) 'sociovisual framework' whether there is a relationship between the components of photographs and the processes of production, use and display of photographs, and if so, what is the nature of that relationship.

Musello conducted interviews and family album analyses with eight families, and concluded that home mode photography is not a communicative system, as there is no intent to communicate on the part of family snappers, but that they solely aim to document the family. Furthermore, he states that there is no meaning inherent in family snaps; rather, the communicative value of photographs arises in their usage, which, he says, is primarily for self-presentation, promotion of family interaction, and maintenance of communion (family cohesion). He also states that communication with family photographs occurs within a realist myth. At a first glance this study appears to provide support for Proposition Three: 'Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'. (Interestingly, Musello does not refer to Sekula (1975), who appears to have coined the phrases 'realist myth' and 'symbolist myth' in relation to photographs).

Though Musello provides a thoughtful and systematic account of the process of family photography, unfortunately he does not report any data with which his claims can be validated (or, indeed, falsified). He supplies no details of how he actually analysed the photographs or interviews, the description of the operationalisation of categories is sparse, and he provides no indication of the frequencies of various categories (or indeed, of how many photographs he analysed in each family). He credits photographs with an important role in the family system, but makes no attempt to elucidate what that role might be, and provides no background information regarding his theoretical interpretation of the 'family system'.

Musello's master's research can therefore only be considered as a useful source of hypotheses for research on family photography, and casts little light on the Propositions formulated in Chapter 1.

Titus (1976) hypothesised that the family photo record reflects more role learning behaviour for the parents during their first transition to parenthood than during subsequent transitions to parenthood because parenting behaviours are learned and the parenting roles are assimilated, immediately after the first child's birth, and they do not have to be re-learned after the birth of subsequent children. Titus therefore operationalised her hypothesis in terms of the number of photographs illustrating parenting behaviour in the first

three months after the birth each of her children; according to Titus' hypothesis, there should be more photos of the first child than of later children.

Titus' sample consisted of 23 families whose most recent child was between the ages of 4 and 11 months. Each family's photographs were counted for the most recent child and the first child, and were categorised according to their content. The categories were: child alone; mother with child; father with child; both with child; significant others with child. All photos were of the first three months of each child's life.

Titus' results, which supported her hypothesis, were as follows: there were significantly more photos of the first child than the second; there were more photos of the parents performing caretaking duties with the first child than the second; and there were more photos of the first child on its own; but there were more photos of the second child with significant others.

However, the statistics on which Titus based her interpretation of her data are flawed, in that she did not take account of the increase in degrees of freedom regarding who is available to be photographed which occurs with each successive child. With the first child, there can be one and only one child in a photograph, i.e. for every photograph including a child, the probability of that child being the first child, either alone or with parents, is 1.0. With the second child, the probability of the first child or the second child appearing alone or with parents is only 0.5. Therefore, there is reason to expect that, on the basis of chance alone, there would be fewer opportunities to photograph the second and subsequent children alone or alone with parents. Titus' data therefore warrant reanalysing taking this into account. Titus also ignores an alternative explanation for her data: that the decreased number of photographs for successive children may reflect a habituation to novelty rather than the assimilation of new role behaviours (Gale and Hollingworth, 1984).

There is a further problem with Titus' study in that her definition of 'parenting behaviours' was not clear, and though she purported to be examining which parenting behaviours were significant to parents at each transition, she extrapolates from wholly infant-associated parenting behaviours. She only examined photographs from the first three months after the child was born, and she only examined photographs containing the two target children. However, parenting of the other children doesn't stop when the new child is born. Therefore, one cannot deduce from her analysis of the photographs that there was less role learning activity going on during later transitions to parenthood. In short, though Titus' hypothesis was a plausible one, it still remains to be tested thoroughly, so that alternative explanations can either be accepted or excluded systematically. Therefore, the notion that role learning behaviours during life-cycle transitions are reflected in photographs

remains to be proven, but Titus has nevertheless provided a means of operationalising some of the claims embodied in Proposition Seven, and her research indicates that it may be methodologically possible to investigate claims regarding the representation of aspects of family functioning in the manifest content of family photographs.

Implications of existing research on family photographs

It was suggested in Chapter 1 that the manifest content of family photographs can tell us something about family dynamics, and also that photographs are used to maintain unity and cohesiveness in the family. Several of the studies reviewed here attempt to do just that. However, not only has it not yet been established whether we can learn anything about individual family functioning from photographs, but the conflation of cultural codes of representation and individual families' embracing of those codes has also not been addressed. Brown demonstrated, albeit inconclusively, given my criticisms of his research, that there may be cultural norms governing representation of families. Some of the individual studies which I review below also make this point. Therefore, it is essential to carry out a taxonomic study of albums, not with the goal of making statements about individual family functioning, but rather to reveal the codes that are actually available to families in their representation of the family. Of course, there will be individual differences governing how individual families represent themselves. However, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from systematic individual differences until we have established whether there is any culturally accepted norm from which they deviate. There has also been very little investigation in these family studies of the functions of photographs in families. It would seem reasonable to expect that the intended function of a photograph may well affect the nature of the representation in the first place.

Individual research

Research with individuals and their photographs is more heterogeneous than researched focused on family photography, in terms of research questions and methodologies, and also in terms of the quality of the research. Empirical individual research is summarised in Table 2.3. Research on individuals and their photographs has had two distinguishable themes: firstly, what sort of things do people take photographs of and why, and secondly, what is the relationship between the manifest and latent content of photographs, i.e. what aspects of the manifest content of photographs affords what sort of interpretations?

Barnes and Sternberg (1989) posed the question 'how does decoding of non-verbal cues relate to intelligence'. This study was mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, in terms of its relevance to the claim that the 'studium' of a photograph is intelligible to any observer (Proposition One), but it warrants closer consideration, as it is one of the few studies carried out on photograph interpretation within an experimental paradigm.

Barnes and Sternberg asked 38 participants to judge which couples were in a 'real' relationship in a set of 24 pictures of couples (the photographs were of both 'real' couples and of strangers asked to pose as though they were a couple), and which was the supervisor in 24 photographs of supervisors with their supervisees. Participants were also asked to list the features on which they based their decision, and to provide importance and confidence ratings for these features. Sixty-five percent of couples correctly identified the 'fake' couples in the picture sets and 80% correctly identified which person in the photographs was the other's supervisor. The features on which they based their decision in the 'couples' task were 'external similarity', 'biological similarity', 'contextual cueing', 'comfortableness' and 'look of love', with the latter two being the features which correlated most with successful judgements. The features on which they based their decision for the 'supervisors' task were body position, authority/dominance, age, sex, eye contact, instructing, socio-economic status, dress and appearance, with the latter two being the features which correlated most with successful judgements. Within each task, a performance-componential analysis of the data demonstrated that different strategies were required for each picture. Participants' success on the task was significantly positively correlated with their social intelligence, as measured by several instruments measuring social competence and cognitive intelligence.

Though Barnes and Sternberg's methodology and analysis appeared to yield some evidence for their claim that skill in decoding of nonverbal cues is positively correlated with social intelligence, the choice of initial stimulus materials was somewhat problematic. Strangers were stopped in the street and asked to pose as a couple; they therefore had little investment in appearing convincing together as a couple, and one might expect that the nuances of nonverbal communication between, say, two good friends who were not a

Key to method section: PA - photo analysis; I=interview; Q=questionnaire; E=experimental

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Barnes & Sternberg, 1989</u> How does the decoding of nonverbal cues relate to social intelligence?	21 males 17 females	PA (by participants)	Independent variable: social intelligence Dependent variable; answer to questions: is the couple in the photograph "real" (genuinely in a relationship) or "fake" (two strangers)? Which of the two people in the photograph is the other's supervisor?	1. No significant sex differences were found. 2. Features used to decode relationships were: personality, proximity, comfortableness, and facial expressions. 3. Features used to decode dominance were authority/dominance, age, dress and body position. 4. 65% correctly identified fake couples.	Barnes and Sternberg's results indicate that ability to decode nonverbal cues is not a unitary skill. Social intelligence and non-verbal decoding ability consist in part of the ability to extract, weight and combine information contained in the photograph.

Table 2.3: Review of the main empirical studies of individuals and photography

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Cloniger (1975)</u> Hypothesised that the content of photographs taken by professional photographers can be differentiated on the basis of the gender of the photographer.	Photos taken by 9 male and 9 female photographers. 5 "most representative" works by each photographer provided the stimuli for this study	PA: photos ranked by coders	Centre of interest Activity Location Camera shot Emotional level Emotional environment Human interaction Perception of photographer	FEMALES <u>Centre of interest:</u> singular (female between the ages of 19 and 60, who is either ordinary or reasonably attractive and who is either costumed or informally dressed.) <u>Activity:</u> domestic or artistic <u>Location:</u> enclosed, interior setting. <u>Camera shot:</u> medium or close-up <u>Emotional level:</u> subject "would be represented in subjective interpretive and interpersonal terms" <u>emotional environment:</u> personal <u>human interaction:</u> co-operation or acceptance <u>Perception of photographer:</u> "insider", someone who had an intimate connection with the subject matter and who had participated in the situation through the act of photography. MALES <u>Centre of interest:</u> One or several; unlikely to be human. <u>Activity:</u> Professional or occupational activity <u>Location:</u> open exterior environment. <u>Camera shot:</u> medium shot or a long shot. <u>Emotional level:</u> subject would be treated in objective, classifying and individualistic terms. <u>emotional environment:</u> explicitly impersonal <u>human interaction:</u> competition and exclusion or a combination of competition and co-operation. <u>Perception of photographer:</u> "outsider", someone who maintained an attitude of observation and who accurately recorded the situation.	A methodologically sound and interesting study

Table 2.3 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of individuals and photography

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Mills (1984)</u> Are the sex differences in nonverbal behaviour reflected in photos produced by the photographer, the subject, or both?	34 male and 34 female students	PA: Subjects snapped unexpectedly by either a female or a male photographer	Smiling Head canting Orientation to the camera	Found no effects due to photographer sex but found that females exhibited more submissive behaviours than males (i.e.. they smiled more).	Questionable definition of "submissive" behaviour.
<u>O'Connor, Beilin & Kose, 1981</u> Investigated the claim that there is a general predisposition towards a belief in the fidelity of photographs.	40 pre-operational and 40 concrete operational children	E: combinations of logical and illogical photos	IV: task order, operational level DV: judgements of photographic fidelity	Significant effect of operational level and task order was found. Outcome of first task was most likely to be predicted true regardless of logicity. Operational level interacted with task order. Main finding: 90% of the pre-operational children thought the illogical photographs true, whereas only 30% of the concrete operational children did.	Some evidence for existence of "realist" myth in young children. They do not address possible effect of discursive context of photographs on judgements of fidelity
<u>Ragan, 1982</u> Examined visual depictions of sex roles:	1,296 portraits drawn from yearbooks	PA	Smiling Head cant Orientation w.r.t. camera Glasses or not	1. Females smile more frequently than males 2. Females smile more expansively than males: results tended towards significance 3. Females head cant at greater angles than males 4. Males face the camera more directly than females - tended towards sig. H5: Males will wear glasses more frequently than females - accepted H6: Persons in traditionally opposite sex positions will deintensify their gender displays - not sig.	Sound empirical test of Goffman's (1976) more anecdotal study of gender displays.

Table 2.3 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of individuals and photography

Research question(s)	Sample	Method	Variables / Categories examined	Results	Comments
<u>Ziller, 1990.</u> Are visual correlates of self-concept manifest in personal photographs?		PA (12 photos from each subject taken in response to question "who are you?") Q (various standardised tests)	Various "orientations", e.g. intellectual, aesthetic, self, social.	"Book orientation" correlates with grade point averages. ($p < .05$) "Aesthetic orientation" correlated with aesthetic value score on the Vernon-Allport-Lindsey Study of Values. ($r = .34$) "Self orientation" correlated with Piers-Harris questionnaire happiness scores ($r = .22$) and with self esteem scores on Coopersmith's questionnaire, ($r = .28$) Social orientation correlated with social interest on the Ziller Social Schemas Tasks ($r = .25$).	Fairly sound empirical evidence that personality characteristics can be inferred from specially-taken photos. However, Ziller points out that the process of inferring orientations from photographs is aided if the orientations are predicted on the basis of a theoretical framework, i.e. photos can provide confirmation for inferences based on other sources of information.

Table 2.3 (continued): Review of the main empirical studies of individuals and photography

couple, would be much more difficult to decode. Barnes and Sternberg's study does lend support for the proposition that information regarding relationships can be inferred from the manifest content of photographs. However, the robustness of Barnes and Sternberg's results depends on the highly artificial nature of the experimental task, and therefore extrapolating these results to more ecologically valid situations may not be possible.

Cloniger (1975) hypothesised that the content of photographs taken by professional photographers can be differentiated on the basis of the gender of the photographer. Her data were obtained using three different instruments: a visual content analysis, a Q study, and an Ego Strength Differential Scale.

1. Visual content analysis: Cloniger asked three female judges to rate 90 photographs comprising 5 of the 'most representative' works from each of 9 female and 9 male famous professional photographers. The judges rated the photographs using a set of categories relating to 'centre of interest'. These were: 'subject' (for example, age, physical appearance, clothing), 'total image' (activity type), 'nature of environment' (open/enclosed, interior/exterior), 'sex preferences' (sex of person depicted), 'groupings and proxemic behaviour' (isolated/close, scattered/crowded), and 'structural aspects' (type of shot, distance between taker and subject, type of lens, shot angle, presence or absence of physical manipulation of photo, for example, special effects and lighting).
2. Ego Strength Differentiation Scale: This scale was devised by Cloniger as a means of operationalising hypotheses regarding differences between the sexes. These hypotheses were: 1) males tend to experience and represent the self in individualistic terms; females tend to experience and represent the self in terms of interpersonal relatedness; 2) males represent others in objective, classifying terms, females represent others in subjective, interpretive terms; 3) females, more than males, experience and represent the physical environment in 'self-centred' terms; 4) males represent the future in terms of instrumental actions and external change; females represent the future in terms of interpersonal events and inner change; 5) Males, as compared with females, express more agentic themes in reporting significant affective arousal; females express more communal and mixed themes.

The scale took the form of 7 bipolar statements (see table 2.4) relating to the themes embodied in the hypotheses above, and the three coders were asked to rate each pair of statements in relation to each photograph using a three point scale. The statements were classified a priori as being either characteristic of masculinity or characteristic of femininity.

	Femininity	Masculinity
1	Subject is represented in subjective, interpretive terms	Subject is represented in objective, classifying terms
2	Subject is represented in interpersonal terms	Subject is represented in individualistic terms
3	The photographer is an 'insider' participating in the situation	The photographer is an 'outsider' observing the situation
4	The environment is personal	The environment is impersonal
5	Human interaction stressed co-operation or acceptance	Human interaction stressed competition or exclusion
6	Sexuality is represented as union, belonging or relationship	Sexuality is expressed as a drive or conquest
7	The overall theme concerned social acceptance, togetherness, reunion, receptivity, dependence, altruism, openness, unity with universe, or lack and removal of repression.	The overall theme concerned achievement, risk, intrusion, separateness, isolation, aloneness, aggression, danger, self protection, self-assertion, self-expansion, or repression of thought or feeling

Table 2.4: Statements comprising Cloniger's Ego Strength Differentiation Scale

Taking the results of the visual content analysis and the ego strength differentiation scale together, the key features of photographs which were significantly different for male and female photographers are described in Table 2.5.

Feature	Sex of photographer	
	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Centre of interest	Singular (female between the ages of 19 & 60, who is either ordinary or reasonably attractive & who is either costumed or informally dressed)	One or several; unlikely to be a human.
Activity	Domestic or artistic	Professional or occupational activity
Location	Enclosed, interior setting.	Open, exterior environment.
Camera shot	Medium or close-up	Medium shot or a long shot.
Emotional level	Subject represented in subjective, interpretive & interpersonal terms	Subject represented in objective, classifying & individualistic terms.
Emotional environment	Personal	Explicitly impersonal
Human interaction	Co-operation or acceptance	Competition & exclusion, or a combination of competition & co-operation.
Perception of photographer	'Insider', someone who had an intimate connection with the subject matter & who had participated in the situation through the act of photography.	'Outsider', someone who maintained an attitude of observation & who accurately recorded the situation.

Table 2.5: Differences in photographic style and content which correlate with sex of photographer.

Cloniger's third instrument consisted of a Q study. Eighteen males and 18 females participated in this study, and they were ranked by Cloniger on 'degree of visual sophistication', which was inferred from their field of study. The items comprising the Q sort were the 90 photographs which were used in the visual content analysis. Participants were asked to sort these photographs according to whether they were taken in a 'masculine style' or a 'feminine style' on an 11 point scale.

One strong and one weak factor emerged from an analysis of the Q sorts. Almost all the males were highly correlated with factor 1; females were distributed in factor 1 but greater numbers of them fell either in the neutral cluster or in factor 2. Field of study did not have an effect. Cloniger suggested that the lower factor loadings for the females may be a manifestation of greater ambivalence than males towards sex role stereotypes.

The photographs classed by the male dominant factor as most feminine shared certain common features: all represented females, most were portraits of females, others involved females in either maternal, domestic or artistic

activity. The photographs classed by the females dominant factor were less homogenous: eight of the 15 photographs represented females (portraits or maternal activity), three represented an abstraction of the female form (nude, green pepper, amaryllis bud), two depicted the natural environment, and two featured males. The male dominant factor selected interrelated types of photographs as the most masculine: all subjects were males, some were traditional portraits of a single male, many could be classed as depictions of the military activity and other activities where personal power is asserted, and two involved the male in a familial context. Although there were some similarities between the two factors, once again the female dominant factor selected a greater range of images to represent masculinity; nine photographs represented males (in a military, occupational or familial context), four portrayed products of the male-oriented society (different aspects of the urban centre), one depicted the natural environment, and one featured a females.

From their general descriptions it is possible to isolate some distinctions between the factors. It would appear that persons highly correlated with the male dominant factor have more traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Persons who correlated highly with the female dominant factor seem to incorporate more diverse images of masculine and feminine. These same individuals did not view subjects of appropriate gender as the only manifestations of either sex role. In fact, persons in the female dominant factor occasionally chose subjects that were the opposite sex of the sex role under consideration. Finally, these persons chose photographs of inanimate objects that were related to masculinity and femininity not because of their content, but because of their form. Cloniger concluded that in many ways it would appear that the female dominant factor sustained a less stereotypic and less predictable view of masculinity and femininity.

Cloniger provides a systematic investigation of possible sex differences in the style of photographs taken by professionals. The categories which she generated which she used to describe the photographs were comprehensive. However, they were not clearly operationalised, and she does not report inter-rater reliability for the coding scheme. Furthermore, her three judges were all female. Given Rosenthal and dePaulo's (1979) finding that females are better at decoding nonverbal cues when the communication is not intended to deceive, it would have been desirable to have had coders of both sexes to determine the size of the observed effects.

However, Cloniger's study is the only systematic study of the effect of the photographer on the photographic content, and it raises the question to what extent might this effect persist in photographs taken by amateurs, and by professional portrait photographers? It also raises a question regarding the

distinction Barthes makes between the 'studium' and the 'punctum' of a photograph (Proposition One), in that it examines the overall influence of gender on the codifying of photographic information, and indicates that the process of photographic composition is affected by the photographer on several dimensions, some of which could be considered to be aspects of the 'punctum' (e.g. centre of interest) as well as of the 'studium'.

Her Q study indicates that there are gender differences in the decoding of photographic information as well as the encoding. This study indicates the effect the interpretation of the photograph has on the overall message it conveys.

Mills (1984) sought to examine whether there are sex differences in nonverbal behaviour reflected in photos, and if so, are these produced by the photographer, the subject, or both? This study was a systematic attempt to evaluate Goffman's (1976) anecdotal report of sex differences in photographic posing. Controlling for photographer sex and subject sex, she found no effects due to photographer sex but found that females exhibited more submissive behaviours than males (i.e. they smiled more and were more likely to pose with their heads canted towards their shoulders).

Mills suggests that perhaps males and females respond differently to the act of being photographed rather than responding differently to the sex of the photographer. She further suggests that identifying the context and conventions in which photographs are used and produced might explain how nonverbal behaviours are used as status and power indicators.

Mills' study, though otherwise methodologically rigorous, was flawed, in that she operationalised 'submission' and 'dominance' in term of orientation to the camera, head canting and smiling. These operationalisations of non-verbal representations of power are not supported by other work on non-verbal communication in photographs, such as that of Zettl (1990) or Mandell and Shaw (1973), which indicates that perceived submissiveness or dominance of the subject of a photograph depends more on camera-angle than on head cant. However, Mills did succeed in demonstrating that there are certain norms of representation governing the representation of gender in photographs, whatever the psychological significance those norms may have. Therefore, this lends support to the suggestion in Proposition One that there are conventions in photographs which make them interpretable in similar ways by individuals having access to similar cultural codes.

Ragan (1982) suggested that gender displays, or the ritualised behaviours that males and females characteristically perform, may be detectable in

photographs. Specifically, she was interested in the micropolitical gestures that announce female submissiveness and male dominance. Looking at portrait photos of male and female high school seniors, high school teachers, university seniors and university professors, she found that females smile more frequently and expansively and cant their heads at greater angles; and that males face the camera more directly and wear glasses more frequently.

In considering these results, Ragan identifies two possible error sources: firstly, were the behaviours measured produced by the photographer, the subject, or an interaction of the two? Secondly, were the samples representative? She suggests that photographs may serve an instructional function, teaching the young and reminding the public how to be feminine and how to be masculine. This strongly echoes the claims made by Holland, Spence and Watney (1986) regarding the use of family photographs to socialise us into acceptable roles. Therefore, Ragan's results lend support for Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

Given the frequency with which a 'realist' stance is attributed to naïve viewers of photographs (Proposition Three, Chapter 1), it is worth considering a study which examined a developmental aspect of this supposed faith in the veracity of photographs.

O'Connor, Beilin and Kose (1981) set out to test the existence of what is considered a universal belief in photographic fidelity. They showed 40 'preoperational' and 40 'operational' children six sets of material consisting of photographs, drawings and real objects, each demonstrating either a logical or an illogical outcome of a standard conservation task (operational level was defined with reference to the child's performance on a Piagetian conservation task). Tasks were counterbalanced for logicity, and the photograph and drawing stimuli were paired with 'real' stimuli. The children were asked questions which elicited whether they considered the photographs and drawings to be true or false representations of reality.

O'Connor et al's findings were as follows: in the standard illogical/photograph logical task, there were no differences due to *operational level*. 58% of both operational and preoperational children said the standard materials were true, and 42% said the logical photograph was true. In the standard logical/photograph illogical task, there were marked differences: 77% of the operational children said the standard materials were true and 23% said the illogical photograph was true. 56% of the preoperational children said the standard materials were true in this condition, and 44% said the illogical photograph was true.

There was an effect of *task presentation order*, in that the outcome of the first task was most likely to be predicted true regardless of logicity. However, this only held for the 'photographs' condition. 70% of children considered the outcome to be true when standard materials were viewed first, and 60% considered the outcome to be true when the photograph series came first (results averaged across operational level). *Operational level* interacted with *task order*: preoperational children were overwhelmed by the effect of the photograph series when presented first, so that no child in this group judged the standard task to be the true while 90% thought the photograph to be true, whereas with standard first, 70% considered it to be true. There was a smaller effect for operational children: 60% considered the photograph to be true.

Overall, averaging across presentation order and operational level in the logical photo/illogical real materials condition, 58% saw the illogical real materials as true and 42% saw the logical photos as true. In the illogical photos/logical real materials condition, 61% saw the logical real materials as true, and 39% saw the illogical photos as true. The fidelity effect was less for the drawings than for the photographs.

O'Connor et al conclude that the photographic fidelity effect is not all-compelling, but that there is some evidence that children as young as six have assimilated the conventional view of the photograph as an authentic source of documentation. They assert that what the belief in photographic fidelity is based on or how it develops is not at all clear.

This study is most noteworthy for being one of the few that attempts to empirically test the claim embodied in Proposition Three that 'photographic communication primarily occurs within a "realist myth"'. However, I would draw different conclusions from O'Connor et al's on several counts. First, though it is pointed out that there is a widespread belief in the notion of photographic fidelity, which is operationalised as the hypothesis that 'if children could be shown to believe in the veracity of photographs when they depicted the illogical distortion of an event, it would provide strong evidence for the phenomenon', this was only demonstrated for preoperational children. The effect for operational children was far outweighed by the order of task presentation. Secondly, O'Connor et al showed that photographs were considered more likely to be true than drawings but, on the whole, were less likely to be true than real materials. It is difficult to see how this provides evidence for the 'realist myth'. Rather, it demonstrates that a photograph is only perceived as true depending on what you compare it with. It would be interesting to see which would be accepted as more likely to be true if photographs were compared with *memories* for events, as this is the context in which the realist myth is thought to prevail (Sontag, 1977; Barthes, 1980). Thirdly,

O'Connor et al do not provide a satisfactory explanation for the order effects encountered in the photograph condition.

Ziller's (1990) research was informed both by Bugental and Zelen's (1950) theory of personal orientations, and Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (1955). He wished to find an instrument for revealing self concept which was independent of verbal ability. In a range of studies reported in his book 'Photographing the Self', he compared the 'orientations' revealed in photographs taken in answer to the question 'who are you?' with the results of externally validated tests. For example, 'book orientation' correlated with grade point averages ($r=2.00$, $p<.05$), 'aesthetic orientation' correlated with aesthetic value score on the Vernon-Allport-Lindsey Study of Values ($r=.34$, $N=42$, $p<.05$), self orientation correlated with 'happiness' scores on the Piers-Harris Questionnaire ($r=.22$, $N=92$, $p<.05$) and with self-esteem scores on Cooperson's Questionnaire ($r=.28$, $N=45$, $p<.05$).

Ziller's studies were a worthwhile attempt to empirically test claims being made in the literature on phototherapy (see Appendix 1) regarding the relationship between photographs and subjects' self concept. His studies do, however, comprise a somewhat fragmented list of correlations between subject of photograph and orientation. Furthermore, the correlations he reports, though significant, account for an extremely small proportion of the overall variance. Given that Ziller explicitly adopts a Kellian approach to self-concept, these studies warrant extending to examine actual, possible and ideal selves, as recommended by Fransella and Bannister (1977) or Markus and Nurius (1986). This might have enabled investigation of the utility of photographs as realist or symbolist representations of self, and could provide a way into examining naturally occurring photographs as well as photographs produced at the behest of the experimenter.

Implications of existing empirical research on individuals and photography.

There are three themes which have relevance for family photography discernible in the research on individuals and photography. Cloniger, Mills and Ragan indicate that there may gender differences affecting photographic content, both in terms of what the photographer chooses to depict, and in terms of the way in which people choose to represent themselves. These gender differences may well prevail in the types of photographs which professional photographers take, and therefore may enter the family photographic collection via professional portraits. Therefore, an examination of professional photographers' conceptions of the potential which family photographs have for meaning, and the functions which they attribute to family photographs is

required as a preliminary step in examining the sort of photographs which professional photographers provide for family consumption. Gender differences in selection of photographic content may also come into play for amateur photographers, both at the stage of taking the photograph and at the stage of selecting photographs for display or storage in the album.

Barnes and Sternberg illustrate the role that social intelligence plays in the interpretation of photographs, and provide evidence for the fact that photographic information, i.e. Barthe's 'studium', is not necessarily accessible to all. This indicates that any empirical examination of the manifest content of photographs needs to be carried out in close collaboration with the owners of those photographs. Finally, Ziller provided some evidence for the potential of photographs as vehicles of identity, and indicated that the use of photographs as a route into family identity may well provide reliable information regarding the composition of that identity.

General criticisms of existing research

There are recurrent problems with the existing empirical research which need to be taken into account when designing any empirical investigation of the meaning and function of family photographic collections. These are:

1. No details of sample size or characteristics (Halle, Musello)
2. No interview schedule or even general details of questions asked provided (Blinn, Gardner, Halle, Hoppál, Musello)
3. Inadequate or no operationalisation of hypotheses (Blinn, Halle, Musello)
4. Results not described in detail (Halle, Hoppál, Musello)
5. Inadequate or unclear reporting of statistical tests (Blinn, Brown)
6. No measure of validity of classifications and categorisations (Halle, Hoppál, Mills, Musello).
7. Superficial or no consideration of theoretical accounts of family dynamics which could generate richer hypotheses. (Musello, Titus, Gardner, Blinn, Kobbe)
8. Data do not substantiate claims (Gardner, Halle, Hoppál, Mills, O'Connor et al, Titus)

Many of these faults relate to procedural problems which can be addressed relatively easily in further research. However, the final two require deeper consideration. Given that much of the research which I have reviewed here indicates that family dynamics may well be revealed in both the manifest and latent content of photographs, a more detailed theoretical review of existing family theory, in terms of how it may be illuminated by photographic research, is required. Secondly, a *systematic* examination of the manifest content of family photographic collections, addressing all of the methodological

concerns raised here, is required if any of the theoretical claims derived from family theory are to be adequately supported.

Conclusion

Given this review of the empirical research which has been done to date, it is now possible to refine the Propositions which I delineated in Chapter 1.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

As I pointed out in Chapter 1, Barnes and Sternberg's (1989) research indicates that it is not quite as easy to decode the referent of a photograph as Barthes would suggest. Furthermore, Cloniger's (1975) research demonstrates the influence of the photographer on the encoding of the manifest content in the first place. On the other hand, Mills' (1984) and Ragan's (1982) research demonstrates to some extent that there are cultural conventions governing representation of gender in photographs, and Brown's (1981) research indicates that there are similar conventions governing representation of families in photographs. Therefore, an investigation of, and distinction between, the studium and punctum of photographs would also have to take into account the photographer's intention, the uses to which a photograph is put, and the influence of photographic conventions on photographic interpretation.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

Brown's (1981) research demonstrates that though there are perceived to be changes in the conventions governing the depiction of families at different stages of the life cycle, there have been no changes in historical time affecting the photographic depiction of 'artificial' families. However, Hoppál (1989) claims that the role of photographs in ritual varies over historical time. Whether this relative stability over historical time in photographic representation persists in the photographic collections of actual families remains to be seen. However, both Brown's and Titus' (1976) research indicates that there may be differences in the depiction of families at different stages of the life cycle, and this warrants further investigation. Two distinct aspects of time seem to be emerging: the depiction of time in photographs, and the attribution of temporal messages to photographs by their users. The empirical research has not investigated any distinction between public and private time.

Kenyon (1989) did find that photographs were used to 'capture and preserve' occasions, and he further found that there was a 'public versus private' dimension to photographable situations, but this does not tell us

whether there is a perceived distinction between public and private time. It is likely that this can only be elucidated by carrying out an interview study, as recommended by Kenyon.

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

Musello (1977) strongly claimed that communication with family photographs occurs within a realist myth. However, O'Connor, Beilin and Kose's (1981) research demonstrates that the case for the prevalence of the realist myth is not at all as clear cut when investigated experimentally. Therefore, my suggestion in Chapter 1 that it is necessary to examine the rhetorical significance of these myths rather than their existence per se remains potentially the most productive way of characterising the nature of photographic communication in families.

Proposition Four: Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context.

Musello, Hoppál and Kenyon all claim that photographs are used to facilitate memory. However, neither Musello nor Hoppál report their interviews in any detail, and none of the research described above attempts to investigate the uses of family photograph to facilitate memory in any detail. Therefore, though the use of photographs to support remembering seems to be received wisdom, the issue of *how* they fulfil this function, and the more general function of remembering in creating and maintaining a family identity, requires further investigation.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

The use of photographs to maintain unity in the family was the main function attributed to photographs by Bourdieu, Halle, Musello and Hoppál. However, none of these researchers carried out a detailed archival study of family photographs, nor a study investigating photographs' potential for use in family contexts. Ritual is taken to be the main mechanism by which families are unified, and therefore photographs of ritual are taken to be the main means by which photographs create and maintain unity. This claim will be examined in Chapter 3, where I consider family theory in more detail.

Brown used a different index of intimacy more akin to that of Reiss (1981). His examination of companionship and intimacy indicated that family companionship became increasingly important over time, which would make sense from a systemic perspective, as the family system starts to be encroached

on from outside as the family progresses through the life cycle. Again, this claim will be evaluated with reference to family theory in chapter 3, and its relevance for *real* families will be assessed.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

Blinn's research attempted to demonstrate that families' social identities are manifest in their photographic collections. However, though she found some significant correlations in between husbands' and wives' self ratings and independent coders' ratings of their family photographs, it is difficult to assess from Blinn's data what the relationship between photographs and social identities is in general. We cannot tell whether families used the photographs to construct a story which then persisted through the self-rating process, or whether the photographs and self-ratings were independently illustrating social identity. Blinn's research certainly warrants replicating, albeit with some methodological improvements. However, any correlation between photographs and other measures of social identity will only be interpretable with reference to other data regarding the uses to which photographs are put, and the potential which is attributed to them by the families themselves.

Ziller's studies attempted to look at the use of photographs as vehicles of self-concept. It is possible that his methodology could be adapted to look at family identity. However, Ziller ignores the possibility that photographs may be used to represent ideal selves. Neither does he examine the narratives the photographs might be used to support. The outcome of his research is similar to Blinn's, in that we are presented with correlations between photographic content and aspects of identity, but we have no means of interpreting these correlations. The situation is further complicated by Brown's findings that there are normative constraints governing the depiction of families in photographs. Therefore, in order to examine Proposition Six, an investigation of the potential attributed to photographs for representing identity by the owners of photographs is required, as is an examination of the general codes governing depiction of actual families in photographs (as distinct from Brown's 'artificial' families).

Kenyon's research also had a bearing on Proposition Six, in that he identified dimensions used to make judgements regarding 'photographable situations'. Though Kenyon did not interpret these dimensions in relation to either individual or familial identity, it is possible that these dimensions are also applicable to the representation of aspects of individual and family identity and self presentation in photographs. The issue of 'photographable situations' in the context of family albums therefore requires closer

examination, both in terms of the manifest content of family albums, and in terms of the discourse surrounding family photographs.

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

Brown provides the most reliable evidence that there may be some implicit norms governing the representations of families in their photographic collections. He provides a replicable methodology for examining real family photographs for evidence of these norms. In particular, he suggests that there may be cultural codes governing the depiction of family companionship and intimacy at different stages in the life cycle.

Gardner and Titus attempted to operationalise some aspects of family dynamics, namely family boundaries and roles over the life cycle, and this research, with methodological revisions, also lends itself to replication. Gardner specifically claimed that photographs are more likely to be of nuclear family and extended kin than of non-related friends and acquaintances, that photographs are most likely to be taken in Summer and at Christmas-time, and that wives are the primary photographers in families (this contrasts with Bourdieu's claim that husbands are the primary photo takers). These claims will be discussed in relation to family theory in Chapter 3.

Titus suggested that there is an influence of birth order on the frequency of photographs of children, and she related this to life cycle theory. However, given the criticisms of Titus' data analysis, the hypothesis that there are more photographs of the first child than of subsequent children will be tested.

In the light of this review of existing empirical studies, three key lines of enquiry have emerged: firstly, a review of family theory is required, in order to ground hypotheses regarding the meanings and functions of family photographs within existing family theory. Secondly, an investigation of the potential meaning and functions attributed to photographs by 'lay' and 'professional' photographers is required. Finally, an archival study of family photographic collections which would enable the empirical testing of claims regarding the manifest content is needed. The remainder of this thesis will concentrate on these three issues.

CHAPTER 3: PHOTOGRAPHY AND FAMILY THEORY

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I discussed seven propositions which dealt with alternative or complementary theoretical conceptualisations of photographic meaning. The meaning of photographs in *family* life was one of the issues which emerged from these propositions. My review of existing empirical research in Chapter 2 highlighted the lack of theoretical underpinning of much of the research on family photography.

In this chapter, I intend to contextualise the meaning of family photographs within existing family theories, and thus ground my research firmly within the domain of psychology. My aim is to a) discuss whether family theory provides any justification for hypothesising that the issues identified in Chapter 1 are salient in family life and b) operationalise those propositions into more specific questions.

The following review of some of the major theories about family structure and process is not intended to be exhaustive. Theories were selected by applying both criteria for a 'good' family theory in general, and my own criteria regarding the utility of family theory for family photographic research in particular. Therefore, after a brief summary of each of the theories which I have selected, I will concentrate on themes which are particularly relevant to family photographs. I will conclude by using these to refine the propositions described in Chapter 1.

What constitutes a 'useful' family theory?

Vetere and Gale (1987, p. 62) suggest several criteria for a good family theory. These can be summarised as follows:

1. The theoretical concepts should be operationalised, enabling variables to be measured and the relationships between them specified.
2. The range of convenience of the theory should be specified.
3. Needs, motives, and any other unconscious variables should be clearly defined.
4. There should be a model of sources of family conflict, their identification and the various ways in which conflict is resolved and/or displaced.
5. Family roles and functions should be described in relation to their impact on emotion, decision-making, socialisation and other salient factors.
6. The different phenomenal views or perspectives of all family members should be recognised.

7. There should be systematic exploration of values and beliefs, both explicit and implicit, together with their interaction with extra-familial belief structures and/or institutions.
8. A good theory will account for the development of the family over time, and will also describe the impact of both predictable and unpredictable change on the family.
9. It should describe repetitive family behaviours in detail.
10. It should embody a distinction between acts and actions.
11. The theory should span at least individual, dyadic and group levels of analysis.

Research on family photography requires a theory or combination of theories which would help to elucidate the functions of family photographs and the processes through which photographs come to fulfil those functions. Therefore, my own additional criteria for a useful family theory are:

12. It should provide an account of at least one of the issues identified in the Propositions in Chapter 1.
13. It should provide a means of relating those issues to each other.
14. It should facilitate the operationalisation of the empirical questions generated from the Propositions.

The theories which I have selected as best fulfilling the above criteria are Symbolic Interactionism and Role Theory, Family Systems Theory (including Strategic Family Theory, Structural Family Theory and Distance Regulation Theory), Family Paradigm, Family Life Cycle Theory and Social Exchange Theory. The account of each will be necessarily brief; their relevance to research on family photography will be discussed in terms of key themes arising from the theories.

Symbolic interactionism

Though not exclusively a family theory, symbolic interactionism ('S.I.') is an attractive place to start this review of family theory, because at a first glance, it appears to be one of the few theories which explicitly takes account of the relationship between people and their material possessions (McCarthy, 1984), *and* deals with family interaction in its own right.

Symbolic interactionism has its origins in Scottish moral philosophy but Cooley (e.g. 1902), Mead (e.g. 1934), and later, Denzin (e.g. 1969) are the writers most closely associated with this theoretical perspective. S.I. has spawned a variety of sub-theories (see Burr, Leigh, Day and Constantine, 1979). However, some general characteristics of this theoretical approach can be discerned. The

question addressed by S.I. is 'What is it about the person that impacts upon society, and what is it about society that impacts on the person, and how does this mutually determinative process take place?' (Stryker & Statham, 1985). Symbolic interactionists see the management of meaning to be central to relationships and to the development of a sense of self. According to this school of thought, to become social beings we must be able to interact with each other. We interact through gestures (either physical or metaphorical). Those gestures are symbols, and stand for the intention implied by our gestures. In order to be able to interpret the symbolic meaning of others' gestures, we need to be able to place ourselves in their shoes, i.e. we need to be able to enter into their role.

Mead saw meaning as derivative of social action. He uses it to refer to individuals' experience of attachment, interest and understanding. It is both a descriptive and empirical concept because it refers to a certain quality of experience as experienced by the individual, rather than as hypothesised or constructed by an outside observer. Stone (1962) uses two descriptive terms in his revision of Mead's theory of meaning: 'identification with' and 'identification of'. These refer to attachment and understanding. 'Identification with' connotes empathy, feeling and general affect, and arises when the actor sees in a person, object or activity some opportunity to express a desired self. Such an object makes possible activity that produces a sense of special interest and ego involvement. 'Identification of' refers to the purely intellectual process of placement in some linguistic category system that gives a sense of understanding.

This distinction between 'identification with' and 'identification of' is remarkably similar to Barthe's notion of *punctum* and *studium*. If one considers photographs to be symbolic objects, then they are likely to afford both 'identification with' and 'identification of'. However, the Meadian notion of meaning extends to consider the relevance of meaning for an individual's sense of self.

S.I., in its incarnation as role theory (see Stryker and Statham for a discussion of the convergence and divergence of S.I. and role theory) was first employed as a theory of family functioning by Burgess (1926), who conceptualised the family as 'a unity of interacting personalities'. Burgess argued that it was through the interaction of its members that the family develops a conception of itself. He also argued that conflict in the family was a result of the struggle of its members to realise their conception of their roles.

The major metaphor of role theory is theatre (e.g. Goffman, 1971). Social interaction is visualised as actors playing assigned parts in a script written by a

culture shaped in the course of evolutionary adaptation to environmental circumstance. This is a much more deterministic conception of role than that of S.I., i.e. in role theory, roles are conceptualised as social 'givens', whereas in S.I. they are conceived of as being constantly created and recreated. In role theory, roles are considered to be constellations of social expectations and moral norms, which colour individuals' subjective meanings, definitions of the situation, anticipations of how interaction will unfold, evaluations, and the cognitive process of choice among means that have varying implications for goals sought by actors. According to role theory, roles exist before the interaction of particular occupants of positions in organised structures of relationships. They are residues from the experience of past occupants of these positions, moulded slowly over time as successive generations adapt to the requirements of their environments.

Within the context of family life, each family member has a role which they must fulfil. Family stress will occur when roles can no longer be fulfilled in a smooth and integrated fashion, e.g. during transitions between different stages of the life cycle.

The main propositions of S.I. and role theory are outlined by Burr, Leigh, Day and Constantine (1979). Those which are most relevant to family contexts are:

- a) The quality of ego's role enactment in a relationship positively affects ego's satisfaction with that relationship (p. 70).

This proposition states that a person is most satisfied in a relationship when they feel that they are doing a good job of enacting their role. For instance, a woman is most likely to feel happy about being a mother if she feels she is a good mother.

- b) The greater the perceived clarity of role expectations, the higher the quality of role enactment (p. 74).

The more clearly expectations associated with a role are defined, e.g. by social norms, the better an individual will enact the role.

- c) The more individuals perceive consensus in the expectations about the role they occupy, the less their role strain (p. 79).

Role expectations are the result of social consensus. The more agreement associated with role expectations, the clearer the prescriptions for the role will be, and the less likely an individual will be to have difficulty complying with the expectations of the role.

- d) The greater the diversification of a person's roles, the less consensus the person will perceive in the expectations about these roles.

When a person is enacting a variety of roles, they are attempting to fulfil a variety of expectations, some of which may be conflicting. A classic example of this is a woman who is attempting to forge a successful career and be a good mother. The expectations associated with each of these roles may conflict, e.g. in terms of the amount of time and energy one is expected to allocate to each.

- d) The greater the perceived role strain that results from performing a role, the less the ease in making a transition into the role, and the greater the ease in making a transition out of the role.

The more difficult a role's expectations are to fulfil for the individual, the more difficult they will have enacting that role, and the easier the transition will be out of it.

The concept of using role theory as a theoretical framework for research on family photographs is not novel: it has been used by Titus (1976), Blinn (1988) and Brown (1981). Their research was discussed in Chapter 2.

Stryker and Statham (1985) raise 5 criticisms of S.I. and role theory:

1. They claim that the concepts are confused and imprecise and thus cannot provide the basis for sound theory development.
2. Concepts are difficult, if not impossible to operationalise; S.I. generates few testable propositions and rejects scientific explanation in favour of intuitive understanding.
3. The pervasive importance of the emotions and of the unconscious in human behaviour is overlooked.
4. S.I. underestimates the influence of the power relations inherent in the structure of society on behaviour. This renders it vulnerable to the criticism that S.I. has an ideological bias favouring the status quo in contemporary society.
5. This neglect of macro-social issues renders it inappropriate for dealing with large scale social organisational features of societies or the relations among societies.

Klein and White (1996) further criticise S.I. for having an 'oversocialised' view of the person.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, S.I. does conform to at least some of the criteria I have listed for a 'good' family theory. The issue of family conflict is thoroughly theorised using role theory (see Burr et al, 1979); the concept of roles is integral to symbolic interactionism, the variation in perspectives of actors is acknowledged, the distinction between acts and actions is a linchpin of

the theory, and it spans the intra-individual, interpersonal, group and societal levels of analysis.

Family systems theory

General systems theory, on which family systems theory is based, was formulated and refined over a period of 60 years by Ludwig von Bertalanffy (e.g. 1968). During the time he was working, between the 1920's and the 1970's, there was a move in the social sciences away from mechanism and reductionism, towards an acknowledgement that there was a need to look for general principles that might be used to explain the increasing complexity of organisation in systems. Von Bertalanffy's preoccupations were with the logical structure of systems, their organisation and characteristics of pattern and form. In the 1940's, the emphasis in systemic research moved from larger interactional fields and contexts towards looking at the patterns, structure and relationships in smaller groups.

Systemic theory applied to families constituted a dramatic break with the then prevailing clinical approach, which was individual psychotherapy. The most influential person in this revolution was Bateson, who was particularly interested in identifying the processes by which social groups managed conflict and division. The salient characteristic of the systemic approach to the family was the belief that a family is a system, the complexity and constancy of which is sustained by particular patterns of interaction.

The systemic approach to research and therapy with families splintered into several different schools of family theory, the most notable being the Strategic School, espoused by the Palo Alto MRI (Mental Research Institute) Group, and exemplified by the work of Bateson (e.g. Bateson, Jackson, Haley and Weakland, 1956), Jackson (e.g. 1965) and Watzlawick (e.g. Watzlawick, Weakland & Fisch, 1974), and the Structural school, exemplified by Minuchin (e.g. 1974) and Haley (e.g. 1976).

Strategic family theory

The key principle of this school of thought is that family systems can best be understood via the study of the family's communicational inputs and outputs. Strategic systems theorists focus on the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of family communication, and on the relationship between the communicators, in order to understand how the family system maintains itself and develops. In short, the strategic school see the family as defined in communicational terms. For the MRI group, communication and behaviour are virtually synonymous. Therefore, attention to the pragmatic aspect of communication

(the behavioural effect of the communication) is all that that they feel needs to be taken into consideration in order to describe and define the rules of behaviour that exist within a particular family.

In addition to syntax, semantics and pragmatics, a distinction is also made by the MRI school between the report aspect of a particular communicational act and its command aspect. The report aspect is the actual conveying of information. The command aspect, on the other hand, is that facet of communicational behaviour that serves to define the *relationship* between the communicants themselves. That is, communication in families not only serves the function of transmitting information back and forth between the component parts of the system but is one of the most important ways in which family members define, monitor and reinforce the nature of their relationships to each other.

Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967) suggested that the flow of communication in the family can be divided up into meaningful chunks. They coined the term 'punctuation' to describe the self-fulfilling beliefs about a relationship which family members hold. According to Watzlawick et al, family members, by virtue of the considerable amounts of time they spend together, come to form a web of mutual anticipations which serve not only to explain and predict each other's behaviour, but also to construct and maintain them. The notion of punctuation refers to the way in which family members divide up the repetitive cycle of interaction in order to infer causes and reasons for the other members' behaviour.

Minuchin's Structural Theory

Structural family theory was created with explicitly therapeutic aims by Minuchin (e.g. 1974). The theoretical foundation of the structural model of the family is a systemic one, i.e. it is based on the belief that the whole and the parts can only properly be explained by the relations between the parts. The structural aspect of the model is derived from the structuralist intent of identifying the codes that regulate the human relationship.

Minuchin sees the family as serving two functions: the psychosocial protection of its members and the accommodation of the family to a culture, and the transmission of that culture.

Minuchin's conceptualisation of the family contains three components:

1. The structure of the family is that of an open sociocultural system in transformation.
2. The family undergoes development, moving through a number of stages that require restructuring.

3. The family adapts to changed circumstances so as to maintain continuity and enhance the psychosocial growth of each member.

Family structure consists of the invisible functional demands which organise the ways in which family members interact. It is the 'architecture' of the family (Steinglass, 1987), or its organisational characteristics. It is these organisational characteristics which regulate the family's transactional patterns, by virtue of embodying universal rules concerning power hierarchies in the family and expectations regarding the behaviour appropriate to each family member.

The key characteristics of family organisation, according to Minuchin, are subsystems and boundaries. The family differentiates and carries out its functions via the spouse, parental, parent-child and sibling subsystems. These subsystems are governed by boundaries (rules defining who participates, when and how).

The spouse subsystem. The spouse subsystem was conceptualised by Minuchin as a mutual support system. This subsystem requires the spouses to develop the skills of complementarity and mutual accommodation. Ideally, the distribution of power in this subsystem is symmetrical.

The parental subsystem. With the birth of the first child, the spouse subsystem has to adapt in order to allow the child and subsequent children access to the parents. However, boundaries need to be redrawn to exclude the child from the spouse function of mutual support. The parental subsystem, in order to function properly, needs to exert authority (albeit a 'flexible, rational authority' (Minuchin, 1974, p.57) rather than a domineering, disciplinarian type of authority) over the children.

The sibling subsystem. The sibling subsystem is where children learn to form peer relationships. Within this subsystem, children learn how to act autonomously, while being able to look to their older siblings for protection when the parents are not available.

Minuchin considers it axiomatic that families serve a useful function both for psychological health of individuals and for society in general. He also considers it as axiomatic that families require a power hierarchy in order to function properly. Proponents of these beliefs have been challenged by the antipsychiatry movement (e.g Cooper, 1971; Laing & Esterson, 1964).

Minuchin's attempts (1974, p.4 9) to refute these implicit criticisms are far from persuasive. The main problem with his theory is that it is based on post hoc descriptions rather than ante hoc predictions and explanations. Furthermore, many of Minuchin's concepts are vaguely defined (Steinglass, 1987) In many ways, Minuchin's theory is more useful as a description of family functioning

than as an explanation of it. However, one particularly useful aspect of Minuchin's theory to the study of families, and one which is particularly relevant to family photography, is his use of maps, in which structural variables are represented spatially. He also provided a notation system which enables the generation of these maps by other researchers (Vetere and Gale, 1987).

Family systems theory has been criticised for its lack of theoretical rigour, and in terms of the difficulties it poses for research. These problems, it has been claimed, stem partly from differing interpretations of the details of general systems theory by the different schools (Irving and Williams, 1995), and partly from system theory's status as an epistemological alternative to mainstream psychology, which has meant that little established knowledge in mainstream psychology has been integrated within it. Irving and Williams also claim that the concept of circular rather than linear causality means that it is not possible to research family systems theory within the prevalent nomothetic paradigm of mainstream psychology. The latter problem is not necessarily an intractable one; there are other paradigms within which one can conduct research (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of these).

Distance regulation theory

Kantor and Lehr's (1975) Distance Regulation model ('DR') is another systemic theory of family interaction. The 'business' of family life is seen as achieving goals by communicating information regarding the optimal physical or metaphorical distance between members. Kantor and Lehr conceptualised the goals of family life as the achievement of power, affect and meaning ('target dimensions'). These target dimensions are attained via activities along the 'access dimensions' of space, time and energy.

Affect, in Kantor and Lehr's model, embraces affiliation, loyalty, emotional acceptance and affirmation. The power dimension relates to personal freedom and control over others. 'Meaning' refers to morality, identity and values.

The target dimensions are attained through activities occurring in the physical dimensions of space (development and maintenance of territory inside and outside the family), time (the making of decisions regarding how time should be used and whether and how actions should be synchronised) and energy (the maintenance of homeostasis within the family system via the accumulation and expenditure of physical and psychological energy).

Other key elements of Kantor and Lehr's particularly comprehensive theory of everyday family life are: family types (closed, open and random), which differ according to the homeostatic ideal they espouse, and the concept of four player parts (mover, follower, opposer, and bystander), which can be played by any number of family members within 'psychosocial' space.

Family types. The issue of foremost concern to a family's homeostatic ideals is that of the family's maintenance of its boundaries. (Note that the term boundaries refers not only to the interface between the family unit and external environment, but also to the interfaces between the subsystems comprising the family). Each family type differs in terms of how they behave on the access dimensions in order to attain target dimensions.

Closed type family. Families which adopt the closed-type homeostatic ideal define their boundaries in terms of fixed constancy feedback patterns. They regulate boundaries at the subsystem interfaces by preserving a harmonious set of mutually supported values, norms and expectations. Strain and deviant traffic patterns are not permitted in such a closed type boundary maintenance system, because they challenge its goal of steady state equilibrium.

In a closed family system, stable structures (fixed pace, regular time and steady energy) are relied upon as reference points for order and change.

Space, and movement through it, in the closed type family is fixed and heavily controlled by those in authority space. The closed family uses icons and symbols in its space to spread and deepen members' allegiance to the credos that constitute the basis for the strategies which the family uses to preserve its spatial shape. Time in the closed type family is regular, with immutable routines and an orientation primarily towards past or future rather than present. Energy is similarly steady and prescribed

Open type family. The ideal homeostatic state for the open type family is a combination of equilibrium and disequilibrium. The open type family uses a combination of constancy and variety loop patterns employed to maximise the potential for a joint negotiation of distance regulation issues at interface. Structural strain and deviant traffic patterns are permitted but restrained, lest the prevailing open boundary maintenance system becomes either too rigid or too anarchic.

In the open family system, order and change are expected to result from the interaction of relatively stable evolving family structures (movable space, variable time and flexible energy).

Space in the open type family is flexible and movement is regulated by consensus. Movement can occur between the family's territory and the larger community space. A balance between closeness and distance is seen as desirable. Strategies for maintenance of the spatial ideal in open type families reflect the belief that a family's goals are and should be subject to change, variation and negotiation, and in implementing them the family attempts to affirm both collective cohesion and individual freedom.

Time in the open type family is variable. Attitudes towards past, present and future are modifiable, but usually refer to and emphasise the present.

The sequence, frequency, duration and pace of activities may be organised to conform generally to specific temporal notations. Individual clocks may run faster or slower, but only within a range of comfort permitted by the family.

Energy is flexible: its source and use is elastic and is regulated by consensus.

Random type family. The boundaries of the random type family are defined in terms of variety loops rather than constancy loops. These variety loops are employed to foster maximal distance regulation freedom at the interface between members by establishing a pluralistic set of values and expectations. Structural strain and deviant, exploratory traffic patterns are not only permitted but are encouraged, as disequilibrium is the random homeostatic ideal.

In the random system, unstable structures (dispersed space, irregular time, and fluctuating energy) are experimented with as reference points for order and change.

Space in the random-type family is dispersed space. Each person develops their own bounding patterns in establishing and defending their own and their family's territory. Icons and symbols tend to be eclectic. The family slogan is 'do your own thing'.

Time is irregular: claims for the preservation of the past, attainment in the future, enjoyment or utility of the present and exploration of non-time are all of potentially equal ethical weight. Sequence, frequency, duration and pacing of clocking events are regulated by the desires of each member. There tends not to be a family clock. Members develop for themselves a synchronising plan, often a dream, for the way in which each wants to clock and orient themselves in pursuit of hopes and desires.

Energy is fluctuating in the random type family: strategies of fuelling arise out of individual members' desires.

4 player parts. As well as taking a systemic view of the family as a whole, Kantor and Lehr also deal with the 'component parts' of the system, i.e. individuals. They argue that the most useful way to conceptualise individual family members is as players in the family system, and therefore their actions must be examined at the interface between individuals. They argue (p. 181) that members of a family have four basic parts to play: mover, follower, opposer and bystander. Any one part can be played by any number of participating players.

1. Mover: The mover initiates action in order to gain access to a target (i.e. to gain affect, power or meaning). The power of the mover part is subject to the co-mover's responses, and the mover is of primary importance in determining the richness of a family's thematic content.
2. Opposer: The opposer is initially a reactor. He or she thereby creates a challenge to the mover, and thus has the power to redefine the context established by the mover
3. Follower: The follower is the prototypic ally and joiner of the mover or of the opposer.
4. Bystander: The bystander stays out of direct action. He or she has no alliances except private bilateral alliances to help maintain position.

Figure 3.1 illustrates Kantor and Lehr's distance regulation model, using the concepts described above.

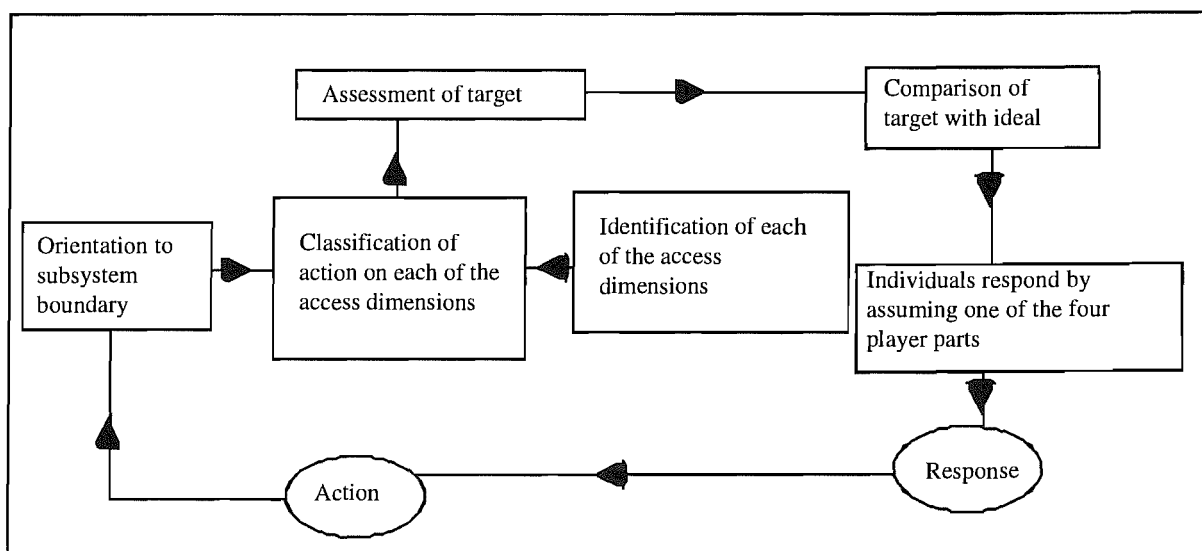


Fig. 3.1: Kantor and Lehr's Distance Regulation Model (p. 224)

In this model, an action is performed which establishes that the individual desires access to some target. The family members at whom the action is aimed make a decision regarding what family subsystem is in operation. They then measure the action on the spatial, energetic and temporal access dimensions and evaluate what mechanisms are in operation. They then decide what target is being sought by using the imagistic image bank of stored traffic patterns. Once the target being sought is decided upon, the family members assess how the action relates to the family's ideals (by comparing it with the typical indicator). Family members then step into one of the 4 player roles and respond to the action.

Attractive as DR might be, there are several serious criticisms of it. Kantor and Lehr's empirical approach is clinical rather than experimental, which makes it difficult to evaluate the evidence on which their theory is based. Nor do they provide a detailed account of their methodology. It is this impenetrability of the empirical underpinning of their theory which may account for its relative neglect in the literature on family theory.

However, some attempts have been made to place DR on a more empirical footing. The most notable of these is Reiss' (1981) theory of the family paradigm. (See below)

Family paradigm.

Reiss (1981) claimed that the central feature of a family which enabled it to persist over time was its 'paradigm'. The family paradigm consists of a set of shared constructs, expectations and myths about the social world which are created and maintained by the family. Reiss suggested that families can be distinguished from one another by differences in their paradigm. He provided a set of dimensions on which paradigms can be distinguished. These were coherence, integration and reference. 'Coherence' refers to the family's belief in an underlying structure or order in the experienced world. It can range from belief in a stable, unchanging structure to belief in an underlying reality or force which changes of its own volition. 'Integration' can range from universal (belief that each family member's experience is shaped by universal phenomena and thus is accessible through empathy) to particular (belief that the world has a different configuration for each member and thus individual experience is inaccessible to others). Finally, 'reference' can vary from external (the family's experience of its world is anchored by co-ordinates whose origins lie outside themselves) to internal (the family's experience of its own solidity and/or centrality is the central orienting point in its experiential world).

Reiss suggests that as when the family responds to stress or crisis, elements of its response are abstracted, yielding general assumptions regarding the family which constitute the family paradigm.

The family paradigm is maintained over long periods of time via ceremonials and pattern regulators.

Family ceremonials are episodic, highly prescribed sequences engaged in by the whole family; they are rich in affect and symbolic meaning. They usually involve the participation of all members of the family and function to express (and sometimes to conceal) certain aspects of the family's history as well as the family's conceptions of itself and its current social world.

Pattern regulators are the daily, highly routinised sequences of family life which have little affective charge or symbolic meaning. They are much more frequent than ceremonials, can be delegated to one or two members, and may not even be noticed by family members although they play a crucial role in translating or transforming the family's paradigm into the immediate minute by minute experience of family membership for each member of the family. Ceremonial and pattern regulation constitute the interaction patterns which are the repository of the family paradigm.

Reiss explicitly sees Kantor and Lehr's access dimensions as encompassed by his conceptualisation of pattern regulators. Reiss argues that the central ceremonials of family life both shape and stabilise the minute and subliminal pattern regulators, and that reciprocal relationships between the two also occur.

The empirical data on which Reiss based his theoretical framework were derived from laboratory observations of families who were working on problem-solving tasks. This raises several problems for the theory of the family paradigm. Firstly, there is no way of knowing whether a 'shared conception' is actually shared by all members of the family; and secondly, Reiss himself points out that his framework is a descriptive one which is difficult to 'prove' with reference to empirical data. This is a common problem with family theories: their predictive power is limited to the extent that they are only ways of describing what can be observed.

Family life cycle theory

There are several family theories which concentrate on the family's developmental trajectory, positing tasks which need to be accomplished at each stage in order to transfer smoothly to the next stage. These can be described under the rubric of Family Life Cycle Theory (Carter and McGoldrick, 1989).

One of the most widely used classifications of the family life cycle is that of Duvall (1971), whose model of the family life cycle comprised the nodal events of courtship, marriage, birth and raising of children, departure of children from the household, retirement, and death. This is almost identical to Haley's (1973) description of the family life cycle, which was one of the first adaptations of Erikson's (1959) seminal life-cycle theory, which described the individual life cycle. The number of stages in a life-cycle theory is relatively arbitrary; what underpins all life-cycle theories is the idea that families undergo natural changes during its life cycle, and these changes make new demands, which can cause stress in the family. Carter and McGoldrick (1989), in their analysis of life cycle theories, argue that the central underlying process to be negotiated by families is the expansion, contraction and realignment of the relationship system to support the entry, exit and development of family members in a functional way. They also point out that though you can view the family as a system, in which many processes are circular, it cannot escape from the fact that it exists in the linear dimension of time.

Carter and McGoldrick's conception of the family is as a unit spanning several nested levels, from individual to societal and cultural, which is moving through time coping with legacies of the past and problems of the present. Their theory is illustrated in Figure 3.2

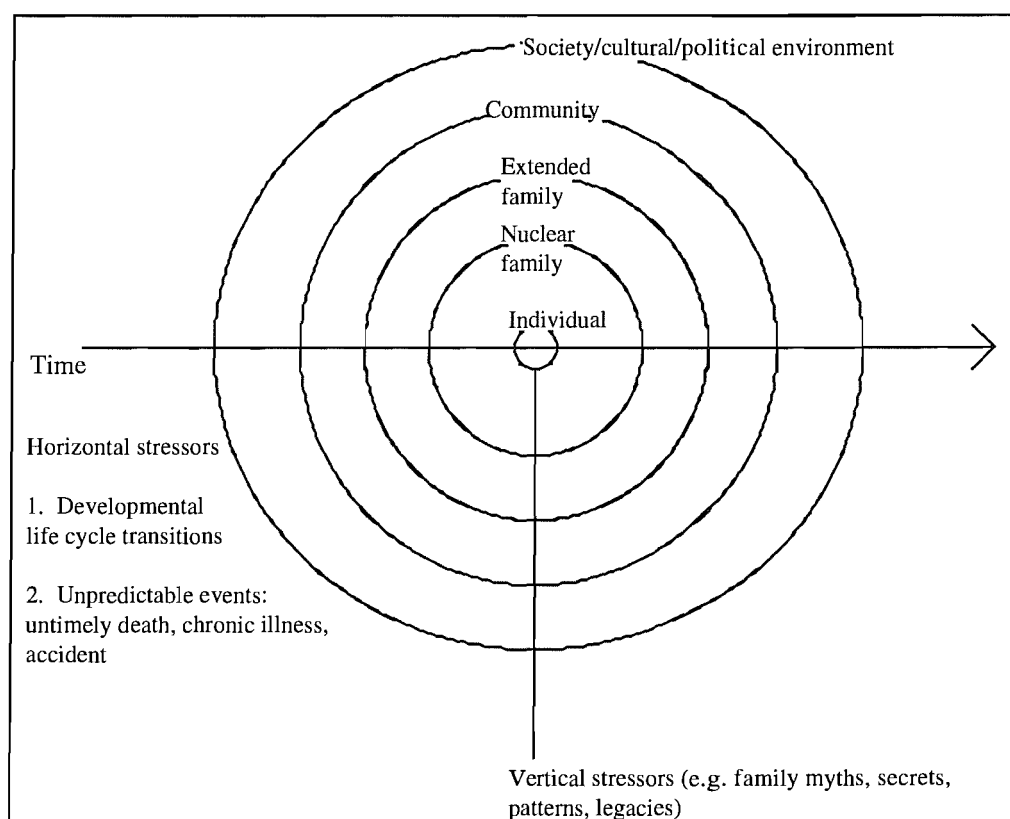


Fig. 3.2: Horizontal and vertical stressors.

The vertical stressor in Figure 3.2 is the patterns of relating and functioning which are transmitted down the generations of a family. It includes 'all the family attitudes, taboos, expectations, labels and loaded issues with which we grow up' (p.8). The horizontal stressors are the life cycle transitions, and unexpected events, such as redundancy, chronic illness etc. The interaction between the horizontal and vertical stressors will determine the levels of anxiety and stress at life cycle transitions. They go on to discuss the stages of the family life cycle in terms of the emotional 'work' that must be done and the redefining of the family system which must be carried out in order to successfully negotiate each stage.

Carter and McGoldrick depart from the usual tendency of family systems theorists to deliberately ignore the family members' own insight into the structure and functioning of the family. Though they suggest that families tend to lack the time perspective when they are having problems: 'they generally tend to magnify the present moment, overwhelmed and immobilised by their immediate feelings; or they become fixed on a moment in the future that they dread or long for. They lose the awareness that life means continual motion from the past and into the future with a continual transformation of familial relationships' (p. 10), they also suggest that many families do successfully negotiate life cycle transitions by celebrating them, via the religious and secular rituals 'that have been designed by families in every culture to ease the passage of its members from one status to the next' (p.25).

It must be noted that normative life cycle theories are primarily descriptive frameworks, though the issue of family stress at transitions has been supported by research on family dysfunction.

Social Exchange Theories

Social exchange theories are based on an economic model of relationships, and on utilitarian philosophy. The basic premise of this theoretical framework is that people assess their relationships in the light of the benefits, costs or 'profit' that such associations might bring them, i.e. people are motivated by self-interest. The original social exchange theory was proposed by Homans (1961), who viewed social behaviour as producing rewards (anything a person receives that is defined by that person as valuable) and costs (anything defined as unpleasant by the person 'paying'). Profit is defined as the ratio of rewards to costs for any decision, and social exchange theories see people as rational actors who calculate this ratio for all possible choices.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) expanded these concepts by introducing the notions of 'comparison level' and 'comparison level for alternatives'. Comparison level is the level of profit a person expects on the basis of previous situations, and comparison level for alternatives is the level of profit a person can achieve in one relationship as compared with other possible situations at that time. Nye (e.g. 1982) applied Thibaut and Kelly's formulation to the family as a whole.

An example of the use of comparison levels to explain a phenomenon in families is Sabatelli and Shehan (1993). Young couples with children experience lower marital satisfaction than couples in other stages of family life (e.g. Rollins and Feldman, 1978). Sabatelli and Shehan point out that couples with young children are in a period of family life that follows a stage (early marriage) marked by high satisfaction. Thus, the early childrearing stage, which comprises heavy demands on time and energy, is competing with a stage which has a high comparison level, and therefore the comparison of the rewards of the early childrearing stage with early marriage is not a favourable one, and leads to dissatisfaction.

Equity theorists (e.g. Adams, 1965) suggest that individuals also examine their partner's outcomes in order to judge how fair the relationship is. They assume that only when both partners are contributing as much as but not more than they receive, will they be satisfied with the relationship.

Social exchange theorists have suggested a variety of rewards obtainable from relationships. Homans (1961) emphasised social approval as the most general source of rewards and costs. Blau (1964) proposed the 'units' of reward and costs as being personal attraction, social acceptance, social approval, instrumental services, respect and power. Foa and Foa (1980) proposed love, status, services, goods, information and money. Nye proposed social approval, autonomy, predictability/ambiguity, security, agreement and equality of resources. However, the extent to which any of these costs and rewards are universally salient, and the weightings which are attached to each, is not specified, so their utility in evaluating any one exchange situation is doubtful.

Social exchange theories hinge on an assumption of rationality as a basis for relationships. There is no account of the sense of uncertainty, problems and negotiation which we see in personal relationships, and nor is there any account of the process of achieving personal rewards from a relationship. Another difficulty for social exchange theory is that children do not choose their parents, and cannot easily leave them, and therefore social exchange theory seems less applicable to the children in a family. Finally, when applied to families, social exchange theories assume interchangeability of actors (i.e.

that given the same rewards and costs, all actors will make the same choice). This assumption is not necessarily tenable. Though social exchange theories are based on sound empirical data, they have not yet attained predictive power, based as they are on post hoc accounts of reasons for choices.

Having briefly reviewed some key family theories here, I will now discuss those themes emerging from the family theories which have particular relevance to family photography. These will then be related back to the propositions generated in Chapter 1.

Families and communication

One characteristic all the propositions in Chapter 1 share is that they are all based on the assumption that photographs are used to communicate, and the question of what the function of photographs is becomes a question regarding how photographs are used to communicate and what the content of that communication is. This assumption can be expressed in terms of the strategic school of family theory by stating that family photography is a behaviour (or perhaps a constellation of behaviours). All behaviour is communication, according to the strategic school, therefore family photography can also be considered communication. It is difficult, if not impossible, to formulate this as an hypothesis, which can be falsified, i.e. to set about proving that photographs are *not* used to communicate. What can be examined, however, is whether they are treated by their owners as being capable of being used to communicate. This is very much in the spirit of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918) argument that if we define situations as real, they are real in their consequences, i.e. if people *treat* photographs as being tools with which to communicate, then this warrants *researching* photographs as tools with which people communicate.

Proposition Six in Chapter 1 suggested that photographs can be used constructively to create reality in the family. Watzlawick et al's account of communication in the family provides some grounds for this proposition. They argue that communication in families is cyclical, and that people punctuate or divide the cycle in such a way as to impose their beliefs regarding the causes and reasons behind other family members communicative behaviour in order to interpret that behaviour, and this can serve to construct and maintain that behaviour. It is conceivable that photographs could be employed in order to achieve such punctuation. If we take a hypothetical example of the communicative cycle, such as 'we get together at Christmas because we are a close family. Getting together at Christmas makes us close.

We are close, therefore we get together at Christmas', then it can be expanded to include a possible role for photographs: 'we get together at Christmas because we were a close family. We take photographs of us together at Christmas because we're close. When we look at the photographs of us together they bring us closer together. Because we're close, we get together at Christmas'.

Due the cyclical nature of this model of family communication, it is impossible for the researcher to treat photographic communication as linear, i.e. to conduct research examining the functions of family photographs. This would punctuate the cycle, but not necessarily in the same way as families themselves punctuate it. Therefore, obliquely investigating the cycle, by examining the *potential* which photographs have to communicate, (Proposition Three) and the sorts of messages they *may* carry (Proposition Five), and the contexts in which they are used to communicate (Proposition Four), seems to be the most viable way to proceed. This approach considerably broadens the work of Musello (1977) (see Chapter 2), whose consideration of the communicative value of photographs implies that because there was no *intent* to communicate, then there was no communication, an approach which takes no cognisance of the 'mindless' aspects of social interaction (Langer et al, 1978; Berger, 1980), whereby people often act in accordance with well learned and automatic scripts rather than by conscious intent.

Families and ritual

In Chapter 1, my examination of existing theories of photography yielded Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'. The elaboration of this proposition involved a description of the link made between family photographs, family cohesion and unity, and family ritual made by theorists such as Bourdieu (1965). Do family theories provide any theoretical basis for hypothesising that these links exist?

The theorist who addressed the issue of family ritual in the context of a more general family theory was Reiss (1981). Reiss suggests that when the family responds to stress or crisis, elements of its response are abstracted, yielding general assumptions regarding the family which constitute the family paradigm. This paradigm is maintained over long periods of time by pattern regulators and ceremonials. It is the latter which Reiss termed 'family rituals'

Reiss' use of the concept of ceremonial or ritual is echoed by several other writers who, though they do not provide a general family theory, have considered family ritual in more detail. For example, Wolin and Bennett (1984) defined family rituals as consisting of celebrations, traditions and heavily patterned family interactions which comprise a symbolic form of

communication. They further claim that rituals contribute significantly to the establishment and preservation of a family's collective sense of itself.

Bossard & Boll (1950) proposed that the repetitious, highly valued symbolic family occasions were 'the core of family culture', and provide an index of the level of a family's integration. They saw the ritual as transmitting the family's enduring values, attitudes and goals.

According to Durkheim (1961), rituals strengthen the cultural bonds and social relationships within groups. Moore and Myerhoff (1977) describe secular rituals as the means to several ends. At the most conscious level there is the explicit purpose for which the ritual is designed. Through the successful execution of the ritual, the group carries out its business; through repetition it affirms its ideology. At a more subtle level, the performance of the ritual incorporates the symbols of the group and acknowledges its shared heritage.

Carter and McGoldrick (1989) see ritual as the family's way of navigating their way through the life cycle. It is a means of celebrating transitions, thereby reducing the stress they may engender in the family system. Rituals become a symbolic enactment of the emotional work which needs to be done at each transition. An example of a highly formalised ritual is a father 'giving away' the bride at a wedding.

The importance of ritual in family life has therefore been emphasised by numerous theorists. However, the link between ritual and unity or cohesion is not as straightforward as was implied when it arose in Proposition Five, Chapter 1. It would appear that ritual is more of a tool at the disposal of the family. It can be used to implement and transmit the family's attitudes, goals and beliefs, whatever they may be. So, for example, rituals may be used to 'cast someone off' from the family, to mark their attainment of adulthood and independence, as well as to mark family unity and togetherness. Therefore, rather than using the presence of ritual in the manifest content of family photographs as an index of unity, the presence of ritual in the manifest content indicates the potential photographs have to be used to recreate the ritual and thereby recapture its functions, *whatever* they may be. This entails seeing photographs as diachronic symbols, i.e. texts whose meaning can change, rather than synchronic signs whose meaning is structured and codified solely by the manifest content (Hodge and Kress, 1988).

This interpretation of the relationship between photographs and rituals, i.e. that photographs, by virtue of their ability to depict rituals, are symbolic objects onto which the original meanings of the rituals they depict can be projected, has ramifications for several of the propositions discussed in Chapter 1. As I suggested earlier, ritual and family unity are not necessarily contingent

on each other: cohesiveness and unity may be just one of the possible stories which photographs of rituals may be used to support. Therefore, Proposition Five can be modified such that evidence for the use of photographs to create and maintain family unity will be sought in the latent content of photographs, i.e. in what people say about them, rather than in the photographs themselves. On the other hand, Proposition Six, where the use of photographs to construct personal histories was proposed, and Proposition Four, where it was suggested that photographs are used in narrative contexts, can also be expanded. If photographs are used to construct a collective family story, as suggested by Proposition Four, then photographs of rituals, where, according to Reiss, those family stories are already enshrined, are likely to be particularly useful assets in this endeavour. If photographs are to provide touchstones for narrative in general, as suggested by Proposition Four, the manifest content of the photographs needs to lend itself to narrative, and the photographing of rituals, which in themselves are stories, is likely to enhance photographs' role in narrative.

Given that none of the research in which a link was made between photographs, family unity and ritual (Bourdieu, 1965; Halle, 1991; Hoppál, 1989; Musello, 1977) actually demonstrated either that rituals were frequent topics of family photography, or that photographs promote family unity, it seems sensible to examine these two questions independently, i.e. is one of the 'messages' attributed to photographs one of family unity, and secondly, are rituals well represented in the family album?

Family myths and stories

Propositions Four and Six in Chapter 1 raised the issue of family stories, both in terms of the use of photographs to create family stories (Proposition Four), and in terms of the content of those stories (Proposition Six).

In my discussion above of the role of ritual in family life, I emphasised rituals as vehicles for family values, beliefs, and attitudes. In short, rituals can be the repository of family stories. I suggested that the content of those stories could be, but need not necessarily be, concerned with issues of family togetherness. In this section, I intend to consider in more detail what the content of family stories might be, and how they may arise from family photographs.

Reiss suggests that when the family responds to stress or crisis, elements of its response are abstracted, yielding general assumptions regarding the family which constitute the family paradigm. He defines the family paradigm as a set of shared constructs, expectations and myths about the social world which are

created and maintained by the family. Reiss likens this to Kelly's notion of 'personal constructs' (Kelly, 1955), which in turn has been used by Proctor (1981) in his account of shared family constructs. Taking these linked ideas regarding what can be loosely termed a family 'philosophy' further, Proctor also embraced the concept of the family 'myth' as a way of characterising the family's belief system.

However, it is important at this point to clarify what is meant by family myths. The term is most often associated with the work of Ferreira (1963), who defined the family myth as a complex of 'well-integrated beliefs shared by all the family members, concerning each other and their mutual positions in the family' (p.457). However, the definition of myth which is used by family therapists such as Ferreira tends to be one in which the false and delusionary aspects of family beliefs are emphasised (Proctor, 1978), whereas family theorists such as Reiss and Proctor concentrate on family myths as being constructions of reality, which may be more or less useful, but which are no less real for all that. Therefore, I will use the term family myth as synonymous with family 'story', family 'paradigm', family 'constructs' and family 'philosophy', and will examine the dimensions which have been proposed as characterising family myths. The purpose of this is to examine what the content of family myths might be, and therefore what sort of stories family photographs might conceivably be used to support.

Reiss (1981) claimed that the central feature of a family which enabled it to persist over time was its paradigm. He suggested that families can be distinguished from one another by differences in their paradigm and provided a set of dimensions on which he suggested paradigms can be distinguished, namely coherence, integration and reference. Coherence refers to the family's belief in an underlying structure or order in the experienced world. It can range from belief in a stable, unchanging structure to belief in an underlying reality or force which changes of its own volition. Integration can range from universal (belief that each family member's experience is shaped by universal phenomena and thus is accessible through empathy) to particular (belief that the world has a different configuration for each member and thus individual experience is inaccessible to others). Finally, reference can vary from external (the family's experience of its world is anchored by co-ordinates whose origins lie outside themselves) to internal (the family's experience of its own solidity and/or centrality is the central orienting point in its experiential world). The family's desired levels of coherence, integration and reference are achieved, Reiss claims, by way of family ceremonies and pattern regulators. The issue of ceremonies was discussed above in terms of rituals, and pattern regulation

will be discussed with reference to Distance Regulation Theory, on which Reiss' theory of the family paradigm leans heavily.

Reiss' theory of the family paradigm provides a means of theorising the narrative context of photographic meaning (Proposition Four). Photographs may help the family create and maintain its paradigm by playing a role in the process of the abstraction of elements of the family's crisis construct from which that paradigm arises. This suggestion seems even more plausible given Reiss's description of how that process of abstraction occurs. He cites Langer (1967 and 1972) who directly addressed the issue of how artists abstract from a complex range of experience the essential, epigrammatic forms of that experience which they develop and present to their audience. She argued that one cannot seek specific symbolic significance in particular representations in painting, music or literature (or, to extend her argument, photography). Rather she points out that the import of an artistic effort lies in the totality of its form. This import derives from a concentrated and intense refinement which entails selection, emphasis and re-emphasis, deletion, distortion and many other processes of the artist's own experience. Reiss' description of extrapolation (the seeing of hidden potential in a formulation and extending it in order to increase the inner coherence of that formulation) and interpolation (the seeing of hidden potential in a formulation and extending it in order to increase extend the formulation) as means of highlighting essential elements of a construct is based on Langer's analysis, and it would seem reasonable to expect that the process of storytelling surrounding photographs serves a similar function, i.e. the narratives surrounding photographs consist of the abstraction of the essential elements of those photographs and the weaving of them into family constructs.

What might those family constructs consist of? Kantor and Lehr conceptualised the goals of family life as the achievement of power, affect and meaning ('target dimensions'). These target dimensions are attained through activities along the 'access dimensions' of space, time and energy. As I mentioned in my earlier delineation of Distance Regulation theory, families vary in the homeostatic ideal they espouse, and this leads them to behave differently on the target dimensions to achieve their ideal (the 'typal indicator', in Kantor and Lehr's model). If the idea of a family myth is extended to embrace family ideals, then affect, power and meaning can be seen as dimensions on which family myths can be deconstructed.

Affect, in Kantor and Lehr's model, embraces affiliation, loyalty, emotional acceptance and affirmation. The power dimension relates to personal freedom and control over others. 'Meaning' refers to a family's

morality, identity and values. Reiss's dimensions of coherence, integration and reference, all of which relate to the family's beliefs about the nature of their position in the world, and the source of their experience, can be considered to be subcategories of Kantor and Lehr's meaning dimension. Kantor and Lehr's model of the family is essentially an economic one: they see the target dimensions as being attained and access to them regulated via transactions which occur on the access dimensions of space, time and energy, the 'units' of these transactions being matter and information. Here we have the notion of a family story being 'achieved', rather than passively underpinning family interaction, and this brings us closer to the idea of family reality being actively constructed. It also discourages us from considering family behaviours and family goals as distinguishable: rather, it enables us to examine how families permit themselves to behave in ways which embody their goals via subtle, patterned activities in the dimensions of space, time and energy. It is these patterned activities to which Reiss referred as pattern regulators.

Kantor and Lehr discussed the mechanisms by which families organise and control their time, space and energy. However, they concentrated on the dimension of space, as they felt that time and energy were much more ephemeral than space, and were much more difficult to describe in words or reproduce in simulated examples.

Thus far, in this section, I have discussed some of the dimensions on which we can describe family stories: coherence, integration and reference, and affect, power and meaning. I considered briefly Kantor and Lehr's conception of how the desired positions on these dimensions are attained. I will discuss this in more detail presently. For the moment, I wish to consider other theorists' conceptions of the dimensions I've identified thus far, and examine whether they can be operationalised in terms of family photographs.

Families and affect. Affect was the first of Kantor and Lehr's target dimensions, and was defined by them as affiliation, loyalty, emotional acceptance and affirmation. It is these 'commodities' which were theorised by social exchange theorists such as Nye (1979). Nye raises the question of what rewards parents receive from their investment in their children. He claims that approval is one reward they receive from parenting, both directly from their children and tacitly, from society. With regard to the applicability of social exchange theories to family photography research: Nye (1979) raises the question of what rewards parents receive from their investment in their children. He claims that approval is one reward they receive from parenting, both directly from their children and tacitly, from society. It is therefore possible that photographs

provide a means of generating this approval by providing documentary evidence of their appropriate parenting behaviours. Another interesting hypothesis is that, given Nye's claim that positive affect is a reward in itself, photographs may well function as tokens for exchange of such experience. This adaptation of social exchange theory sits well with Proposition One, whereby photographs which are valued and exchanged in family contexts are those which generate a profit, with that profit being positive affect which the punctum elicits.

Families and Power. The second target dimension proposed by Kantor and Lehr was power. The issue of power also played an important role in Minuchin's structural theory of the family. Minuchin claimed that families are characterised by power hierarchies, which are maintained by spatial boundaries between family subsystems. Power was defined by Minuchin as the relative influence each family member has on the outcome of an activity. It is not necessarily an absolute, but is relative to the nature of the activity and expressed in social interaction. Power is generated by the way family members interact, passively and actively, such that the wishes of one family member can prevail.

In Chapter 1, in my discussion of Proposition Seven, I mentioned Hirsch's (1981) claim that the manifest content of photographs can indicate power relations in the family. Interpreting Minuchin's spatial metaphor literally, an analysis of the spatial relationships of family members in photographs should yield normative data illustrating symmetry in spouse subsystems, power lying with the parents in parental subsystems, and younger children seeking out older children in the sibling subsystems.

The use of physical space as an index of aspects of relationships has been empirically examined by several researchers into non-verbal communication, (e.g. Levinger and Gunner, 1967, and Mehrabian, e.g. 1969, 1972). Horizontal distance between persons has been found to be a measure of liking, and vertical distance and posture a measure of status. This creates a problem with regard to my operationalisation of Minuchin's structural theory above. However, touching does appear to be mediated by status variables, with people of higher status more likely to touch people of lower status than vice versa (Mehrabian, 1969). Therefore, an investigation of whether subsystems are discernible in family photographs needs to take into account whether the family members are touching or not.

Families and meaning. Kantor and Lehr define meaning as the philosophical framework that provides us with explanations of reality and helps us define our identity. It encompasses all actions and transactions relating to ideas and the communication of ideas about the family and the various worlds (social, spiritual, conceptual and material) to which the family relates, and it involves the family's maintenance of its identity as a living entity by the transmission of ideas about itself ('us') and the world ('them'). Purposeful identity is the primary target of the meaning dimension.

The meaning dimension therefore can be considered as the encapsulation of the issues described here as comprising the family myth: in essence, the family myth and 'meaning' are synonymous, containing as they do the family's blueprint for living. The issue of identity warrants further consideration, though, given the emphasis placed on the relationship between photographs and identity by much of the research described in Chapter 2. The idea of the family's business as being the management of meaning in order to construct identities is also embodied in Symbolic Interactionism, which sees meaning arising through the active manipulation of symbols. Photographs may serve as those symbols, and this will be discussed further below.

Family roles and individual identity

Proposition Six in Chapter 1 raised an issue regarding where *individuals* are positioned in relation to the family, and in relation to family photographs. All of the themes drawn from family theory so far deal with family as systems; none of them consider the individual in any detail.

The research of Blinn, Titus, Cloniger, Mills, Ragan and Ziller all emphasised the relationship between photographs and both group and individual identity. I suggested that a more detailed investigation of this connection was warranted, but firstly, a consideration of the theoretical basis of claiming that photographs can be used as vehicles of identity is necessary.

The family theories which give most credence to the family as a set of interacting individuals are Symbolic Interactionism and Role Theory. Both symbolic interactionism and role theory see people in families endeavouring to fulfil the requirements of their role. In the case of symbolic interactionism, the role can be created and re-created, whereas in Role Theory, the role is seen as a script which must be played out.

The potential of Symbolic Interactionism as a framework for research on family photography is exciting. It still remains one of the few theories which celebrates the importance of meaning in family interaction, and therefore is not to be dismissed lightly as a candidate for a theoretical framework for family

photography research. It may offer an account of how photographs, as symbolic objects, are used to create and maintain identity within the family, both at an individual and group level.

While role theory has been operationalised in terms of family photographs by some of the research discussed in Chapter 2 (see, in particular, Blinn and Titus), there is a dearth of research which treats photographs as symbolic objects in their own right, i.e. which looks at the potential photographs have to construct identity.

McCarthy (1985) highlighted the importance Mead (e.g. 1938) attached to physical objects as symbols. Mead claimed that significant physical objects had four functions: a) objects play a central role in the constitution and maintenance of social identities, b) objects function to provide the self with a stable and familiar environment, (c) the acts of touching and grasping play a central role in reality-construction and reality maintenance, (d) the self's relation to the physical world is a social relation.

In research on the psychological significance of material possessions (e.g. Csikzentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Kamptner, 1989; Dittmar, 1992), photographs have consistently emerged as one of the most treasured category of possession in Western homes. This would seem to indicate that if physical objects are used to create and manipulate identity in family contexts, then photographs, as particularly prevalent physical objects, are prime candidates for these activities.

Families and time

Proposition Two in Chapter 1 suggested that 'the essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'. This raises the question of whether time is enough of an issue in families for them to invest the amount of energy in its management implied by this Proposition. Kobbe's study (1993), described in Chapter 2, demonstrated empirically that there is a relationship between families' time orientation and their practice of photography, but did not provide an account of the nature of this relationship.

Kantor and Lehr suggested that the regulation of time is one of the key ways in which the family's targets of affect, power and meaning are attained. Their account of the mechanisms by which time is regulated lends itself well to operationalisation using photographs. Kantor and Lehr see the issue of time in the family as being how time should be used. Subsidiary questions are 'when and how often should certain events occur?' 'What should be valued from the

past?' 'What do members collectively and individually envision for the future?'

The orienting mechanism of Distance Regulation theory is the time-management mechanism whereby the selection, direction and maintenance of attitudes and behaviours toward the past, present, future and non-temporal realms of experience is achieved by emphasising one or more of these realms or the particular relationships among them. This is negotiated by: remembering, re-experiencing or re-enacting of something that has already taken place or existed. The goal of such orienting is to retrieve or hold onto that which has been. Past orienting is concerned with history, especially family history. Without some past orienting, a family can't experience any sense of continuity or learning from the past. Integrating past, present and future enables families to organise their experience of events into a pattern for interrelating events experienced in different time spheres. Patterns may be chronological, historical, associational or mythical.

Thus, Distance Regulation theory embodies an account of the role time plays in family life, and provides a justification for considering whether and how photographs may be used to control subjective experiences of time. 'Time' should be an aspect of the latent content of photographs, i.e. one of the potential messages attributed to photographs should be the passage of time and the controllability of time.

There is another aspect to time in the family: Carter and McGoldrick point out that families exist in linear time, and the passage of that time brings with it obstacles to be negotiated, i.e. life cycle transitions. They suggest that rituals are used to mark these transitions and make them easier to cope with, but if, as suggested above, rituals have a special place in the content of family photographic collections, then it may be possible to operationalise Proposition Seven ('Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs') explicitly in terms of family life cycle stages. If photographs can be used to control subjective experiences of time, then should be more photographs taken during transition points in the family life cycle when families are endeavouring to cope with rapid change.

Families and physical space

I have already discussed the possible relationship between physical space and power hierarchies above. However, there are other aspects of the use of physical space by families which may illuminate Proposition Seven in Chapter 1.

Kantor and Lehr suggest that space in families, both physical and metaphorical, is one of the means by which the family maintains its homeostatic ideal. They identified two kinds of space to be negotiated: exterior (the relationship of the family to its physical environment) and interior (intra-familial). They suggested that these two kinds of space present particular problems for families to negotiate: exterior space presents the problem of how territory should be developed, defended and maintained, and interior space presents the problem of how distance between family members should be regulated.

Bounding is a mechanism in which families establish and maintain their territory within the larger community space by regulating both incoming and outgoing traffic.

Linking is the regulation of distance. Linking operations, because they directly affect interpersonal relations, are much more closely connected with target issues than are the bounding operations, which take place at the family perimeter. The focus of linking mechanisms is not on the targets themselves, but on members and their movements as bearers of targets.

How a family carries out its centering operations profoundly affects the ways in which it bounds off its space and binds members to it. Without spatial guidelines, members may not know how to bound, who and what to screen out and in, or where to go and where not to go. The guidelines and the centering operations which support them are the glue which binds members together into a cohesive and coherent whole.

It is unlikely that the manifest content of photographs will reflect all of the mechanisms associated with the regulation of space. However, given that photographs are static slices of how families arrange themselves in space, and both in relation to each other, and in relation to the outside world, family space *can* be operationalised in family photographs, in terms of where the family photograph is taken, and how the family members choose to represent themselves as appropriately spaced in relation to each other. Therefore, family photographs can provide an index of both the ideal spatial arrangements of individual families, both within the family and in relation to the world around it.

Gardner (e.g. 1983) examined the family's use of space, but did not find any significant trends in terms of how families depicted space in their photographs. However, it does seem likely that clear norms regarding the locations in which families choose to photograph themselves should be discernible in photographs.

This review of themes in family theories which have direct relevance to the propositions in Chapter 1, and to the empirical research in Chapter 2, now provide a means of refining the Propositions in terms of a series of research questions.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

At the end of Chapter 2, I pointed out that any investigation of, and distinction between, the studium and the punctum of a photograph should take into account the intention behind the taking of a photograph, the uses to which it is put, and the influence of convention on photographic interpretation. If the studium of a photograph is accessible to anyone who looks at that photograph, then it follows that that photograph must tap into recognisable cultural codes governing the representation of families. Role theory suggests that family member's roles are scripted for them by cultural convention, and this is supported by the research of Mills (1984) and Ragan (1982), which demonstrates the existence of cultural conventions governing the representation of gender in photographs, and the work of Goffman (1976) in his book, *Gender Advertisements*, which, though it is highly descriptive and interpretive, does indicate that there are certain regularities of posture and demeanour which differentiate between genders in photographs. Brown's (1981) research demonstrates to some extent that there are also cultural conventions governing the representation of familial roles in photographs. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that if an observer is to be able to recognise 'a family' in a photograph, that family must be depicted in relation to the conventions governing family roles. This suggestion can be examined in two ways: first of all, the *potential* for photographs to communicate information can be investigated, and secondly, the existence of regularities in relation to the depiction of family roles can be investigated by examining the manifest content of family photographic collections.

With regard to the existence of both a 'studium' and a 'punctum' in photographs, the discourse surrounding family photographs needs to be studied in order to elucidate the terms in which families value photographs, i.e. can photographs be used as commodities to exchange information (the 'identification of' that Stone (1962) identifies as being inherent in Mead's conception of meaning), or is what is exchanged more akin to 'punctum' or 'identification with', i.e. empathy, feeling and general affect. One might argue that if one person asserts that a photograph will evoke affect in another, then

this conflicts with Barthes' notion that the punctum of a photograph is located in the observer, and is particular to that observer. Social exchange theory suggests that affect is a commodity in the family, as does Distance Regulation Theory, and this suggests that the 'traffic' in photographs in families may actually be traffic in affect.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

If photographs can be used to control subjective experiences of time, as suggested in both Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, then there should be more photographs taken during transition points in the family life cycle when families are endeavouring to cope with rapid change.

'Time' should be an aspect of the latent content of photographs, i.e. one of the potential messages attributed to photographs should be the passage of time and the controllability of time.

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

In discussing families and communication, I suggested that it is necessary to examine the communicative potential attributed by families to photographs. The extent to which photographic communication is grounded in a realist or symbolist folk myth can only be evaluated by asking families about the truth value of photographs. A model whereby the 'truth' or 'falsity' of photographs is tested against some 'reality' in families is not appropriate, given the emphasis I have placed on the constructive and cyclical nature of communication in families.

Proposition Four: Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context.

In my discussion of families and communication, I suggested that an examination of the contexts in which photographs are used is necessary. I also suggested that if photographs are commonly employed in narrative contexts, then the content of the photographs needs to lend itself to narrative.

Therefore, it is expected that not only will the expressed use of photographs be in a setting where story telling is occurring, but also that the content of photographs will be of rituals, holidays and other events which already have a narrative structure, i.e. characters, action and a discernible sequence of events.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

It was suggested in Chapter 1 that a high proportion of family photographs will be of family rituals, and that these photographs will enable the family to construct stories in which they figure as a unified and cohesive body.

However, the link between ritual and unity and cohesion is not as straightforward as was implied when it first arose in Chapter 1. Therefore, rather than using the presence of ritual in the manifest content of family photographs as an index of unity, the presence of ritual in the manifest content will be taken as indicating the potential photographs have to be used to recreate the ritual and thereby recapture its functions, *whatever* they may be.

Proposition Five can be therefore modified such that evidence for the use of photographs to create and maintain family unity will be sought in the latent content of photographs, i.e. in what people say about them, as well as in the photographs themselves.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

This proposition would seem to indicate that if physical objects are used to create and manipulate identity in family contexts, then photographs, as particularly prevalent physical objects, are prime candidates for these activities. If this proposition holds true, then it should be possible to use family photographs as a form of feedback regarding personal identity. Given that one would expect family photographs to be predominantly of family groups rather than of individual family members, it is likely that it is only at the stage of interpreting photographs that their relevance for personal identity will arise.

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

Proposition Seven ('Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs') can be reformulated in terms of family life cycle stages and the management of space. If photographs can be used to control subjective experiences of time, then should be more photographs taken during transition points in the family life cycle when families are endeavouring to cope with rapid change. It is at these points that the family is likely to experience anxiety and stress, and therefore may wish to slow down, or gain control over change.

In Chapter 1, in my discussion of Proposition Seven, I mentioned Hirsch's (1981) claim that the manifest content of photographs can indicate

power relations in the family. Interpreting Minuchin's spatial metaphor literally, an analysis of the spatial relationships of family members in photographs should yield normative data illustrating symmetry in spouse subsystems, power lying with the parents in parental subsystems, and younger children seeking out older children in the sibling subsystems.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have reviewed and evaluated some key family theories. I have considered how each theory may inform an investigation of the meaning and functions of photographs in families. I then refined the seven Propositions which I first introduced in Chapter 1 to take into account these insights from family theory. In the following Chapter, I will express these Propositions as a set of empirical questions, and consider methodological issues raised by my research.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH PROGRAMME AND METHODOLOGY

In the course of the preceding chapters, I have discussed theoretical accounts of photographic meaning (Chapter 1), and of family dynamics (Chapter 3). I have also evaluated existing research on family photographs (Chapter 2). These three chapters were based around seven propositions regarding the meaning and functions of family photographs which were first delineated in Chapter 1 and which were developed in subsequent chapters.

In this chapter, I intend to return to the seven propositions in order to convert them into empirical questions. I will then describe how I intend to investigate these questions, and discuss my choice of methodology in more detail.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

This proposition relates to the informational and affective aspects of photographs. Barthes differentiated between the information and the emotional impact of photographs. However, I suggested on the basis of research discussed in Chapter 2 that the information in photographs may not fall so neatly into these categories. Information in photographs is encoded by photographers, who therefore exert an influence over the message of a photograph. Furthermore, the ways in which people are depicted in photographs is likely to be governed, at least to some extent, by cultural norms.

The affective aspects of photographs may be particular to individuals; however, this does not preclude the influencing of affective aspects by the manifest content.

Therefore, there are three issues to be investigated in order to establish the validity of Proposition One. Firstly, the discourse of photographic meaning needs to be examined for evidence that photographs are treated by their owners as having information, which is encoded by the manifest content, and which is accessible to viewers other than themselves. Secondly, the discourse of photographic meaning needs to be investigated for evidence that photographs are treated by their owners as also having a specific, affective meaning which is particular to that viewer, and which is not necessarily communicable to others solely by means of the photograph. Finally, if the information available in a family photograph is to be recognisable by all individuals who have access to the same cultural codes, then the manifest content must be codified, i.e. the depiction of family roles in family photographic collections must be subject to some identifiable regularities. The latter claim can only be investigated by a detailed study of the manifest content of family photographs.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

In Chapter 1, one of the most important aspects of photographs was claimed to be their relationship to time. This raised two issues: whether this was in fact the case, and if so, how time is represented in photographs, and to what ends. The research reviewed in Chapter 2 provided indications that the kind of time depicted in photographs tends to be life-cycle time, but provided little indication that anyone other than the researchers concerned considered time to be an important attribute of photographs. However, in my review of family theory in Chapter 3, time, and the management of time, emerged as an important aspect of family life, and this lends weight to the suggestion that the one of the important aspects of family photographs is their potential for the manipulation of subjective experiences of time. Proposition Two, therefore, requires investigation on two fronts: firstly, the potential of photographs in general to manipulate subjective experiences of time requires investigation, and secondly, the representation of time, particularly by the taking of photographs at events which mark the passage of time, such as birthdays, anniversaries, developmental milestones and rites of passage such as graduation should be prevalent in the manifest content of photographs. There should also be more photographs taken during periods of change when time appears to speed up. Conversely, it is expected that most photographic activity takes place early on in the life-cycle, when most changes are occurring (e.g. birth of children), and will tail off as the family progresses through the life cycle. These claims regarding the relationship of the manifest content of photographs to the family's management of time can only be evaluated by way of an archival study of entire family photographic collections.

Proposition Three: 'Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

Proposition Three is related to Proposition One in that it concerns what significance, or potential for meaning, is attributed to photographs by their users. Two 'myths' regarding the potential of photographs for meaning were identified: the 'realist' myth and the 'symbolist' myth. I suggested in discussing these myths that rather than merely identifying them, any research investigating such myths (or 'discourses') should ask what purposes those myths serve. This is particularly important given the conflicting evidence put forward for these myths by the researchers discussed in Chapter 2. Though Musello (1977) claimed that communication with family photographs occurs

within a realist myth, O'Connor, Beilin and Kose's (1981) research demonstrates that the case for the prevalence of the realist myth is not at all as clear-cut when investigated experimentally.

In Chapter 3, I pointed out that the constructive nature of communication in families, and the important role that family myths play in family life means that rather than taking a communicative act, such as photography, and asking what truth it reflects, it is more important to examine what stories family photographs are used to support. In order for a photograph to support a story, its status as illustration, evidence, or counterpoint to a story must be signalled in some way, and it is this signalling, or switching of 'keys' from realism to symbolism and back again is likely to be a much more fruitful way of examining the nature of 'realism' and 'symbolism' in discourses of photographic meaning. Again, this indicates the necessity for a qualitative study which investigates photographs' potential for meaning, rather than a study whereby photographs are tested for truth or falsity against some 'reality' in families, is more appropriate.

Proposition Four: 'Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context'.

My review of photographic theory in Chapter 1 yielded the proposition that photographic meaning arises in a narrative context. It was suggested that this is particularly the case when photographs are used to construct, or reconstruct, memories.

I suggested at the end of that chapter that Proposition Four implies that any investigation into the meaning of family photographs must take into account the contexts in which they are used.

The research reviewed in Chapter 2 indicated that though other researchers have assumed that photographs are used to facilitate memory, there is very little empirical evidence regarding this mode of use.

In Chapter 3 I reviewed the importance of stories in family life, and suggested that if photographs are used to support narrative, then it is likely that the events photographed will take a narrative form, and therefore we would expect there to be a high frequency of photographs of rituals in the family collection. I also considered what the content of the narratives constructed around photographs might be, and suggested that they will be about family life, as distinct from the lives of the individual family members, and that their themes will relate to the family's desired position on the dimensions of affect, power and meaning. Given the claim embodied in Proposition One that the manifest content is likely have an impact on both the studium and the punctum of a photograph, it is likely that the manifest content will be codified

in such a way as to support these aspects of family narratives, i.e. power and affective dynamics will be represented in the manifest content of photographs.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

This proposition also relates to the use of photographs to create and maintain family myths, specifically, the myth of family unity and solidarity.

Proposition Five implies that issues of cohesion and permanence of the family should be salient in the discourse surrounding photographs, i.e. the latent content of photographs should contain some 'information' pertaining to family unity. I also suggested in Chapter 1 that the manifest content of photographs may also contain messages for the family concerning its unity (or otherwise), and therefore, festivals and rituals are expected to be prevalent in the manifest content of photographs, particularly at times where unity is under threat. This suggestion was augmented by research reported in Chapter 2, whereby the frequency of depiction of rituals in the family photographic collection was treated as an index of family unity. However, I pointed out in Chapter 3 that the link between ritual and family unity was not exact, and though rituals serve a communicative function in families, the message which they are communicating is not solely one of family unity, but also of other aspects of the family paradigm, such as affect. Therefore, I suggested, that as well as examining the frequency of rituals in the family collection, what the family says about the photographs should also be taken into account, i.e. the discourse surrounding photography should be examined for evidence that photographs can be used to support stories about family unity. Furthermore, given Brown's (1981) use of photographs to examine cultural codes governing the representation of intimacy in families, by operationalising intimacy in terms of spatial orientation of family members towards each other, it is possible that this is an aspect of the manifest content of family photographs which enables stories about family unity to be constructed. Co-occurrence of family members in photographs is also likely to be necessary to promote the use of family photographs to create and maintain family unity. Therefore, investigation of this proposition requires, like several of the other propositions, an investigation of the manifest content of family photographs by way of an archival study of several photographic collections, as well as an investigation of the potential for effecting family unity which is attributed to photographs.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

This proposition argues that the process of staging photographs, the norms of appropriate behaviour for the photographic subject which have developed, and the process of selecting and rejecting photographs for the family album all combine to create our personal identities.

Blinn's (1988) research attempted to demonstrate that families' social identities were manifest in their family photographs. However, due to methodological weaknesses, this was not proven. Similarly, Titus (1976) attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to show that role identities are manifest in family photographs. I suggested at the end of Chapter 2 that in order to examine Proposition Six, an investigation of the potential attributed to photographs for representing identity by the owners of photographs is required, as is an examination of the general codes governing depiction of actual families in photographs (as distinct from Brown's 'artificial' families"), and of the kinds of events which are considered by the family to be 'photographable', and conversely, those events which are not considered to be 'photographable', i.e. occasions which are considered to be inappropriate for photography.

In Chapter 3, I argued that as physical objects are used to create and manipulate identity in family contexts, then photographs are prime candidates for these activities. It is likely to be possible to make inferences about family social identity from the manifest and latent content of photographs, but it is likely that their relevance for individual identity will be more apparent in the latent content than in the manifest content.

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

This Proposition effectively embodies Propositions Five and Six, which relate to particular aspects of family dynamics, and arose from Hirsch's claim that the manifest content of photographs provides clues regarding power relationships within the family. However, the empirical research on family photographs takes the issue of family dynamics further, and suggests that family intimacy (Brown, 1981) and family boundaries (Gardner, 1983) may be discernible in family photographs. My review of theoretical accounts of the family suggested that the aspects of family dynamics already mentioned may well have visual correlates. For example, spatial arrangements of family members may provide information about power and intimacy in the family, and about family subsystems. The presence of non-family members in the photographs may provide information regarding the family's boundaries between it and its social environment. The locations where photographs are taken may provide

information regarding the family's relationship with its physical environment. However, given the difficulty of determining the relationship between family dynamics as they appear in photographs, and 'actual' family dynamics, an investigation of the manifest content will be in terms of the norms of representation governing family photographs, rather than their 'truth' or 'falsity'. This approach allows for the possibility that family photographs may *influence* family dynamics as well as merely representing them.

Research questions.

Having discussed propositions regarding the meaning and function of family photographs from three perspectives: photographic theory, existing empirical research, and family theory, it is now possible to formulate a set of empirical questions derived from each proposition. Three types of study have been identified as being required to investigate these propositions: a study of the discourse surrounding photography, i.e. an examination of photographs' potential for meaning (Study 1), an examination of the discourses espoused by professional photographers in relation to photographs' potential for meaning (Study 2) and an archival study which examines the manifest content of family photographic collections (Study 3). The empirical questions guiding this thesis, and the study in which they will be investigated, are listed below:

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

- (a) Does every photograph which is claimed as significant by its owner contain either a studium or a punctum? (Study 1)
- (b) Is the studium, as Barthes and Lesy claim, accessible to any observer, and is the punctum of any one photograph different for every individual? (Study 1)
- (c) Is the manifest content of photographs codified, i.e. are there systematic commonalities in the content of family photographic collections. (Study 3)
- (d) How much influence over the manifest content is attributed to a photographer (Study 1, Study 2), and is there any observable effect of photographer on manifest content (Study 3)?

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

- (a) Is an important aspect of photography its relationship to time? (Study 1)
- (b) Is the relationship between photographs and time seen as equally important by amateur and professional photographers? (Study 2)

- (c) Is there a relationship between the family's emphasis on its own continuity and the use of photographs to orient family members towards the temporal aspect of family life? (Study 1)
- (d) How is time represented in photographs? (Study 1, Study 3)
- (d) Are more photographs taken during times of rapid change in the family, e.g. around life cycle transitions? (Study 3)

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

- (a) Are "realist" and "symbolist" myths discernible in the discourse of amateur and professional photographers? (Study 1, Study 2)
- (b) If so, what is the rhetorical function of these myths? (Study 1, Study 2)

Proposition Four: 'Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context'.

- (a) Is there a collective narrative surrounding family photographic collections? (Study 1)
- (b) Is the narrative surrounding family photographs primarily concerned with issues of family identity, either implicitly or explicitly? (Study 1, Study 2)

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

- (a) Are issues of unity and cohesion salient in the discourse surrounding family photographs? (Study 1)
- (b) Do a substantial number of family photographs depict rituals which may establish and preserve the family's identity? (Study 3)
- (c) Are family photographs primarily of groups of family members rather than of individuals? (Study 3)

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

- (a) What is the relationship between the individual's perceptions of their family and the representation of the family in the family album? (Study 1)
- (b) Are there any topics which are inappropriate subjects for photographs, and if so, why? (Study 1, Study 2, Study 3)

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

- (a) Are there implicit norms which govern how families may be represented in family photographic collections? (Study 3)

- (b) Are the roles played by family members discernible in family photographs? (Study 1, Study 3)
- (c) Are there systematic differences in the kinds of photographs taken at different stages in the family life cycle? (Study 3)

The three studies comprising this research will be described in detail in chapters 5 to 7. Before describing the research, a consideration of my choice of methodology is warranted, and this is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Methodological considerations

In this research I have been eclectic in my choice of methodology. However, this mixing of methodologies was principled, and in this chapter I wish to explain how I arrived at my decisions. I will do this by discussing several issues: a) I will discuss how the framing of a research question guides and limits the ensuing research; b) I will evaluate three key philosophical stances on 'what constitutes knowledge' in the social sciences and show how these have informed my research, and finally, c) I will reflect on and evaluate the research methods I have used in the light of recommendations made for the use of mixed methodologies by researchers such as Bryman (1992).

In choosing appropriate methodologies for this research, there were several considerations to be addressed. Firstly, I needed to make the epistemological basis of my research question explicit, i.e. was I seeking to make one general, probabilistic statement about the world, or was I seeking to describe a range of possibilities which characterise the meaning and functions of family photography? This clarification of the nature of my research question was necessary in order for me to be able to recognise an 'answer' to it, or at least to frame smaller questions which had some relevance to my overall goals. Having established an epistemological 'home' for my research, I then had to resolve what methodologies were available to me which were derived from, or were complementary to, that epistemology. Given that my research aim was framed in terms of the series of more compact goals delineated in Chapter 1, I also had to choose methodologies which would not only provide answers to the questions I posed, at the level of analysis at which I posed them, but which would also enable me to triangulate, at least to some degree, the findings from each piece of research in order to illuminate my overall research question, i.e. why do people take family photographs and what do they use them for?

My initial research question: 'what functions do family photographs serve in the family, and how do they fulfil those functions' committed me

immediately to carrying out my research at the level of the individual, the inter-individual or group, and, to a certain extent, the societal levels of analysis. I was convinced that the most useful way of researching family photographs would be to treat them as instances of meaning-making. Meaning making occurs across individuals, groups, societies, and cultures. However, aside from the unavailability of resources which would permit me to conduct research outside Europe, the difficulty of generalising the findings of any family research to cultures beyond the one in which that research was conducted precludes me from making any claims about family photographs at the cultural level of analysis. Hence, I constrained my research to the individual, group and societal levels of analysis.

Having thus specified the levels of analysis at which I intended to work, I then considered epistemological issues. The characterisation of my research as an examination of 'meaning making' immediately pointed towards a hermeneutic epistemology as the most relevant location for this research. However, the issue wasn't quite that simple, given that the nature and status of knowledge in the social sciences by no means makes the choice of any particular epistemological basis for a piece of research necessary, obvious or even acceptable.

Polkinghorne (1983), in his review of epistemology in the social sciences, strongly advocates the use of mixed methodology in social science research. However, he cautions that the assumptions and relationships of systems of enquiry need to be examined, as researchers who take a methodologically pluralistic approach to their research cannot assume the validity of their particular mixture of tools for enquiry, and they therefore need to begin their work at a deeper level where the assumptions and relationships of the systems of inquiry themselves are examined.

In view of this caveat, this chapter will describe some of the assumptions underpinning epistemological traditions in psychology. I will then argue that the traditional 'qualitative versus quantitative' debate which has tended to characterise epistemological dilemmas in psychology is anachronistic, and argue that the adoption of a multi-faceted approach, involving triangulation of methodologies, is likely to be the most productive and coherent approach to my own research. I will then describe the methods I have chosen for this research, considering their strengths and weaknesses and discussing the kinds of conclusions warranted by the data yielded by each method.

Why is epistemology an issue?

Epistemology literally means 'the study of the foundations of truth' ('the theory or the science of the method or the grounds of knowledge', OED, 2nd

Compact Edition, 1989). It is an issue for me, and for psychologists generally, because the epistemology adopted by a researcher embodies assumptions about the nature and status of psychological knowledge and understanding, about the appropriate methodological path to that knowledge and understanding, about the nature of people, and about the nature of the relationship between individuals and society. It also embodies assumptions regarding what social psychology is *for*, an issue which is beyond the scope of this discussion. Most psychological research projects are grounded within only one epistemology, and thus, the descriptive terms, modes of explanation, ideological models of the person and types of explanation employed do not always come under scrutiny. However, if one seeks to combine methods, one has to confront and seek to integrate the conceptual baggage a method has acquired, and to this end, each epistemology needs to be considered in turn.

What epistemologies are available to me?

The three most common epistemologies in social psychology are nomothetic, hermeneutic and idiographic (Polkinghorne, 1983).

A nomothetic epistemology is that of the physical sciences. It seeks general laws, often of cause and effect, using methods and concepts which are objective, clearly operationalised, replicable and usually empirical. This approach stresses the common aspects of human behaviour, thus sacrificing the richness of individuality for general laws, and generally embodies a hypothetico-deductive methodology. The assumptions underpinning the nomothetic approach are: that there is one definitive reality and a definitive human nature to be investigated; that behaviour and experience are causally determined; that the processes underlying behaviour and experience are causally determined; that the processes underlying behaviour and experience are not fundamentally different in principle from those of the natural sciences, and therefore the same methods for investigating them are appropriate; and finally, that, given time, psychologists will uncover the laws which govern the causal relationships concerned.

The idiographic and hermeneutic epistemologies can be broadly termed phenomenological, in that they are concerned with understanding human behaviour from the actor's frame of reference. Phenomenology assumes that the important reality is what people *imagine* it to be. This approach is illustrated by Polyani's (1967) assertion that significance is more important than tangibility (p.33).

The idiographic approach consists of the exploration of single case studies in depth, but still with a view to making a contribution to our understanding of *general* processes. It is more explicitly located at the level of

individual understanding and meaning than is the nomothetic approach, but it still attempts to retain 'objectivity', for example, by basing conclusions on statistical analysis. A classic example of the idiographic approach is Kelly's Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955).

Hermeneutics refers to the study of personal, social, conscious, and unconscious meanings. The issue of subjectivity is pre-eminent in this approach, and not only the subjectivity of the research participant, but also that of the researcher. Meaning is considered to be constructed in the interaction between the researcher and the participant, and just as the participant's biography will affect the meaning an interaction has for them, so too will the researcher's history and prior experience influence the process of interpretation of an interaction. An example of this approach is Symbolic Interactionism (Mead, 1934).

How does one 'choose' an epistemology?

The radical social psychological movement of the 1960's and 1970's argued very strongly that the methods and assumptions of physical science are inappropriate to the study of people and social life. Why is this? The truth claims made by positivists are not considered to be universally valid for several reasons: a) most psychological research has been and continues to be carried out in Western cultures, and its cross-cultural validity has been assumed rather than demonstrated; b) the deterministic flavour of much of the research does not fit well with a liberal model of the person as reflexive and autonomous, and c) developments within other sciences (e.g. quantum physics) have called into question the idea that we can definitively know something. For example, the 'measurement problem' at the heart of the Copenhagen Interpretation of Quantum Theory arises from the paradox that something cannot be known precisely until it is measured, but by being measured, the nature of the entity is changed (c.f. Bohm, 1987)

This consideration of the relative merits and demerits of the main epistemologies underpinning the social sciences brings me to the methodological debate regarding the relative merits of qualitative 'versus' quantitative research. Quantitative research is associated with a nomothetic epistemology and therefore, positivism; qualitative research has been influenced by hermeneutics and idiographics, and therefore involves the rejection of the natural science approach to the study of humans.

As Bryman (1992) pointed out, these epistemological precursors have influenced the concerns of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The concern in quantitative research with such things as causality, measurement and generalisability can be traced back to its natural

science roots; the concern in qualitative research with the point of view of the individuals being studied, the detailed elucidation of context, and the sensitivity to the processes through which meaning arises can be attributed to its epistemological roots in the anti-positivist movement (typified by Dilthey, Wundt, Husserl and James, who believed in the study of the whole person, including their values and experience).

The role of phenomenological data in psychology's enterprise has been questioned since the demise of introspection as a respectable scientific method. The first person to introduce a dichotomy of method between the physical and human sciences appears to have been the German historian Droysen. In 1858 he used the terms *erklären* (explanation, establishing necessary and predictive laws) to describe physical science methods, and *verstehen* (understanding) to describe human science methods. (Polkinghorne, 1983)

The positivists were opposed to the use of the *verstehen* mode on the ground that different interpreters could come to different understandings of the same phenomena. Understanding was said by the positivists to be merely speculative and therefore open to challenge; they attacked it for lacking certainty and refused to accept it as science.

In a similar vein, in an article in *The Psychologist*, Morgan (1996) criticises qualitative research's emphasis on subjectivity on the basis of its lack of reproducibility, i.e. its reliability. The supposed lack of reliability of qualitative research is a thorny subject, and is one which cannot really be resolved. If one takes as the criterion of reliability that another researcher following exactly the same method will obtain exactly the same results, then qualitative research is seldom reliable. But the criterion of reliability is one which is only appropriate to certain kinds of research questions. Human behaviour, though obviously patterned and to certain extent, rule governed, is not only hugely sensitive to context, but is also notable for having a particularly rogue independent variable, free will, which can have rather unpredictable effects when the human being in question is in his or her own ecological niche. It is therefore no accident that some of the most reliable effects in psychological research are observed under controlled conditions, where the latitude for the 'subject' to exert any influence over the situation is reduced as far as possible by the researcher. However, maximising reliability has serious consequences for the validity of research findings, and in particular for the ecological validity of findings, i.e. the likelihood that the findings will hold in the world outside the laboratory. Therefore, though some of Morgan's exhortations regarding the desirability of such things as inter-observer reliability, clear and objectively operationalisable coding categories, and replicable methodology can be noted and implemented in qualitative research, reliability remains something which

is bracketed in favour of maximising the validity of findings. The data generated by qualitative research have two aspects: the actual words (or text, in whatever form), and the interpretation of those words. Reliability of interpretation can be addressed by the measures Morgan advocates: you can show exactly how you obtained the text in question, you can show the text itself, and you can provide a replicable rationale for your interpretation. This enables the plausibility of inferences to be assessed. A range of possible inferences can be described. Data collected by more than one researcher can be compared in order to examine how the data were constructed between researcher and participant. In short, the processes of 'meaning-making' can be examined, and the research on those processes can be replicated, even if the *outcome* of processes varies. Thus, though research methodologies based on a nomothetic epistemology are ideal when one is seeking to maximise reliability, validity, or the claim that what is being *described* is the phenomenon being investigated, rather than an experimental artefact, can often be more convincingly established by qualitative research.

Of course, to discuss epistemology dispassionately, in terms of advantages and disadvantages, implies that one does not have a personal preference for particular ways of knowing. To talk about 'choosing' epistemology implies that all ways of knowing are personally acceptable, and that one can objectively evaluate them and somehow choose what is 'best' for a research question. This ignores the fact that research questions are rarely mystical revelations. They are formed out of the inchoate ideas, beliefs, values and impressions which guide a researcher's career and which must, to a large degree, influence what she considers 'worthy' of her attention. I am no exception to this, and my own stance in relation to epistemologies in psychology is heavily influenced by the liberal agenda which inspired the epistemological soul searching of social psychology in the 1960's (c.f. Miller, 1969). Though I do not believe that 'ways of knowing' are completely gendered (as claimed by, for example, Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986), I believe that a stance of objectivism, which brings with it connotations of the researcher as an omnipotent discoverer of truth, without an acknowledgement of the constructed nature of that truth, is inimical to a feminist approach which embraces interdependency and intersubjectivity and eschews the idolisation of 'objectivity'. I therefore have endeavoured to conduct this research in a reflexive manner, whereby the effect of my involvement in this research on my participants, and on the data which I collected, is not 'bracketed', but rather is considered as an aspect of the analysis and discussion in the studies which I conducted. This stance resembles that of Code's (1991) 'mitigated relativism', or a belief in 'styles' of knowing, or Stanley and Wise's (1993) 'feminist

fractured foundationalist epistemology' (which rejects the Cartesian opposition of reason and emotion in favour of the embracing of emotion in the creation of systematic knowledge about the social world. (p.193).

Rationale for a multi method approach

Despite the synopsis of the qualitative/quantitative dilemma above, it can be argued that research methodologies do not have to be so rigidly and exclusively associated with particular epistemological positions. Indeed, Polkinghorne (1983) commented that 'the pull toward a single methodological perspective with its clearly defined tools needs to be resisted because this single perspective, designed for research in 'normal science' overlooks the anomalous quality of human experience. The difficulty for human science arises, not from a need to change from one paradigm to another, but from a need to resist settling down to any single paradigm'. (p.9)

How, then, should one go about using a selection of methodological approaches in a research project while maintaining the intellectual coherence of such an endeavour?

Seeking integration

Bryman (1992) suggests a number of different ways in which qualitative and quantitative research can be integrated. Qualitative research may be used to generate hypotheses which are subsequently tested using quantitative methodologies; qualitative and quantitative methodologies may be combined to provide a general picture; quantitative research is especially efficient at getting to the 'structural' features of social life, while qualitative studies are usually stronger in terms of processes, and in terms of phenomenology and the 'lived experience' of research participants; the addition of some quantitative evidence may help to mitigate the fact that it is often not possible to generalise (in a statistical sense) the findings deriving from qualitative research; and finally, qualitative research can help explore the reasons underpinning quantitatively established relationships between variables (p. 60). In short, qualitative and quantitative methods can be triangulated in several ways. However, triangulation or mixing of methods must be principled. Triangulation has commonly been used to demonstrate the validity of a method, but it becomes a futile exercise when the methods used are drawn from different epistemologies. Rather, triangulation can be used to obtain a description of the phenomenon under investigation which is both broad and deep.

Eclecticism in the choice of research methods can also be justified by adopting a postmodernist perspective. If one adopts a modernist approach to

research, i.e. by assuming that there is one and only one way of reflecting reality, and that that way is the true one, then one must necessarily adopt the methodology which ostensibly 'captures' that reality most comprehensively. The alternative, within modernism, is to admit that all research methods are fundamentally flawed, and their truth claims are therefore questionable. However, a postmodernist approach conceptualises research methodologies in terms of research genres (e.g. Lyotard, 1984, Gergen, 1991). Lyotard (1984) argued that there are no 'grand narratives' anymore that hold disciplines together. Instead, there is fragmentation into discrete smaller 'narratives' or 'genres', with each genre having its own rules and place in the overall scheme of the field. This would seem to imply that qualitative and quantitative methods should be able to co-exist, and to complement each other without the researcher needing to try to explain or reconcile one method in terms of any other. It should suffice that each method embodies the goals of clarification, abstraction, comparison with other instances and ultimately, generalisability, which characterise all epistemological approaches. Rather than preferring one type of data over another, conflicts in results need to be treated as suggestive of new lines of enquiry, and it is for this reason that a research project combining methodologies is best characterised as exploratory.

Methods employed in this research

Having described the principles underpinning my choice of methods for this research, I will now consider each method in detail, providing a rationale for choosing them, a consideration of the claims which can be made on the basis of the data generated by each method, and a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of each.

Interviewing. In Chapter 1, I identified numerous issues in the literature on photography theory which may warrant investigation. I then endeavoured to place these issues within the context of family theory.

Thus far, the process of generating hypotheses regarding the meaning and functioning of family photographs has been largely armchair based. Many of the themes identified in Chapter 1 are couched in terms of their possible importance for families themselves. Therefore, I decided it was necessary to carry out a piece of exploratory research in order to a) distinguish between more or less fruitful lines of enquiry; b) to investigate whether there were salient issues for practitioners of family photography which were not addressed in the literature, and c) to attempt to operationalise some of the hypotheses generated in Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

Exploratory research is by definition open-ended, allowing for the emergence of issues which have not been previously identified by the researcher. It allows participants to bring their own experience to the issues under investigation, and concentrates on eliciting rich, descriptive data as opposed to quantitative data which allows one to accept or reject hypotheses.

The most appropriate methodological candidate for this stage of my research was in-depth interviewing. Kvale (1983) has distinguished the in-depth, or qualitative, interview from other research tools such as questionnaires as follows: '[the purpose of a qualitative interview] is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena' (page 174). By introducing the interpretation of meaning as possible goal for the research interview, Kvale is removing the interview as a methodology away from the stimulus-response paradigm typical of a nomothetic paradigm and into the hermeneutic paradigm, which has implications both for the process of interviewing and for the nature of claims made on the basis of interview data.

Kvale describes 12 characteristics of qualitative interviewing:

1. The interview is centred on the interviewee's life-world. The researcher is seeking to describe the central themes of the interviewee's experiences.
2. It seeks to understand the meaning of phenomena in the interviewee's life world.
3. It is qualitative: the qualitative interview does not generate quantifiable responses. Rather, it aims to obtain richly nuanced descriptions of aspects of the interviewee's life world.
4. It is descriptive, in that it focuses on 'how' the interviewee thinks and does things, rather than on 'why' he or she does things.
5. It is specific: the interviewee is asked to describe specific situations and action sequences rather than providing general opinions.
6. It is presuppositionless. Rather than the interviewer coming with ready made categories and schemes of interpretation, the interviewer is open to new and unexpected phenomena.
7. It is focused on certain themes of the life world of the interviewee, i.e. it is neither strictly structured nor entirely 'non-directive'. Within the area focused on it is up to the interviewer to guide the interviewee towards certain themes without guiding them towards certain positions with regard to those themes.
8. It is open to ambiguities and discrepancies: this follows from 6: meaning is not taken to be static and free of contradictions. Rather, the range of meanings which the interviewee expresses is described.

- 9. It takes account of the fact that interviewees may change over time.

Therefore, replicability in the sense of being able to obtain the same results at a later date is not possible. Rather, interviews should be replicable in the sense of the process being transparent.

- 10. It depends upon the sensitivity of the interviewer
- 11. The interviewer should take account of interpersonal dynamics in the interview situation, and take this into account in the subsequent analysis:
- 12. It can be a positive experience for both.

To sum up Kvale's characterisation, interviews are ideal when the meaning of a phenomenon is what is under investigation. They can be enjoyable and revealing for both the interviewer and interviewee, and they generate extremely rich data. However, McCracken (1988) recommends that rather than risking an interview becoming so broad that it deals with a multitude of topics superficially, it must be constrained to a topic, and furthermore, should be allowed to challenge existing theory. Therefore, he recommends, in contrast to Kvale's recommendation that an interview should be 'presuppositionless', that the first stage of an interview methodology should involve deconstructing the literature on the topic under investigation, in order to generate categories and relationships to be investigated during this interview itself. In this way, the generation of analytic categories takes place at three stages: during the literature review, during the interview itself, and during the analysis phase.

A major issue surrounding interviews is the issue of the status of the data they generate. Because of their interpersonal intensity, interviews can be vulnerable to interviewer bias. Though this bias can be reduced by ensuring that questions are open-ended, rather than of a forced-choice or leading format, and that the interviewer's responses are empathic, non-evaluative and neutral, one cannot ignore the fact that an interview is an extremely artificial social interaction, which violates many of the rules of normal interaction, for example, mutual self-disclosure, turn-taking, and other aspects of conversations between equals (Finch, 1984). However, one of the typical characteristics of social interaction - impression management (Goffman, 1957) - will inevitably be present. Both the interviewer and the interviewee endeavour to portray a themselves as competently fulfilling their allocated roles. The only solution to this problem is to embrace the 'biases' in interviews as phenomena in themselves, as examples of the constructed nature of meaning, and as instances of the negotiation of understanding (Gergen and Davis, 1985). Though inter-rater reliability may be assessed, the issues of reliability and validity, when applied to qualitative interviews, tend to be

discussed in terms of the criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), i.e. credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. (p. 289-332).

The research question 'what is the meaning of photographs' thus was reframed as 'what is the range of meanings surrounding family photography which can be elicited by one researcher interviewing 'some' participants'. No definitive answer is likely to be yielded by such a question: rather, a rich description of a range of possibilities will be evoked. Those possible meanings will inevitably vary from person to person, and from context to context.

In order to make predictions regarding the importance of particular themes, and the contexts in which those might become salient, a more quantitative, though still exploratory, methodology is indicated. It was for this reason that a study which employed Q-sorting as a method of data collection, and a quantitative, taxonomic study of family photographic collections was undertaken.

Q-Sorting. Given that I wished to directly compare amateur and professional photographers in terms of where they positioned themselves in relation to the themes arising from Study 1, a more quantitative methodology was indicated. However, I did not wish to administer a questionnaire to my participants. The main reason for this, as has been highlighted by Foddy (1996), is that it is difficult to establish what a respondent means when they respond to a question on a questionnaire. Foddy demonstrated that many respondents will give a definite answer to a question on a questionnaire, but when probed about it afterwards will qualify their answer substantially. (For example, Foddy showed that 67% of the 200 respondents who agreed with the statement that 'television can encourage aggression in children' stated afterwards that they were only thinking of male children!).

I therefore adopted the Q-sorting technique as a means of collecting quantitative data which would enable comparisons across types of photographer, while also enabling me to collect qualitative data regarding the respondents' reactions to the items. Q-sorting involves sorting a set of statements on a continuum from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. It enables participants to relate statements to each other in a more dynamic way than a questionnaire permits, as the response to an earlier statement can be modified in the light of later statements.

Though I considered employing the full Q-methodological approach (Brown, 1980), I felt it was not appropriate. Q-methodology is explicitly uninterested in "what particular persons rendered a viewpoint [...] but [concentrates instead on] the ways in which the different viewpoints themselves differ" (Brown, 1980, p. 238). However, as I had already obtained a

range of themes from Study 1, I wished in Study 2 to compare groups of individuals in relation to those themes. Hence, I adopted Q-sorting in preference to a questionnaire, for the reasons described above, while eschewing the analytic methods of Q methodology.

Taxonomies. Any taxonomic study is an exercise in classification which involves two basic scientific functions:

1. The description of objects of interest or under investigation and
2. The establishment of general laws or theories by means of which particular events may be explained and predicted (Hempel, 1965).

A taxonomy can also represent a model of reality and, as such, can embody or reflect a theory about how a particular domain is structured and how it works (Fabrega, 1976). For example, it has been proposed that in naming and explaining an area of cultural relevance, taxonomies provide a way for members to relate and behave in a culturally appropriate manner (Kay, 1971). This is particularly relevant to the domain of family photographic collections, as it has been suggested that these collections are already structured using an implicit classification system (Musello, 1979).

The difficulty inherent with carrying out a taxonomic analysis of family photographic collections lies in the nature of the material: visual material is relatively infrequently used as data in psychology; rather, it is used as an experimental stimulus (e.g. Burt, Mitchell, Raggatt, Jones and Cowan, 1995), and where it is, it is treated as merely a transparent research tool for data collection. The study of psychological aspects of naturally occurring visual material tends to be limited to children's drawings, and tends not to take account of the context in which they are produced. However, I pointed out in Chapter 1 that photographs are constructed artefacts, and the way in which participants are represented in photographs is determined both by the photographer and by the participants themselves. It was, in fact, this choice of appropriate representation conventions which I wished to investigate in the first place. Therefore, the problem became how to find a framework for analysing photographs which didn't beg the questions which I wished to ask of that analysis.

I felt that basing my taxonomy on *existing* taxonomies of family photographic collections would be the most fruitful way to analyse the conventions of representation in family photographs, given that these report emergent themes and classes of data from actual photographic collections, and therefore arise from existing folk taxonomies which are embodied in families' photographic collections. Therefore, on the basis of existing work on classification of photographs (e.g. Bourdieu, 1965; Kenyon, 1985, Musello, 1977.

See Chapter Two for detailed discussion of these studies), I chose the categories described in Chapter Five. However, the problem of how to code information into those categories remained.

In analysing any text, either written or visual, the theoretical perspective one adopts determines the units of analysis, and also the type of claims which can be made on the basis of those units. Given the distinction I drew in Chapter 1 between manifest content (information and aesthetics) and latent content (meaning arising from a particular individual's perspective) of photographs, and also given that, though I was interested in the usage of photographs, my taxonomic study was directed at describing in more detail the manifest content of photographs, content analysis (e.g. Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980) appeared to be the most suitable theoretical perspective for my purposes, given Berelson's assertion that 'content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of 'communication' (p.18). Ball and Smith (1992) recommend content analysis as the major systematic and empirical method that has been developed for analysing documentary data (p.20). Content analysis makes no claims regarding the latent content of the documents being analysed; the meaning of, and the motivations behind, documents is not considered. Rather, the frequency of categories is counted, and the result statistically analysed in order to examine whether there are any significant patterns in the data.

Though content analysis purports to be an objective method, free from researcher bias, any analysis can only be as good as the categories created, and those categories must be clearly operationalised. Herein lies a difficulty: family photographs are so varied, and each photograph is so unique, that it is difficult to create categories which both encompass variations and which are not so general as to be useless. A further problem is that decontextualising manifest content from latent content is procedure which, though it may yield reliable results, may not necessarily be valid, given that manifest and latent content are likely to both play a role in photographic meaning. However, it seemed to me essential to gather a corpus of systematic information regarding the structure of family photographic collections before one can even begin to tackle the rather more intractable question of how meaning is constructed around family photographs.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have formulated a set of empirical questions which guided this research. I have also considered the philosophical and practical issues inherent in selecting methodologies with which to investigate those questions, and justified the eclecticism of my methodological approach in terms of the kind of



data I wished to collect and the kinds of answers to my research questions which I wished to obtain. Chapters 5 to 7 provide an account of the studies with which I hoped to answer the overarching question motivating this research, i.e. what is the meaning and psychological significance of family photographic collections.

CHAPTER 5: STUDY 1: FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS' POTENTIAL FOR MEANING

Introduction

In Chapter 5, I summarised my research programme, and indicated that some basic exploratory data regarding the potential of photographs for meaning was needed. I suggested that the discourse surrounding family photographs needs to be examined in relation to two issues in particular: firstly, are family photographs treated by the owners/viewers as having information which is encoded in the manifest content and which is accessible to other viewers of the photographs, and secondly, are photographs seen as having a specific, affective meaning which is particular to one viewer, and which is not necessarily communicable to others solely by means of the photograph.

These issues, and several others, were operationalised in the form of specific questions derived from the Propositions which were introduced in Chapter 1. The questions which this study will address, and the Propositions from which they are derived are:

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

- (a) Does every photograph which is claimed as significant by its owner contain either a studium or a punctum?
- (b) Is the studium, as Barthes and Lesy claim, accessible to any observer, and is the punctum of any one photograph different for every individual?
- (d) How much influence over the manifest content is attributed to the photographer?

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

- (a) Is an important aspect of photography its relationship to time?
- (c) Is there a relationship between the family's emphasis on its own continuity and the use of photographs to orient family members towards the temporal aspect of family life?
- (d) How is time represented in photographs?

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

- (a) Are "realist" and "symbolist" myths discernible in the discourse of amateur and professional photographers?

- (b) If so, what is the rhetorical function of these myths?

Proposition Four: 'Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context'.

- (a) Is there a collective narrative surrounding family photographic collections?
 (b) Is the narrative surrounding family photographs primarily concerned with issues of family identity, either implicitly or explicitly?

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

- (a) Are issues of unity and cohesion salient in the discourse surrounding family photographs?
 (b) Do a substantial number of family photographs depict rituals which may establish and preserve the family's identity?

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

- (a) What is the relationship between the individual's perceptions of their family and the representation of the family in the family album?
 (b) Are there any topics which are inappropriate subjects for photographs, and if so, why?

Method

Participants. There were 29 participants (21 females and 8 males, aged between 35 and 65). All participants had children, and all engaged in "domestic" photography, i.e. taking photographs as a family activity rather than as a hobby or profession. Half the participants were Irish and lived in the Republic of Ireland, and the remainder were English, living in or around Southampton. (See Table 5.1).

	Irish	English	Total
Female	10	11	21
Male	6	2	8
	16	13	29

Table 5.1: Participants

Recruitment. Participants were recruited by way of an advertisement in Southampton University's magazine, posters in departments in all Faculties, and also by word of mouth (snowballing).

Procedure. Open-ended interviews were carried out with all participants. The interview schedule was created based on themes identified in chapter 1, and followed the process of taking photographs from the time they were taken through to their use. The questions were formulated according to Cannell and Kahn's (1953) "funnelling" approach, whereby the interview commences with open questions, with closed questions being used as probes where necessary. The interview covered the process of taking photographs (both the photographic situation and the 'administration' surrounding the taking of the photograph, i.e. sending the film away to be developed, etc., and the outcome of the photographic process, i.e. what happens the photograph once it has been developed. Participants were encouraged to bring along their favourite photographs, and asked to describe how and why they had chosen them. (See Appendix 2 for interview protocol). In fact, I found that after the first couple of questions, interviewees spontaneously covered the majority of the areas I wished to ask them about. The protocol was therefore used as a checklist rather than a rigid *pro forma*.

Interviews lasted between half an hour and three hours. They were tape-recorded, with the permission of participants, and transcribed verbatim. Copies of the transcripts were sent to the participants with letters of thanks.

Analysis

Coding. The coding was carried out by two coders in 8 stages:

1. A preliminary coding scheme was compiled after reading the interview transcripts. This coding scheme comprised themes already identified as salient on the basis of both the literature review and emergent themes identified in the interview transcripts.
2. A table of the coding scheme containing definitions and criteria was prepared for each coder. This was continuously modified throughout the coding process so that by the time all the transcripts were coded, the coding scheme consisted of an exhaustive description of the themes which emerged.
3. It was decided that to facilitate the whole coding process, and to maximise reliability, the units of text to be coded should be agreed upon by both coders. Each coder segmented each transcript into units of meaning (Voss, 1988). After this first pass through the transcripts, the coded units were compared. It was decided to code using the principle that the smallest meaningful segments (the smallest generally being a sentence) should be coded.
4. The segmenting was discussed until 100% agreement in identifying units of meaning was achieved.

5. Each coder then coded the first fifteen transcripts using the preliminary coding scheme.
6. Inter rater reliability was calculated using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total no. of agreeing pairs}}{\text{Total no. of pairs}} \times 100 \quad (\text{Miles and Huberman, 1994})$$

The reliability formula was calculated based on the meaning units (of which there were 1681 in total), i.e. agreement of any of the codes assigned by the coders to the meaning unit was counted as agreement over the whole unit, as the coders concluded that, where a code was agreed upon, it was the most salient, and therefore the most important code in that unit. Reliability calculated according to this formula was 68%.

7. Disagreements were highlighted and categorised to facilitate discussion.

Where the use of particular codes by each of the coders consistently conflicted across transcripts, the coding criteria for those were discussed and clarified. New codes were discussed, and, if coders agreed on their utility, were incorporated into the coding scheme (following the procedure advocated by Krippendorff, 1980), until 100% agreement in coding was reached.

8. All the transcripts were then recoded by one of the coders using the coding scheme in Table 5.2. (See Appendix 3 for a sample extract from a scored transcript).

Results

Table 5.2 consists of a list of the themes identified in the transcripts, together with an operational definition of each theme and the number of transcripts in which each theme occurs. A quantitative analysis of the interview data was undertaken, and can be seen in Appendix 4. However, I felt that, given the method of coding, and the richness of the qualitative data, the quantitative analysis is superfluous, and is best seen as an alternative, and less convincing way of treating the data.

Code name	Definition	Frequency*
Affect	Non-specific emotions or feelings	19
Annotate	Adding of captions or dates to photographs	12
Appropriate topic	Anything which is considered "photographable" by the interviewee	27
Camera ownership	Ownership of, or priority over, camera	21
Candid	Candid, natural, spontaneous or 'stolen' photographs	15
Communication family	Interactions about, or exchange of, photographs with family	26
Communication friends	Interactions about, or exchange of, photographs with friends	28
Composition	Light, structure, or other features of composition	19
Content not people	Explicit exclusion of people in photographs in favour of pets, other animals, vegetation or inanimate objects	19
Content people	Explicit preference for people in photographs as opposed to inanimate objects or animals	17
Continuity	Continuity of family or of continuity of theme in photo.	22
Documenting change	Development or change which arises from comparing the present state of affairs with the state of affairs depicted in the photograph.	20
Expression	Creative, expressive & aesthetic aspects of photographs	9
Gender	Gender issues influencing photography	5
History	Historic aspects of photographs (not autobiographical)	13
Inappropriate occasion	Occasions which are inappropriate subjects for photographs	26
Negative affect - evoke	How interviewee feels or others feel looking at the photo now	20
Negative affect - recollect	How interviewee or others felt at the time the photo was taken	11
Photo ownership	Who has custody of album/photographs	20
Photographer-interpreter	The influence the photographer exerts over meaning of photographs	17
Photographer-witness	Photographer "capturing what's there", or "spying"	8
Posed	Formal or posed photographs	20
Positive affect: evoke	How informant feels or others feel looking at the photo now	20

Table 5.2: Coding scheme

Code name	Definition	Frequency*
Positive affect: recollect	How informant or others felt when the photo was taken	20
Professional / amateur	Distinction between professional & amateur photographers	20
Reality	The evidential power of photographs, their truth or falsity, or of their accuracy or incompleteness	19
Record	Explicit mention of use of photographs to record occasions	23
Rites de passage	Rituals, customs, rites of passage, or ceremonial occasions.	24
Self presentation	Effect of photographs on self image or self presentation	24
Similarity - appearance	Similarities between relatives (appearance)	10
Similarity - personality	Similarities or affinity between relatives (personality)	3
Solidarity	Use of photographs to promote togetherness	8
Storage / display	Where photographs are kept & how displayed	27
Symbol	Description of photographs in terms of "symbols"; any dissociation between manifest & latent content, i.e. significance of photo to owner not evident from its content.	4
Technical	Technical aspects of taking photographs	22
Time	Using photographs to capture time, photo as "slice of time" etc.	22
Memory	Photographs as memory aids	27
Travel	Holidays or other travel	24
Viewer - author	Viewer-dependent meaning (e.g. "it depends on who's looking at them")	17
Viewer - reader	Unchanging meaning across viewers	11
Wife & husband	Differences in wives' & husbands' approaches to photography	19

* "Frequency refers to number of transcripts in which theme occurred (as distinct from number of times the theme occurred overall).

Table 5.2 (continued): Coding scheme

Figure 5.1 schematically illustrates the process of family photography and shows at which stage in the process each theme identified in the interview transcripts becomes relevant.

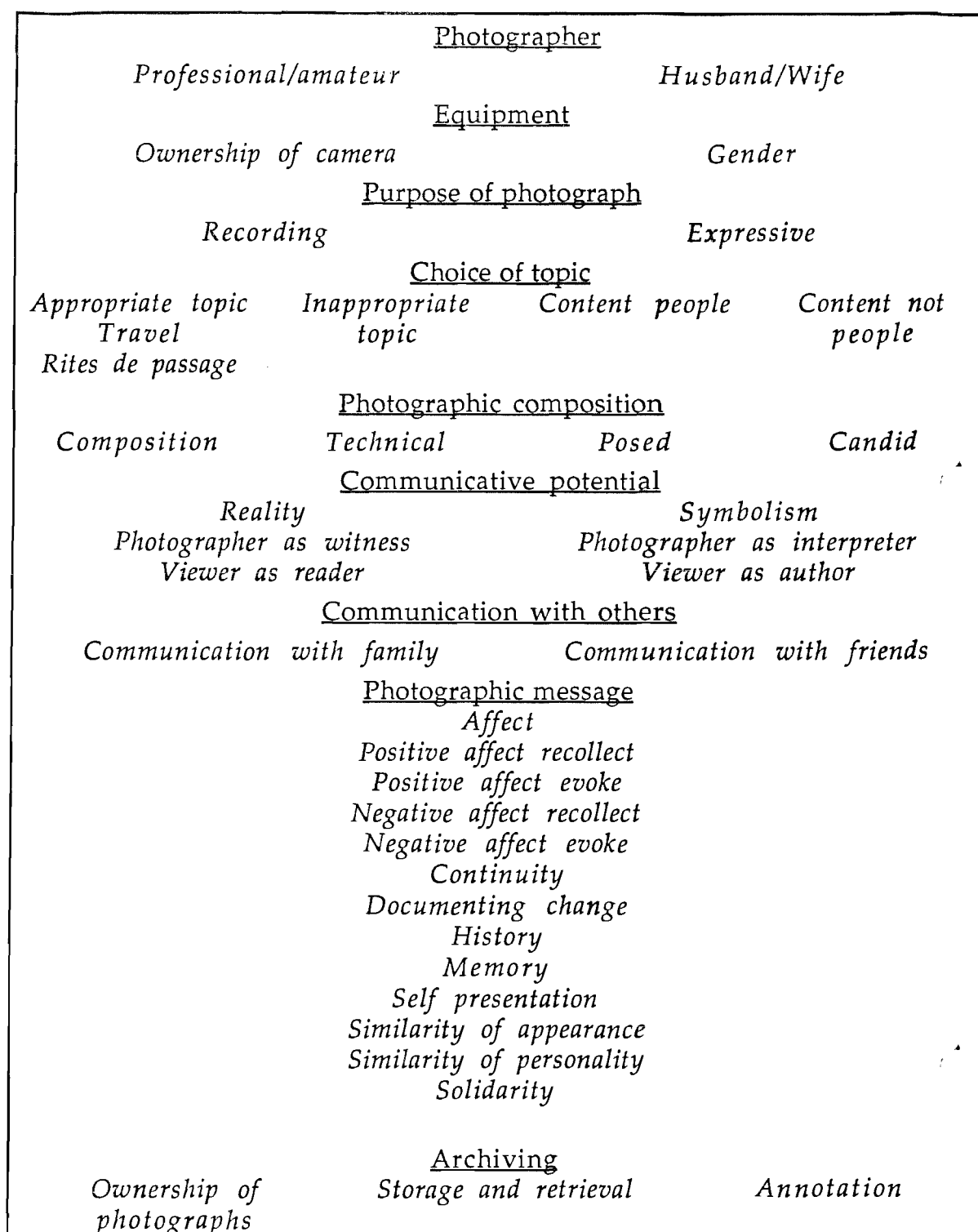


Fig. 5.1: The process of family photography

To summarise fig. 5.1: the photographer will be either a professional or an amateur. In the family context, the photographer is generally either the husband or the wife, or the task is shared from photograph to photograph. The photographer will, of course, have a camera at his or her disposal, and it seems to be here that gender issues arise. The motivation to take photographs

generally stems from a desire to record something for future reference, or explicitly to create a piece of art.

With regard to the choice of topic: some occasions are more appropriate topics for photography than others. Some of the most popular topics are rites of passage and travel. Family photographs, and by implication, photographers, can be categorised according to whether they contain people or not. Once the topic has been chosen, decisions have to be made regarding how to compose the photograph, and whether to pose the people in it, or "steal" a shot. Technical issues regarding the type of equipment available are also relevant at this stage.

Once the photograph has been taken and developed, it becomes available for use. This use is primarily communicative, and communication with photographs can be realist, whereby reality is considered to have been captured or witnessed by the photographer, and is preserved in the photograph to be "read" by the viewer. Photographs can also be treated as symbols which arise from the photographer's interpretation of the world around them, the meaning of which is determined by the viewer.

Given the communicative potential of family photographs, they are then used to communicate with family or friends.

The characteristics of the message of photographs for the viewer can include some or all of the following: general emotional arousal, as well as positive affect evoked or recollected, negative affect evoked or recollected, continuity, documentation of change, history, memory, self presentation, time, similarity of appearance, similarity of personality and solidarity.

I will now describe the themes in more detail, illustrating each theme with as many quotes from the interview transcripts as is necessary to encapsulate all aspects of that theme which arose. The code at the end of each quote (e.g. P1) refers to the transcript number.

Photographer

The distinction between professional and amateur photographers was made not just in terms of the kinds of equipment and skills available to professionals and the resultant superior quality, e.g.

...of course the professional would always have the better equipment (P1)

..... studio ones tend to be of much better quality (P14)

but also in terms of their feelings about the kinds of photographs taken:

On the whole, you went as a family to a studio and you had a family portrait of you all together looking very Victorian. (P1)

I remember every so often we were told we were going to have a family photo taken and we had to go to the studio and do as we were told and that was that. (P27)

You see, this one, this is a posed one, taken by a professional, a ritual, on the day he got his degree. So, you know, he was told to fold his hands and to stand sideways to the camera. Posing. (P15)

And even at weddings, I'm just thinking of some photos that we had taken at our own wedding: we didn't hire a professional to do the photography, it was T.'s brother. He was good at it alright, but he wasn't a photographer by profession. He took a lot of ... inadvertent ... ones like that, and it's amazing now, when we were looking through them, they were the ones that caught the spirit better, maybe, than the more formal ones, you know. (P12)

Well, studio ones tend to be of much better quality, but obviously the ones we take ourselves have got the social context and the historical context and everything with them. There's so much more you can read into them, I mean there's no background in the studio shot, it's just the children frozen in that moment in time, and I can't even remember where or when it was taken... (P14)

Because I think the studio ones seem to be... even a proper photographer outside seems to get everybody a bit on edge. (P23)

and in terms of the value attached to professional photographs:

Ones that we'd take a lot more care of are actual family portraits, maybe. We got a professional photographer to take a photograph of each of the kids, when they were smaller than they are now, and we would have taken care of those. We'd put them up on the wall and that. (P11)

I don't know whether I took it or it was taken by the professional photographer. It looks rather good. I would imagine it was the professional photographer.

Equipment.

There seemed to be quite strong **gender** biases inherent in **camera ownership**. According to my participants, the first camera in the house is generally owned by the husband, e.g.

...then he got promoted, and at last we actually broke even, so as I say, he splurged out on a camera. (P15)

This is despite many of the women having owned cameras when they were young, e.g.

I share [a camera]. I used have a little box camera when I was a girl. (P10)

I was the proud possessor of a box camera which wasn't the easiest for taking photographs as you couldn't see through my glass viewer very clearly. (P1)

Where there is more than one camera in the house, wives still seem to be somewhat marginalised:

[My husband] bought me a camera, a little camera, point and shoot, you know, fools can use them! My family bought it for me! And I take quite a few now, or did. (P15)

I have a tiny little cheap one, whereas the children have better ones. (P16)

Some participants suggested that women are often taking photos 'on the trot', and therefore need a simple, no fuss camera to do so:

Most of my friends, the women, go for an instant camera that doesn't require a great deal of effort, because they want to take whatever it is, whether it's a wild animal, or a bird in flight, or a child doing something funny they want to take it at that moment, whereas the man will quite often go for something which is perhaps going to take an even better photograph but it requires a little bit more preparation. I don't know whether that's a reflection on women's ability or not but I'm afraid it's what I've found in my experience. Also I think mothers with children, they want something simple and quick. (P1)

but the 'pointing and shooting' which many of the women I interviewed claimed was the extent of their photographic activity may well be a function of the cameras available to them:

I'd like to have a more advanced camera, having seen what my husband can achieve with his ... (P14)

Well, my husband last year got a very fancy camera with a telephoto, you know, zoom lens. And so he's into experimenting with different lighting and so forth. (P14)

Probably one reason is that I've only got a very basic camera, and I think that scenery needs a better camera, better lenses and so on, so I really do want to get a decent camera, because I really love taking photographs of the sky, for instance, but it's meaningless on my little camera, so I actually need a decent lens. So really, I always take people. (P17)

Purpose of photograph.

A function of family photography mentioned frequently was the use of the camera to record or document important occasions:

You had the photograph taken to mark the new outfit, so to speak. You wanted it recorded permanently, you know, and it was saying 'this is how I'm presenting myself to the world'. (P5)

We spend a lot of time working in the garden, but we wouldn't record that. Not that it isn't pleasant, but it's not worth recording. It's commonplace. (P13)

There was a time when I wanted to record everything, and memorise it through recording it, making my own personal record. (P10)

An aspect of photographs which was mentioned far less frequently was their existence as a product of a creative process, whereby they served to **express** the photographer's perception of humour or beauty in a setting.

She would have a different sense, maybe a different sense of humour. She would take some very unconventional photographs; she'd take one of the sky, and you'd ask her why she did that, and she'd tell you then the reason behind it, you know. It might be amusing or whatever you know. (P26)

The number of sunsets we've got from this place, it's really incredible, because it's always absolutely amazing, and you always think perhaps it'll come out better than the last time ... and in the seasons too; in the wintertime it sets down round there but in the summertime there are, I mean from year to year you think ... it's up around Yellow Island, you know. Sometimes you get the most marvellous flare paths across the lake. It really is beautiful. (P23)

Choice of topic.

Appropriate topics for photographing can be classified as described in table 5.3:

Topic	No. of transcripts in which theme occurred
Holidays	12
Christmas	10
Birthday/anniversary party	10
Marriage	9
Celebration/special event	5
Happy times	5
Family gatherings	5
Birth of baby	5
First day at school	4
Landscapes	4
Christening	3
Achievement	3
Flowers at funerals/burial plot	3
Meeting famous person	2
First Communion	2
Children playing	2
Animals	2
Garden	2
Confirmation	1

Table 5.3: Appropriate topics for photographs

Participants were also asked when they *wouldn't* take photographs and whether there were any photographs which they regretted taking. Table 5.4 illustrates the main events which were **inappropriate topics** for photography. The occasion which was regarded as almost universally inappropriate for

photographing was a funeral. There was one exception to this however: one participant had spent some time in South Africa:

Another thing they take in South Africa, both black and white do, but not all white, only Afrikaans white, is funerals...
[Órla]: What particular aspect of funerals would they take?
The burial scene, with all the mourners at the grave, the procession to the grave.
(P4)

Other occasions which were thought to be inappropriate were photographs of the deceased at a funeral, intimate occasions, and pictures of people considered to be ugly, deformed or otherwise distasteful.

I don't know whether you'd be interested in this, but my daughter in law, she was pregnant, last year, and she lost the baby at six months. And it was all very upsetting ...and then I heard they had taken a photograph of the dead baby with my two grandchildren standing by the side of it. And I just...even now, I really don't like it, I don't know what to think of it. They've got a photograph at home, and I haven't seen it and I don't want to see it, of this baby that was stillborn. (P3)

And my grand-daughter ...was born with a harelip. And... they've just got pages and pages of when she was first born, with this great big hole, and I thought 'should they have them in there for her to see?' And no doubt she'll will be looking through, thinking she's a normal girl and everything, and she will be reminded of when she was born she had this....those photographs. I mean, why are they there? You know, I think 'what have you got them in there to remind her ' ...it's quite upsetting when I think about it...I haven't thought about it since, it's just come about, this bit, talking to you. (P7)

They actually took a photograph as I delivered [my son], after so many hours. They took a photograph of him actually coming out, all bloody, and you know, a green cloth and my legs were up, and then they took one of him when he was wrapped up in the cot, and his face was all bloody, and I thought it was wonderful. But, you know, when ...I wasn't a young mother, but when I had him I was delighted and my husband thought it was wonderful, but when I showed to a couple of people they said 'yeuch!' (P6)

Topic	No. of transcripts in which theme occurred
Funeral	27
Private, intimate or compromising occasion	25
People arguing	8
Unpleasant/unhappy times	7
Mundane events	6
Disfigurement/disability/illness	1

Table 5.4: Inappropriate topics for photographs

The presence or absence of people in photographs is an implicit classification scheme used by my participants. There also seems to be a difference in the

value placed on photographs depending on whether they contain people or not.

We tend to take two different types of photographs in the family. If I was taking photographs I'd take them of the children, of people. My husband would tend to focus on the background. It would be kind of incidental if there were people in them! (P13)

I started taking the ones which were more of the children and he started taking more formal ones. Well, he took more landscapes, he took more interesting ones. (P15)

Photographic composition.

Four themes prevailed when the arrangement of the photograph was discussed.

Composition of photographs was seen by my participants, if not as the prerogative of the professional or artistic photographer, then at least of an indicator of skill....

I'll go click, click, click, click, click, and then look for the combination of composition and expression and what have you, and chuck out the duds, you know, like a professional, and select the one that was reasonable. (P4)

.....and was seen as a way of manipulating the meaning of the photograph:

I think it's saying 'I was here', you know, and from a photographic point of view, there's a confusion arises within the picture itself and within the takers: should you give greater prominence to the person, and only a small suggestion of the background, or should your picture be mainly the scene, this novel scene, with only a small indication of the human being, you know, sort of saying the person isn't as important as the scenery. (P4)

Technical aspects of photographs were often mentioned in terms of the advantages of photographs over other media, such as painted portraits or video, and seem to be characterised by accessibility and improved realism:

.....it's something which you can very easily look at, much more easily than say a slide or a film (P1)

I did have a camera, or my husband did at one stage, where you had to set it and you had to do quite a lot of arranging the camera before you could take them and with family photos that was very difficult, whereas with the instant focusing that you now have, it was a great advantage. (P1)

I think there'll always be a place for photographs, because you can't display a video, for a start, you can't have it up on the wall, or in an album or something easily accessible. (P14)

.....and they had this massive great video camera, you know, state of the art, and they were making films everywhere. It gets in the way. You can't have a conversation or be doing something without him jumping up and down and saying 'that's great, yes, hang on a minute'. It's interrupting things all the time, whereas a camera is less intrusive, I think. (P14)

Whether photographs were posed or candid shots strongly influenced my participants' reactions to them.

They accuse me of being hypocritical: 'you always pull a big smile in photos, why can't you just....', it's like using the polite voice on the 'phone as opposed to.....And of course it's the same with photos: best dress, best smile. (P17)

I don't like contrived photos, I prefer natural. (P10)

And this is one of my two: my middle one and my eldest boy. And people say 'isn't that cute'. Now it's just when I look back I feel so rotten, because it was a stinking hot day, and I made them put their suits on and you can see their hair plastered down and he's got great big holes in his sandals, it's gaping, and you know they just did not want this photo taken. And when I look at it I think 'why did I want that photo taken?'. It's just so stupid. You can see it's the middle of summer. I was very concerned about them looking nice and presenting them.....and perhaps forgetting about the deeper things.....I sometimes wish I could step into that photo and be there and do it a second time. I don't like to look too long at these photos because I just can't believe that they're they're like somebody else. (P3)

I think I'd prefer the ones I'd take myself. That's the difference between myself and my husband.....I just like to catch something off the cuff as it were, rather than a perfect pose, they can be nicer afterwards, whereas he tends to go for more of the occasions and the formal ones.

When I take photographs, I'm very quick, I like people not to know that I'm taking the photograph, I like just to catch people. I find it more natural; I don't like them to be all smiling and artificial rubbish, you know, I like them just as they are. (P13)

I prefer the more spontaneous ones, really, because you get a true picture and a more natural, informal set-up as well. With the children, the informal ones are more true to life. (P12)

And even at weddings - I'm just thinking of some photos that we had taken at our own wedding. We didn't hire a professional to do the photography, it was [my husband's] brother. He was good at it alright, but he wasn't a photographer by profession. He took a lot of inadvertent...ones like that, and it's amazing now, when we were looking through them, they were the ones that caught the spirit better, maybe, than the more formal ones, you know. (P13)

Communicative potential.

My participants suggested that photographers could play the role of passive witnesses who didn't influence the events they photographed:

They [photographers] are reflecting a society, you know.(P4)

However, they did not consider this 'objectivity' to invariably be the case. Photographers were often perceived as using their camera to impose their own **interpretation** on events:

I know enough about photography to know if someone's putting together either a photo-article for a journal, or a film, to be shown to a public, they have in their mind's eye, let's say, an attitude which they wish to present, and they will select the pictures accordingly and they will arrange and display them accordingly. That's their editorial prerogative. But it's close to their truth, and the truth they want to present, but how objective it is, it needn't necessarily be objective at all. It can be very much manipulated, I mean you can leave out umpteen things, even if you're not falsifying pictures, but simply by selecting one picture instead of another. I think, you know, you can see the way they do this with the royal family, they show what they want to show, and one minute there's boredom, or there's animation, and they just pick what they want to suit their story, you know. (P4)

Photographs were considered by my participants to represent **reality**. However, there was also an explicit acknowledgement that that reality was merely a *version* of reality, and not truth per se:

Our children often make faces in pictures.. so they don't always depict reality. (p13)

They're only a part of reality, because we don't record sad times. There are whole segments of our lives we don't record. I don't see us taking a camera into a classroom, for example, and recording our working lives. (p13)

Then again though, my son was mugged..... and I took a photograph of him. Of course, if we're having a fight or something, we're definitely not going to rush in and get the camera. Or if you did, you'd pretend everything was alright again! Actually, I think that's what people do with photographs. There's a lot of pretence as well. (P17)

Participants also emphasised the **symbolic** function of photographs:

[this photograph] doesn't show much, but it is a very vague photo of a little girl dressed in white. She was a blonde girl with blue eyes, which was unusual for our family and our nationality. That was very peculiar. She was a very gifted girl. I think she died at the age of 2 and a half years But anyway, this photo, as I said, is a blonde girl in white, against a white background, and it looks as if all her existence, in a way, is floating around the photo. As my mother says, she was never photogenic (my sister). She used to come out blurred in all photos, and after she died, the little one, she thought that that was indicative that she was going to die. (P2)

Whether a photograph was considered to be a 'slice of reality' which could be 'read' passively by the **viewer**, or a symbol whose meaning is dependent on the viewer's interpretation (whereby the **viewer** is the '**author**' of photographic meaning) was also an issue for my participants:

Most of them I would discard because I wouldn't know [] but to him that's a good picture. Like everyone has a different idea of what constitutes a good picture, haven't they? (P13)

So it's the interpretation of photos, very often. You can look at a photo, you can look at anything, and depending on your previous upbringing, what you read into it varies. (P16)

.....anyone looking at these would get a pretty clear picture of the first 6 or 7 years. All these Polaroid photographs documenting every step, you know. The first sitting up, the first smile, the first smile, you know. The first day at school and everything. (P14)

The above quotes indicate that the message conveyed by photographs cannot be easily characterised as either exclusively 'symbolist' or exclusively 'realist'. This will be discussed presently.

Leaving aside the issue of *how* photographs are used to communicate for the time being, the next issue relating to communicating with photographs is: with whom are they used to communicate?

Communication with others.

The pre-eminent function of photos appears to be **communication within the family**:

Why take them? To remember, to pass on something of ourselves. the fact that we send them away or give them away is incidental. They're to pass on to the children. (P13)

To record family life, I think. Certainly that's how it works for our family. I take photographs when my husband's away so he sees what's been going on. He takes photographs while he's away, so that he can show us where he's been, and show us all the sights he's seen and what he's done
I suppose it helps tie the family in. (P14)

....and then they can be used to keep the bond as well. (P12)

We had reams of old ones, Mum's family and Dad's family and that, and when we went through them I'd ask who they were and that kind of thing. I always enjoyed it. (P12)

These contrast with the tone of the quotes coded as **communication with friends**, which are by no means as unequivocally positive as those coded as **communication with family**:

Oh my dear, as a grandmother, some people want to show me photographs of their grandchildren. That's alright up to say, 4 or 5 photos or whatever, but you don't want too many! It's unkind, I know. (P1)

So that one was spread around, but outside the family not usually. Not unless they'd got me in it or unless it was one of the whole family, we might give some to our friends in Christmas cards, something like that. (P14)

I hate looking at other people's photographs, I think they're really boring, especially with neighbours, and they sit there 'oh this is my niece', and I think 'but I don't know her' 'oh, great!' (P17)

I don't like to bore people who don't know who's in them, you know, non-family members, I don't like to go and get them and start showing them around then, I'm not one of those people that goes round showing all their family photographs to somebody that doesn't know who's on them, you know, but members of the family who I know would be interested, I'll get them and show them. (P5)

Photographic message.

What sort of things are photographs used to communicate? What messages do they convey to the viewer, and what reactions do they trigger?

Photographs trigger a range of emotions in the viewer, from general arousal (affect) to positive affect evoked, positive affect recollected, negative affect evoked and negative affect recollected. Continuity also becomes an issue here as does documenting change, history, memory, self presentation, similarity of appearance and personality, solidarity and time.

Every participant mentioned the affective power of photographs at least once. The use of photographs to evoke and recall happiness and pleasure is perhaps the most predictable aspect of family photographs:

They bring back the feelings you had at the time, especially if they were good feelings, you like to remember them. (P1)

There are different emotions, if you like, tied up with different situations, and you only really remember them when you actually see. (P12)

But as the next participant implies, photographs can evoke, and can be used to recall all sorts of emotions, including negative ones:

And my mother, because she wanted to forget everything about [my sister], she tore up all the photos, and I remember once when I was a very little boy, I took a glimpse of one of those photos, but she tore it up immediately in front of me, because she didn't want to remember. (P2)

Paradoxically, photographs which cause the viewer to *recollect* positive affect can actually evoke negative affect:

My mother when she sees this photo feels also very sad, because she says, things were so good then. She actually tells us look how happy we were in this photo. (P2)

....and vice-versa:

And this one is just a funny photo which I like so much I've had it enlarged, there's a big one of it, which I had hanging in the toilet when visitors came, because it's so pathetic, I went hiking with my boyfriend, my husband now. I couldn't walk for days afterwards. It was just such a crazy little weekend. I'd just been frightened by a cow in the field there, and I was cold and wet and I think that taught me that I'm not one for feeling miserable. I was feeling utterly miserable, and I don't like being cold and wet and hungry and....so I suppose it's one of me where I look absolutely pathetic. (P3)

Photographs can be used to document change, particularly the development of children:

When my children were young.....my husband works abroad, so he'd be away for there or four months at a time, and of course the children change tremendously during that time, so.....someone gave us a Polaroid camera when our first child was born and so I used to take snaps of the children all the time, just to send them to my husband so he could see how they were growing and developing. We don't do that much now, because they're older, they're older, so they don't change as much between one three months and the next, one leave and the next.

and can also be used to preserve the continuity, of family and of personal identity, which change can otherwise erode:

Take a family picture: for recording a family occasion, a nice picture the children and ourselves, the whole family.....they'll have it in years to come, to look back on. Because I myself have very few pictures of my family. We take them to remember, to pass on something of ourselves. the fact that we send them away or give them away is incidental. They're to pass on to the children. (p7)

I could look at those photographs today and tell you who those people were and who they were related to and how they were related to me and so on. We'd go through that box over and over again. That was absolutely fascinating. It was creating family history, I suppose. Creating an identity for me too. Because I was finding out who I was and where I stood in it all; I was down at the bottom and there were all these people behind me who'd come before. (P11)

There were reams of old one's, Mum's family and Dad's family and that, and it just created a great kind of sense of.....interest I suppose, and belonging and sense of family as well, even though I wouldn't have known all these people, and I'd ask who they were and that kind of thing. I always enjoyed it. (P12)

Both personal and social history can be represented in family photographs:

Well, you can date photographs from the style of clothes, and you can also see the difference in living style as you go from the end of the last century, which some of those are, to pre-First World War, and then 1920's, 1930's, 1940's. I mean I can look at a photograph and tell you certainly which decade it was in, just by looking at the clothes they were wearing. You can see the differences as time goes by. (P5)

This is a snapshot. We're now going on holiday between the two world wars. And this is the same grandfather, with my mother. I think you ask why do we take pictures, well, when you've been around a long time and they've got a historic aspect, one can laugh at the clothes, and they're not only a family picture but they're a social picture.

Memory is, not surprisingly, a frequently mentioned topic in relation to photographs. The tone of the statements is functional: photos are *used* to 'bring back' memories. Photographs are seldom reified into 'memories' themselves, but rather treated by my participants as stimuli for reminiscence.

They bring back memories and feelings, when you're sad and happy. (P7)

They take you back through the years and keep you from forgetting. (P11)

These bring back all the memories about the summer days and the picnic and how I papered the bedroom and that was the cot that Dad made for D. and my daughter playing with my grandmother and my father-in-law going down to the nursery, reminding me of my own childhood. (P13)

I just took out the odd one, when you said look out a few, but I think always when I show photographs to anyone who's interested, I'm telling a story... 'oh, yes, that's at so-and-so' and 'that's where this was taken' and 'oh, yes, I remember something else', and it's like telling a story. And certainly a lot of my photographs, especially with L., are sort of like, as she got older, so they're like memories for her, when I tell her the story. They bring back my own memories as well. (P14)

I'd feel quite sorry if I lost some of them, because the time and the place can never quite be recaptured. As aides-memoires, they're excellent. You could sit and look at them forever. (P6)

We've always kept them. My sister likes to keep them in an album really, only snapshots, of when we were all young. And every now and again she'll go and get them out, you know 'remember this one, and remember this', just for reminiscing really, you know. (P4)

The issue of self presentation in photographs was salient for many of my participants, and was often characterised by rather negative perceptions of themselves in photographs:

I don't like photographs of myself. I think that I look worse than I do in reality! I suppose a lot of people are like that. (P7)

Not a lot of photographs of me, partly because I'm usually the one behind the camera, and partly because I don't like having my photograph taken. I feel self-conscious. I don't like the way I come out in photographs. I hope I don't look the way I look in photographs. Some photos come out well and I like myself in them, but mostly I don't like the way I look in photos. So I prefer not to be reminded, to have to think 'do I really look like that!' (P11)

If they're absolutely disgusting they don't go in either. That's usually me, isn't it, L? So the really horrible ones of me don't make it into the album! (P14)

I never put one in where I don't think that I'm flattered, if I'm on it. Unless it's something very exceptional, very cute or ...then I'm not bothered about me on it. But generally you want to be flattered, because I think....it's because I don't want my children, I suppose, when I get old or when I'm gone someday....I don't want them to look back and say 'oh look at the state of my mother'. We're all a bit vain! (P3)

An aspect of self-presentation which arose was a conflict between the stories told by the photographs and the individual's own perception of their personal history and identity:

I'm aware that there aren't any photos of me as a teenager, and I'd really like some photos of that, sort of 14 to 20, when I had all the fashion and the hair, and I'd really like to have some photos of that. But my parents didn't take photos of me then because I was rather wild, and they see it as my difficult period. They didn't like the people I was with either. They have photos of me up to twelve, doing all the appropriate things - ballet and things, and then there was a cutoff, and then the next one was when I was twenty. It really hit me when my mother decided that she was going to make this album of photos, but there was this huge gap, and then there was the wedding. And I really felt quite cross and quite hurt that this piece of my life had just been cut out. (P25)

Photographs can be used to track **similarity of appearance** among family members:

That's me, the same one that's on the table over there, and that's L. We're around the same age, under 10, I would guess around 8 or so, and L., about 6 or 7, a bit younger than me. And so, that's like a comparison, I suppose. I think it's quite interesting. I think L. does look quite a lot like me. I like that one of me as well, so it's another reason for choosing it. (P17)

Family life is very important in the growing of a certain individual and the character of each parent is important, and I suppose photographs are one means of taking a look at them and seeing what relevance can there be, even facially sometimes. (P2)

Well, I don't know. I sort of think, well, you don't need to be reminded....if they're dead, you know, a grandma or something like that, or a granddad you've never seen, it's lovely to look at them now, for me, because I can actually see my boys looking like them. (P3)

I can see likenesses in some of those of my aunts and my grandparents. That's also quite interesting -you can see the family traits coming out in the appearance, like long nose or high cheekbones. You can see it from one generation to another. More pronounced in some. I mean, on my father's side for instance, there's one brother and one sister that look nothing like the others, but the others you can see a similarity. It just comes out in some of them, you see. (P5)

Similarity of personality among family members, though not mentioned very often, was an interesting issue, as the implication is that personality traits can be corroborated by information in photographs:

Now, this is one I've got hanging up in the lounge, because that's my father's mother, who is dead, and I'm supposed to be like her, not to look at perhaps there, but I'm supposed to be very much like her (P6)

Though **solidarity** wasn't mentioned explicitly very frequently, where it was, the notion of using photographs to maintain family unity was persuasive. Solidarity was explicitly related to **continuity** also.

Well, I feel it's occasions you'll have the entire family together, and as well as that, then the youngsters can look back on that and say 'that was the day I made my first communion,' or if you're trying to put something together, you'll have photographs of each of them on that particular day, like, and then I suppose communion time is usually the month of May as well, which is a lovely month, and trees and everything, the backgrounds can be beautiful. It does give an advantage, taking photographs at that time. Mostly the reason would be when I can get the lot of them together. (P18)

I think to try and bridge the generations, they're absolutely fabulous. I mean, they're the only thing we have, really. And as well as that to see family resemblances, and it isn't really until you get older that you would appreciate that you have these things, and you know, so often people say, well I had a photograph of their mother or father at that age and they were the very same, you know, it gives people that sense of continuity and that sense of belonging that would be missing if you didn't have something to prove the point.. I think they're very very essential, actually, and whereas at the time it may be an effort, I think it's very well worth it in the long run (p26)

Time was mentioned frequently, and the statements made regarding time were remarkably homogeneous:

Well, I suppose I haven't really given it much thought but my immediate answer is that it crystallises that moment in time in a way that your memory can never do for you, so you have it captured (P1)

....you capture that little moment in time from say the birth of a baby right the way through its years of development (P1)

....it's just the children frozen in that moment in time (p14)

I mean to me, a photograph especially, more than a painting or anything like that is an actual split second of time, it's a moment of time, and that's why I like it. It's an actual time, you know, he actually posed like that, held his head back like that for that one second in time. And the fact that it's the same person, in between that and that, there's almost a whole lifetime, you know, it just intrigues me, that sort of thing. (P5)

Archiving.

All participants provided some information on the **storage and display** of photographs. It is also at this stage that **ownership of the photographs** is established. None of my participants appeared to collate all the photographs; generally, if any of the photos make it as far as an album or display, they are specifically chosen:

I must admit.....I keep them in files, but a lot of them do tend to get put in boxes like shoe boxes or things like that, where I've got a lot, say of.....I'm not as strict about putting them in albums as perhaps I should be, but I do have boxes where I put all these photos I've taken on my travels, special boxes with partitions in them, you know. But I'm not a great one, apart from album which I've done of my family, I'm not a great one for family albums. I tend to just put them in boxes. (P5)

I keep them, I know where they are, I could go and get them. I'm just not very methodical in that respect. I have to go through them and say you know...this is so-and-so and this is such-and-such. (P5)

A lot of them get shoved in a shoe box. There are big drawers underneath my bed and I've donated one drawer to photographs. (P6)

They pile up in their packets then, either there or upstairs, and then they become a sort of a chore, a nag - when will I ever get those done.....(P7)

Well, when the lads are sick, that's one of the things they'll do, take out the photo albums, and then go back over the years. Great fun ; and I remember myself when I was young being absolutely amazed by them, fascinated by them. I suppose they're nearly as old as I was then. Wet days maybe as well, if we have visitors...

They're in my room and I'm always going to take them out and sort them out. (P7)

Well, putting them into albums tends to be something that gets saved for a rainy day, when the box is overflowing. (P13)

They tend to get showed around and then left in their envelope. (P14)

The flavour of these quotes is interesting: the activity of looking at the photos once they arrive back is the most important aspect; compiling them in an album appears to be almost a redundant action. Order or theme of the photographs does not seem to be important. This makes sense when taken in conjunction with the use of photographs to communicate with the family: the significance of the photographs is not dependent on their being chronologically displayed or structured in any way:

Our albums, of course, are an absolute mess, because I think my daughter does them by year, my elder twin does them by person, and the younger twin does them by country. So whoever's staying with me reassembles the albums, they have their own theories on how it should be done! It ends up in a horrible mess! (P16)

or even being displayed at all:

....but I don't need to be reminded, really. I think sometimes, photographs, you don't need them really, because you're memory is much better. I could never understand why. I used to have a job where I used go round offices, and some of these men would have their wives and their children on the shelf and I'd think 'well, they're going home to them tonight, why do they need to be reminded of them all like that?' Unless it's something unusual. It baffles me! (P3)

I used to, when the kids were at school and they used have all these ones done at school by a photographer, I used be very proud and I would always give you know, one to my mother and father, but they never appeared on the wall, so, my mother used always think they were beautiful, but they never appeared on the wall. (P6)

Now, that's one of my grandchildren, which I've got standing in the hall, on the hall table. And after what I've just said, about having.....that's two years old...I suppose that photo is there for ...not so much for me, it's for my son, because I think he'd be quite hurt if I didn't have a photo of his little girls around the house. (P3)

It is in the act of looking at them, alone or with others that their significance becomes apparent:

I can remember my grandmother, when I was little, had a shoebox full of photographs, old black and white ones and that sort of thing, and one of my favourite occupations used to be to go through it and have her tell me who was this, you know, long lost great-aunts that I'd never met and so on. (P14)

The content and meaning of the photos is augmented by annotations added by the 'custodian' of the photographs:

...and when I showed my family they said 'but we've seen that view before, we've seen that view before' and what I did was I wrote beside each photo what it was, you know, 'this is West Lodge' and this 'by O'Mahoney's' and 'John Dillig's farm' and things like that. (P6)

Discussion

So far I have described the range of issues which arise regarding family photography for lay photographers. I have also described the process of family photography and illustrated at which stage each issue becomes salient. It now remains for me to consider some of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter. The nature of qualitative research is such that categorical acceptance or refutation of hypotheses is unlikely to be possible. What I shall endeavour to do in this section is to endeavour to give plausible answers to the questions identified, using the interview data to support my assertions.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

- (a) Does every photograph which is claimed as significant by its owner contain either a studium or a punctum?
- (b) Is the studium, as Barthes and Lesy claim, accessible to any observer, and is the punctum of any one photograph different for every individual?
- (d) How much influence over the manifest content is attributed to a photographer

The answer to the first question appears to be yes. If we look at the themes identified under the heading 'Photographic Message' in Table 2, it can be seen that these messages can be categorised exhaustively using the categories 'studium' (information, aesthetics) or 'punctum' (emotion). However, with regard to the second question: these categories do not appear to be mutually exclusive: photographs can contain information and have a symbolic meaning which elicits emotion. Similarly, photographs which do not appear to contain any information (e.g. ones which are blurred) can still contain information by proxy, i.e. through stimulating memory in the viewer. Therefore, it seems that where family photographs are concerned, at least, the studium is no more coded than the punctum. The punctum is particular, though. It varies not only across people, as Barthes suggested, but also across time, for any one individual. A good example of this is the following quote, where the punctum has changed from misery to amusement for one individual over time:

And this one is just a funny photo which I've had enlarged, there's a big one of it, which I had hanging in the toilet when visitors came, because it's so pathetic, I went hiking with my boyfriend, my husband now. I couldn't walk for days afterwards. It was just such a crazy little weekend. I'd just been frightened by a cow in the field there, and I was cold and wet and I think that taught me that I'm not one for feeling miserable. I was feeling utterly miserable, and I don't like being cold and wet and hungry and...so I suppose it's one of me where I look absolutely pathetic.

My participants claimed that the photographer does have an influence on the content of the photograph. This influence affects the choice of topic, the photographic style, and the composition of the photograph. They claimed in particular that photographs taken by professionals were more likely to be posed. This claim warrants further investigation with professional photographers, and also with reference to a study of the actual content of family photographic collections.

These findings with regard to Proposition One can be interpreted in two ways. We can either take participants' assertions at face value and accept that we cannot learn anything about their families, or by implication, about any other families from the manifest content of photographs. Alternatively, one can assume that even if we can't learn anything about individual families from the manifest content of their photographs, we may learn something about families in general, i.e. we may obtain information from a sample of photographic collections which yields information regarding the norms governing the appropriate representation of family roles. This entails adopting a stance which claims that any regularities in a photographic collection are more likely to be due to society's influence rather than to individual family dynamics. I will return to this issue in Chapter Seven.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

- (a) Is an important aspect of photography its relationship to time?
- (c) Is there a relationship between the family's emphasis on its own continuity and the use of photographs to orient family members towards the temporal aspect of family life?
- (d) How is time represented in photographs?

Time did indeed emerge as a significant aspect of photographs, though from this type of data it is impossible to say whether it is the most important aspect of photographs. The text which was coded as 'Time' illustrates that photographs are used to control subjectively experienced time. Colson's (1979) suggestion that we take more photographs during times of rapid change is also supported. 'Documenting change' is an identified theme in its own right, and is most frequently mentioned in relation to the photographing young children, who develop and change particularly rapidly. The theme 'Rite of passage' also has a bearing on time, as these occasions, as discussed in Chapter 3, are associated with life cycle transitions such as marriage or a child leaving home.

There is also a distinction drawn by my participants between 'public' time and 'private' time. This is best exemplified by the theme history, whereby photographs can be used to represent personal history or social history or both.

'Continuity' of the family over time was also an emergent theme, and illustrates that the notion of the family triumphing over time by continuing through generations is a salient one.

Though occasionally my participants mentioned trying to include something in the photograph which would help date it (e.g. candles on a birthday cake), and did occasionally mention their desire to annotate photographs with at least the date it was taken, in practice this seldom happened. It must therefore be assumed that the dating of photographs occurs at the point at which they are used, i.e. the date is negotiated, perhaps using markers in the photograph. The differing emphasis placed on annotation or display of photographs sequentially may indicate that, as Kantor and Lehr suggested, the extent of orientation towards past, present or future is a function of family type. It would appear that much of the temporal information in photographs spans both the manifest and latent content. Therefore, in order to draw any precise conclusions about the use of photographs to control time, an investigation of the manifest content needs to be undertaken in order to complement the investigation of the discourse surrounding photographs undertaken in Study 1.

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

- (a) Are 'realist' and 'symbolist' myths discernible in the discourse of amateur and professional photographers?
- (b) If so, what is the rhetorical function of these myths?

The dichotomy of 'realist' and 'symbolist' myths which Sontag suggested does not seem to be supported. Certainly, photographs can be interpreted as being literal or symbolic. However, none of my participants showed themselves to be exclusively located within either of the myths. In fact, they moved quite freely between them, sometimes almost in the same breath. There is an acknowledgement that pictures can represent reality, that reality can be codified using composition techniques, and reality can be read from the photograph by the viewer. However, this position is qualified by my participants: there was also a belief that reality can be distorted using photographs, thus belying the immutability of the studium. In a similar vein, one would imagine that 'history', for a non-historian, at least, could be considered to be factual, and therefore, information as opposed to opinion. However, my participants claim that history can be interpreted from a photograph rather than 'read'. They also assert that a stranger couldn't tell anything about the family from their photographs. It therefore seems likely that 'realism' and 'symbolism' are rhetorical devices which can be employed at will. Precisely when they are employed is difficult to determine from the interview data, as one would imagine that such devices are far more likely to come into play when photographs are actually present in the interaction, which, for the most part in my interviews, they were not.

Proposition Four: 'Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context'.

- (a) Is there a collective narrative surrounding family photographic collections?
- (b) Is the narrative surrounding family photographs primarily concerned with issues of family identity, either implicitly or explicitly?

On the whole, my participants asserted that photographs were far more likely to be used within a family context than outside a family context ('Communication with family'). This would mean that there is reasonable opportunity for joint narratives to be constructed around family photographs. It was further suggested that photographs were not transparent, but needed additional information (be it the viewer's imagination or the owner's verbal

narrative and/or annotations) to be understood. This points to the importance of the narrative context for the emergence (or construction) of the meaning of family photographs, though this assertion requires further investigation. The notion of photographs being used to tell us who we are and where we come from occurred frequently in the interviews, and was coded as 'self'.

With regard to the question 'how are photographs used to facilitate memory', quotes such as the following seem to point towards photographs providing a stimulus for remembering in social contexts:

I just took out the odd one, when you said look out a few, but I think always when I show photographs to anyone who's interested, I'm telling a story... 'oh, yes, that's at so-and-so' and 'that's where this was taken' and 'oh, yes, I remember something else', and it's like telling a story. And certainly a lot of my photographs, especially with L., are sort of like, as she got older, so they're like memories for her, when I tell her the story. They bring back my own memories as well.

What needs to be investigated further is the notion that photographs can be treated as true 'slices of reality' provide a fixed point from which remembering can commence.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

- (a) Are issues of unity and cohesion salient in the discourse surrounding family photographs?
- (b) Do a substantial number of family photographs depict rituals which may establish and preserve the family's identity?

The code which had a direct bearing on this issue was 'Solidarity', with related codes being 'Continuity', and 'Communication with family'. Solidarity is promoted and maintained using photographs in two ways. Firstly, the process of getting the family together to take the photograph could be seen as helping to promote solidarity, though according to my participants, this may in fact have the reverse effect, particularly when truculent teenagers are prevailed upon to take part! Photographs can then be used to portray the family as 'together', even across long dead generations. Finally, sending photographs to extended family helps to maintain contact.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

- (a) What is the relationship between the individual's perceptions of their family and the representation of the family in the family album?

- (b) Are there any topics which are inappropriate subjects for photographs, and if so, why?

Though I have suggested that photographs are used to promote and maintain solidarity, given my participants' acknowledgement that photographs can be symbolic, it is possible that photographs are used to *represent* solidarity rather than to *document* it, i.e. the use of photographs to promote and maintain solidarity is a creative process rather than just a recording exercise. This issue of a possible disjunction between the family as represented in photographs and the family as perceived by its members is one which warrants further investigation. With regard to whether there are occasions which are inappropriate for photographing: if it is the representation which is important, and if the symbolic aspects of photographs are privileged over 'truth', then it follows that families would not be unduly concerned with photographing all aspects of family life equally. This is the case: family occasions which elicit negative affect are, according to my participants, generally interdicted from appearing in the family photographic collection, and this also extends to photographs of individuals which, even if they appear in the collection, are not welcomed by the individuals concerned. This tends to support Proposition 6, as it points to the constructed aspects of personal histories, and to the influence other members of the family have on the construction of an individual member's history.

Examination of the manifest content of photographs, as indicated by Proposition 7, should lend further support to this argument: one would expect that there would be far more photographs depicting positive affect than negative affect, and furthermore, that posed photographs, which are likely to evoke negative affect while they are being taken, would be far less frequent.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined questions derived from photographic theory and family theory regarding the meaning and function of family photographs. However, there are two lacunae in the interview data. Firstly, the interviews revolved around photographs in general, and seldom made specific photographs. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship between meaning and the manifest content of photographs. Nor can an estimation be made of the kinds of photographs taken at different stages in the life cycle, or of the extent to which role relationships are

manifest in photographs. This warrants a detailed study of the actual content of family photographs, and this will be the subject of Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6: STUDY 2: THE PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHER'S IMPACT ON THE FAMILY ALBUM

Introduction

To my knowledge, there has been no research on the impact of professional photographers on the family photographic collection or on the rituals at which they officiate. However, it is likely that, given the professional's prevalence at many of the major familial rites of passage (Williamson, 1984), with weddings being a prime example, they have ample opportunity to form an opinion on what the 'typical' family looks like and what it *should* look like. This 'on the job' opportunity to observe families, coupled with exhortations in trade magazines regarding what constitutes a desirable portfolio of, for example, wedding photographs, makes it likely that professional photographers are not only likely to have their own idea of what constitutes a normal family, but may actually allow these norms to inform their photographic practice. This means that to the extent that a family photographic collection consists in part of professional portraits, family photographic collections may illustrate the societal norms governing the representation of families. I therefore felt that my research into family photography needed to take into account the role professional photographers play in the composition of the family photographic collection.

It has been suggested (Child, 1993) that professional photographers are involved in quasi-family therapy when they take photographs of weddings. Child suggested that professional photographers are akin to family therapists, in that their role requires them to carry out an initial analysis of family dynamics, followed by participant observation at the actual wedding. The moving of people closer together, and the arrangement of families in symmetrical groupings in time-honoured hierarchies of relatedness, points to professional photographers holding clear but implicit ideas regarding what constitutes an appropriate representation of a family. It has been suggested by Beloff (1985, p. 155) that photography is enmeshed in existing social conventions, and that 'photography has become.....a formal institution, and the social interaction of photographing is a social ritual'. I wished to examine whether this might be the case, and also whether photographers were aware of their possible role as reinforcers of social norms governing representations of families, and whether they felt that photographers had an influence on the manifest content of a photograph to such an extent that they also controlled the photographic message, or the latent content. The participants in Study 1 claimed that the photographer does have an influence on the content of the photograph. This influence affects the choice of topic, the photographic style,

and the composition of the photograph. They claimed in particular that photographs taken by professionals were more likely to be posed.

In Study 1, a tension was identified between family photography as practised by families themselves, and family photography as practised by professional photographers (p. 121). This tension related to the kind of photographs taken by each, the technical superiority of professionally-taken photographs, the type of photographs taken, and the different values attached to professionally taken photographs and 'snaps', with domestic photographers both treating professionally taken photographs as more valuable and 'better' than snaps, but at the same time finding the experience of posing for professional photographs artificial and aversive. I wished to examine this issue from the point of view of professional photographers, to see where they stood on the issue of the 'goodness' of their photographs, their relationship to reality, and the relationship between the professional photographer and his or her subject.

Bourdieu (1965, p.283) makes passing reference to an interview study with 200 professional photographers, where he found that 140 professional photographers believed that some amateurs take better photographs than professionals. This is somewhat counter-intuitive: one would expect that anyone providing a service for which a customer pays would consider themselves to be providing a better product than the customer could create themselves. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, we are not told how 'better' was defined; it may refer to aesthetics, functionality (i.e. usefulness) or perhaps choice of subject. I wished to investigate this issue further, to see whether professional photographers were inclined to make a distinction between professionally taken family portraits and amateur snaps in terms of their "goodness", and if so, what their definitions of "goodness" comprised.

In my review of photographic theory in Chapter 1, I pointed out a distinction which was drawn between lay photographers and photographic theorists regarding the relationship of photographs to reality. I wished to examine where professional photographers stood in relation to this. Are professional photographers in the business of selling a family's dreams back to that family in a glossy package, or do they see themselves as servants of reality, with their commodity being accurate and technically competent reflections of the real world? It might be expected that professional photographers will have had more opportunities to reflect on the role of photographs in society, and therefore will be more likely to adopt a position closer to the symbolist myth than the realist myth with regard to the relationship of photographs to reality. It might further be expected that, given Cloniger's (1975) finding (reported in Chapter 2) that the gender of professional photographers influences the style of

their photographs, that professional photographers would be aware of the influence of gender on photographic style. However, it might also be expected that they would consider their training and expertise as enabling them to rise above the biases to which amateur photographers are prey.

The domestic photographers I interviewed were rather ambivalent about their dealings with professional photographers. On the one hand, they felt that professionally taken photographs were better than snaps, but on the other hand, they disliked being told what to do and how to pose, and felt that they were forced into putting on a somewhat artificial face. 'Studio' photographs are more posed, and the whole experience sets people edge, according to my participants. What do professional photographers feel about this? Are they aware of any tension in their relationships with their clients? Is there any conflict between their craft and the demands of the client? Do they believe that the product they provide is the product required by the client? Or does the photographer 'know best'? Ambivalence or tension of this type in social situations has been described by Goffman (1975) in terms of 'keyed' experience.

Primary experience ('raw' experience) can be transformed into a different 'register' by keying that experience as fantasy, pretence, role-play etc. This keying of experience enables us to stand back from our experience and acknowledge it as not reality. In effect, it involves the same kind of suspension of belief that we subscribe to when we attend a play or a film: we know what we are witnessing is not reality, but we have agreed to treat it as reality. Disjunction occurs when people are keying situations differently, or when something happens to draw attention to the key. We have an investment in maintaining the key of the situation, especially when it involves 'face-saving' - the maintenance of one's social identity. It is possible that professional photographers and their clients key the situation of having a portrait photograph taken differently, in that the client, though they may wish to 'put their best face forward', acknowledges that the situation involves some pretence, but does not wish attention to be drawn to this. If a photographer keys the situation, and the poses, as 'real', then they will take it inappropriately seriously. Alternatively, it is conceivable that a photographer who attempts to change key, i.e. who attempts to dispense with posing altogether, as was the case in some of the accounts in Study 1, precludes the subject of the photograph from doing any face-saving at all, and deprives them of the opportunity of maintaining their social identity.

The findings of Study 1, together with indications in my literature reviews, lead me to expect that professional photographers will demonstrate the following positions in relation to technical issues and professionalism,

photographic meaning, and the functions of family photographs (origin of hypotheses in parentheses):

Technical issues and professionalism

1. Professional photographers will be perceived by both professional and amateur photographers as being more comfortable with the technical aspects of photography than amateur photographers (Study 1).
2. However, the quality of photographs will be considered by both professionals and amateurs as being due to the professional photographer's flair rather than to their technical competence or to their access to sophisticated equipment (Study 1).
3. Photographs will be considered to be more valuable commodities than slides, videos or ciné films, and professional photographs will be perceived as more valuable, and generally better, than snaps (Study 1).
4. Professional photographers will believe that their professionalism overrides any gender differences in relation to technology or subject of photograph, but will see gender differences as likely to influence the practice of photography by amateurs (Cloniger, 1975/Study 1).
5. Professionals will consider themselves to be better at composition, and will consider the question of the 'goodness' of a photograph to be a matter of objective judgement (Bourdieu, 1965).

Photographic meaning

6. Professional photographers will be conscious of the use of composition to manipulate meaning (Chapter 1)
7. Professional photographers will see posed photographs as being better than candid ones, and will also assume that posed photographs are preferred by their clients (Study 1).
8. Professional photographers will tend towards a symbolist rather than a realist myth in their evaluation of photographic meaning, in that they will believe that photographers are authors of meaning rather than passive witnesses of it, and that the viewers of photographs are interpreters rather than readers (Chapter 1/Study 1).

Functions of photographs

9. The functions attributed to photographs by professional photographers will be the same as those attributed by amateurs: recording, documenting change, continuity, solidarity, control of time, memory, evocation and recollection of affect (both positive and negative), history, self presentation, and tracking similarity of appearance and personality. Topics which are

considered appropriate by amateur photographers will also be considered appropriate for professionals (Study 1).

10. Topics which are considered by amateur photographers as inappropriate topics for photography will also be considered inappropriate by professionals (Study 1).
11. Professional photographers see family photography as having a more public role than do amateurs, and therefore will see photographs as being used to communicate beyond the family (Study 1).

These hypotheses are embodied in a set of statements which were selected from the themes arising from the interviews in Study 1. Table 6.1 lists the statements, and the predicted position of professionals and amateurs in relation to them. '✓' indicates agreement, and 'X' disagreement. The numbers in the left-hand margin indicate the hypothesis to which each statement relates.

Hypothesis	Statement	Predicted position	
		Pro	Am
1	The technology of photography is off-putting to amateur photographers.	✓	✓
2	Professionals have a better eye for photogenic subjects than amateurs.	✓	✓
2	Professional photographers capture "the spirit of the moment" better than amateurs.	✓	X
2	You need a lot of technical skill to take a good family snap.	✓	✓
2	Developments in the technology of photography (e.g. auto focusing) have narrowed the gap between amateur and professional photographers.	X	✓
2.	The choice of subject matter for a photo is influenced by the quality of the photographer's camera	X	✓
3	Studio photographs tend to be of much better quality than those taken by amateurs.	✓	✓
3	People tend to value professionally-taken photos more than those taken by amateurs.	✓	✓
3	Photographs are better than slides or video recordings because they're more accessible to the family.	✓	✓
3	A camera is less intrusive than a "camcorder".	✓	✓
3	Most people display professionally-taken photos around but keep snapshots in a pile/box/album	✓	✓
4	There are no gender differences in attitudes to the technology of photography.	✓	X
4	The best camera in a household tends to be owned by a man.	✓	✓
4	It is generally women who are responsible for family photography	✓	✓
4	It is generally women who seek the services of professional photographers	✓	✓
4	It is generally the mother in a family who is responsible for the photo collection	✓	✓
4	The gender of professional photographers influences the kind of photograph they take	X	✓
4	The gender of amateur photographers influences the kind of photographs they take	✓	✓
5	Everyone has a different idea about what constitutes a good photograph.	X	✓
5	A good photograph is one in which features of composition such as light, camera angle etc. are taken into consideration when taking the photograph.	✓	X
5.	Professional photographers pay more attention to the composition of their photographs than amateurs do	✓	X
6.	The composition of a photograph affects its message	✓	✓
6.	The composition of a photograph is not relevant to its message	X	X
6.	The truest photographs are candid ones	✓	✓
7.	Professionally-taken photos are much more posed than those taken by amateurs.	✓	✓
7.	The nicest photographs are candid ones	X	✓
7.	Photographs taken by professionals tend to be more artificial than photos taken by amateurs.	X	✓
7.	Most people hate people taking candid photographs of them	✓	X
7.	Most people hate posed photographs of themselves	X	✓

Table 6.1: Statements comprising the hypotheses, with predictions of the direction of professionals' and amateurs' agreement

Hypothesis	Statement	Predicted position	
7.	Many people who like photographs dislike appearing in them themselves	X	√
8	People should put captions on their photos - e.g. date, place, people in photo.	√	√
8	A photograph needs a caption before it can be understood by an "outsider"	√	√
8	Photographs do not necessarily represent reality.	√	√
8	Photographs only represent selected aspects of people's lives	√	√
8	Photographs are records of "what really happened"	X	X
8	Photographs can symbolise something, i.e. whether they are "true" or "false" is irrelevant, it's the <i>interpretation</i> that counts.	√	√
8	A photograph can mean different things to different people.	√	√
8	A stranger looking at a family's photographs wouldn't be able to learn anything about the family from them	√	√
8	Photographers are passive witnesses of the events they photograph	X	X
8	The same photograph can evoke different emotions in a person at different times	√	√
9	Photographs can be used to track physical resemblances among family members	√	√
9	Photos can be used to track personality traits across family members.	X	X
9	The most important aspect of photos is the emotion they evoke	√	√
9	A photograph is a way of sharing the emotion of an event with people who weren't there.	√	√
9	The most important aspect of family photographs is the memories they evoke.	√	√
9	The most important aspect of photographs is that they provide historical information about families.	√	√
9	Photographs can tell people something about themselves	√	√
9	Photograph can show the changes in people over time e.g. growing up	√	√
9	Photographs help to link the past and the present	√	√
9	Photographs can be used to "freeze" time.	√	√
9	Family photographs help to unify the family	√	√
9	Most photographs are taken during happy times	√	√
9	Looking at photographs can evoke positive emotions (e.g. happiness) in people	√	√
9	Looking at photographs can evoke negative emotions (e.g. sadness) in people	√	√
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken at times of anger or sadness	√	√
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken of distressing scenes	√	√
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken when people are scarred or have a physical deformity	√	√
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken of the deceased at a funeral	√	√
10	Any important event in a person's life is worth recording, whether it's a good or even a bad moment, because it's all part of the experience of living	X	√
11	Family photographs are usually only of interest to the immediate family.	X	√
11	Family photographs are taken in order to pass on to the children	X	√
11	The main function of family photographs is to keep in touch with extended family and friends	√	X

Table 6.1 (continued): Statements comprising the hypotheses, with predictions of the direction of professionals' and amateurs' agreement

Method

The issues described in the introduction to this chapter could have been explored in several ways. Professional photographers could have been interviewed and observed at work, and the assumptions regarding the nature of 'family' underpinning their work could have been further examined by means of a discourse analysis of trade magazines. However, given time constraints, both on my part, and on the part of professional photographers, most of whom are self-employed and work long and erratic hours, I felt that a methodology requiring less of a time commitment was desirable. A discourse analysis of trade magazines, though it might give an indication of recommended or ideal practice, and would be a worthwhile direction for future research, would be one step removed from what actually happens when a photographer is faced with a family in a studio. Therefore, I decided to build on the results of Study 1 by asking professional photographers to react to statements embodying the themes identified in the interview transcripts. Rather than conducting a postal questionnaire study, with the attendant difficulties of low return rates, I chose to visit the professional photographers in their studios, and administer a form of questionnaire (a Q-sort) in person. The advantages of Q-sorting over questionnaires are several fold. It enables the sorter to formulate a composite representation of their opinion, by ranking statements in relation to each other. The sorter is free to rearrange the statements until they are satisfied they represent their view. In this way, Q-sorting is similar to repertory grid methodology, in that the participant's position at any one point in time is treated as being located within a complex of opinions, which may change over time. Because the sorting technique takes place on a table-top, rather than on an A4 page in a questionnaire booklet, the researcher has ample opportunity to observe and make notes regarding responses to individual statements which can be followed up during the post-sorting interview. This is especially useful where the sorter finds the statement puzzling or difficult to interpret.

In order to facilitate direct comparisons between amateur and professional photographers, the sample studied in this phase of the research contained both professionals and amateurs. This provided the added benefit of validating the findings of Study 1.

Participants

The participants consisted of 19 self-identified "snappers" (12 female and 7 male, ranging in age from 26 to 62, and 22 portrait photographers, (6 female and 16 male, aged between 30 and 55), for whom the bulk of their work constituted studio photography and weddings.

Recruitment

"Snappers" were recruited via an advertisement in 'New Reporter' (a magazine for staff and students published by Southampton University), posters in departments in all Faculties, and also by word of mouth.

Professional photographers were recruited via a mailshot to local photographers selected from a telephone directory, and also to local photographers listing themselves as portrait photographers in the British Institute of Professional Photography 1994 Directory. The response rate for this phase of recruitment was 40%.

Materials

From the 41 themes elicited in Study 1, a selection of statements summarising each theme was compiled based on quotes from the interview transcripts. This resulted in 62 statements (some themes required more than 1 statement), all of which related to the 11 hypotheses above. The theme from which each statement was drawn can be seen in Appendix 5. Table 6.1 illustrates the statements to be sorted, the hypotheses to which they relate, and the predicted direction of agreement of professionals and amateurs with each statement. A tick indicates high agreement with the statement, and therefore a high score on the rating scale, and a cross indicates low agreement, and therefore a low score on the rating scale.

Procedure

Each participant was requested to sort the statements (prepared on individual cards) into piles according to the extent of their agreement or disagreement with them, on a seven point scale, with 1 indicating "strongly disagree" and 7 indicating "strongly agree". I remained in the room during this task, and where participants wished to clarify the meaning of a particular statement, I encouraged them to talk through the possible interpretations, and select the one which they felt was most appropriate or plausible. I made notes of their comments as they did so. They were informed that the source of the statements was a set of interviews with amateur photographers on the subject of family photography, and they were asked to sort the photographs in terms of their relevance to family photography rather than photography in general.

Participants also took part in a brief interview after the sorting task during which they were invited to expand on their responses to statements in the sorting task. These interviews varied substantially in depth and length, and therefore are not treated as primary data, but are used to illustrate conclusions based on the data yielded by the sorting task.

Results

The responses of professionals and amateurs were tabulated and analysed using the discriminant analysis technique. Discriminant analysis is a technique which uses the Wilks' λ statistic to distinguish between independent groups, by identifying the variables which are important for distinguishing among the groups. In order to examine the extent to which each group agreed or disagreed with the statement, each group's responses to each statement was tested using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit (K-S) test, a non-parametric test of the extent to which a distribution deviates from the expected distribution. It is similar to Chi-Square, but is more robust, and is suitable for use with ordinal data.

Table 6.2 illustrates the results of the discriminant analysis and the K-S test. The original predictions of the positions of professionals and amateurs are included to facilitate comparison. Table 6.3 illustrates just those statements on which professionals and amateurs differed significantly.

Statement no.		Mean		Wilks λ	Prediction		K-S Z		K-S Z		Position			
		Pro	Am		F	P	Pro	Am	Pro	P	Am	P	Pro	Am
1	The technology of photography is off-putting to amateur photographers.	3.95	3.58	0.99	0.42	n.s.	√	√	0.57	n.s.	0.88	n.s.		
2	Professionals have a better eye for photogenic subjects than amateurs.	4.64	4.21	0.99	0.49	n.s.	√	√	1.21	n.s.	0.84	n.s.		
2	Professional photographers can capture "the spirit of the moment" better than amateurs can.	4.55	2.89	0.84	7.67	0.01	√	X	1.14	n.s.	1.76	0.00		X
2	You need a lot of technical skill to take a good family snap.	4.18	2.63	0.85	6.74	0.01	√	√	0.99	n.s.	2.03	0.00		X
2	Developments in the technology of photography (e.g. auto focusing) have narrowed the gap between amateur and professional photographers.	4.73	5.68	0.91	3.62	n.s.	X	√	1.42	0.04	2.22	0.00	√	√
2.	The choice of subject matter for a photo is influenced by the quality of the photographer's camera	3.00	3.42	0.99	0.39	n.s.	X	√	2.20	0.00	1.57	0.01	X	X
3	Studio photographs tend to be of much better quality than those taken by amateurs.	5.95	4.32	0.82	8.27	0.01	√	√	3.06	0.00	1.30	n.s.	√	
3	People tend to value photographs taken by professionals more than those taken by amateurs.	5.55	4.05	0.83	7.75	0.01	√	√	2.27	0.00	0.65	n.s.	√	
3	Photographs are better than slides or video recordings because they're more accessible to the family.	6.14	5.32	0.90	4.14	0.05	√	√	3.06	0.00	1.99	0.00	√	√
3	A camera is less intrusive than a "camcorder".	4.36	5.05	0.97	1.16	n.s.	√	√	1.49	0.02	1.57	0.01	√	√
3	Most people display professionally taken photos around but keep snapshots in a pile/box/album	6.09	4.53	0.83	8.07	0.01	√	√	2.70	0.00	1.61	0.01	√	√
4	There are no gender differences in attitudes to the technology of photography.	4.73	3.26	0.86	6.55	0.01	√	X	1.56	0.02	1.26	n.s.	√	
4	The best camera in a household tends to be owned by a man.	5.14	4.53	0.98	0.81	n.s.	√	√	1.85	0.00	1.57	0.01	√	√
4	It is generally women who are responsible for family photography	4.95	4.21	0.96	1.45	n.s.	√	√	1.56	0.02	0.84	n.s.	√	
4	It is generally women who seek the services of professional photographers	5.55	4.89	0.96	1.54	n.s.	√	√	2.49	0.00	1.72	0.01	√	√

Table 6.2: Results of discriminant analysis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit test

Statement no.		Mean		Wilks λ	Prediction		K-S Z		K-S Z		Position			
		Pro	Am		E	P	Pro	Am	Pro	P	Am	P	Pro	Am
4	It is generally the mother in a family who is responsible for the photographic collection	5.91	5.00	0.93	3.05	n.s.	✓	✓	2.63	0.00	1.57	n.s.	✓	
4	The gender of professional photographers can influence the kind of photograph they take	4.64	4.37	1.00	0.18	n.s.	X	✓	1.78	0.00	0.80	n.s.	✓	
4	The gender of amateur photographers can influence the kind of photographs they take	4.55	4.47	1.00	0.01	n.s.	✓	✓	1.35	0.05	1.07	n.s.	✓	
5	Everyone has a different idea about what constitutes a good photograph.	5.64	5.79	1.00	0.08	n.s.	X	✓	2.49	0.00	2.22	0.00	✓	✓
5	A good photograph is one in which features of composition such as light, camera angle etc. are taken into consideration when taking the photograph.	6.64	4.74	0.66	20.27	0.00	✓	X	3.48	0.00	1.53	0.02	✓	✓
5.	Professional photographers pay more attention to the composition of their photographs than amateurs do	6.27	5.26	0.88	5.47	0.02	✓	X	3.06	0.00	1.99	0.00	✓	✓
6.	The composition of a photograph affects its message	6.14	5.32	0.94	2.46	n.s.	✓	✓	3.06	0.00	1.99	0.00	✓	✓
6.	The composition of a photo is not relevant to its message	3.09	2.26	0.95	2.21	n.s.	X	X	1.78	0.00	2.18	0.00	X	X
6.	The truest photographs are candid ones	4.59	4.84	1.00	0.19	n.s.	✓	✓	1.21	n.s.	1.26	n.s.		
7.	Photographs taken by professionals are much more posed than those taken by amateur photographers.	5.41	5.53	1.00	0.04	n.s.	✓	✓	2.27	0.00	2.26	0.00	✓	✓
7.	Photographs taken by professionals tend to be more artificial than photos taken by amateurs.	4.64	5.00	0.99	0.37	n.s.	X	✓	1.35	0.05	1.80	0.00	✓	✓
7.	The nicest photographs are candid ones	3.77	4.63	0.94	2.36	n.s.	X	✓	0.71	n.s	1.26	n.s		
7.	Most people hate people taking candid photos of them	3.86	4.84	0.92	3.25	n.s.	✓	X	0.78	n.s	1.34	n.s		
7.	Most people hate posed photographs of themselves	4.09	5.11	0.93	3.02	n.s.	X	✓	0.92	n.s	1.53	0.02		✓
7.	Many people who like photographs dislike appearing in them themselves	5.00	5.16	1.00	0.07	n.s.	X	✓	1.49	0.02	1.71	0.01	✓	✓

Table 6.2 (continued): Results of discriminant analysis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit test

Statement no.		Mean		Wilks λ	Prediction		K-S Z		K-S Z		Position			
		Pro	Am		F	P	Pro	Am	Pro	P	Am	P	Pro	Am
8	People should put captions on their photos - e.g. date, place, people in photo.	6.32	4.95	0.86	6.24	0.02	✓	✓	3.48	0.00	1.84	0.00	✓	✓
8	A photograph needs a caption before it can be understood by an "outsider"	3.14	3.05	1.00	0.02	n.s.	✓	✓	1.42	0.04	1.53	0.02	X	X
8	Photographs do not necessarily represent reality.	4.91	6.32	0.83	8.20	0.01	✓	✓	1.56	0.02	3.17	0.00	✓	✓
8	Photos only represent selected aspects of people's lives	5.77	6.26	0.97	1.30	n.s.	✓	✓	2.70	0.00	2.98	0.00	✓	✓
8	Photographs are records of "what really happened"	4.68	2.47	0.72	15.45	0.00	X	X	1.63	0.01	2.03	0.00	✓	X
8	Photographs can symbolise something, i.e. whether they are "true" or "false" is irrelevant, it's the <i>interpretation</i> that counts.	5.18	5.74	0.96	1.59	n.s.	✓	✓	1.78	0.00	2.22	0.00	✓	✓
8	A photo can mean different things to different people.	6.00	6.68	0.92	3.44	0.07	✓	✓	2.84	0.00	3.34	0.00	✓	✓
8	A stranger looking at a family's photographs wouldn't be able to learn anything about the family from them	2.41	2.21	0.99	0.31	n.s.	✓	✓	2.70	0.00	2.45	0.00	X	X
8	Photographers are passive witnesses of the events they photograph	3.73	3.32	0.99	0.34	n.s.	X	X	1.14	n.s.	1.61	0.01		X
8	The same photograph can evoke different emotions in a person at different points in time	5.64	6.16	0.95	2.02	n.s.	✓	✓	2.27	0.00	2.71	0.00	✓	✓
9	Photographs can be used to track physical resemblances among family members	6.05	6.21	0.99	0.22	n.s.	✓	✓	2.84	0.00	2.68	0.00	✓	✓
9	Photos can be used to track personality traits across family members.	4.59	3.53	0.93	2.96	n.s.	X	X	1.21	n.s.	1.11	n.s.		
9	The most important aspect of photos is the emotion they evoke	5.59	4.53	0.91	3.69	n.s.	✓	✓	2.35	0.00	0.99	n.s.	✓	
9	A photograph is a way of sharing the emotion of an event with people who weren't there.	6.18	5.63	0.94	2.42	n.s.	✓	✓	2.91	0.00	2.03	0.00	✓	✓
9	An important aspect of family photographs is the memories they evoke.	6.23	5.95	0.97	1.01	n.s.	✓	✓	3.13	0.00	2.68	0.00	✓	✓

Table 6.2 (continued): Results of discriminant analysis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit test

Statement no.		Mean		Wilks λ	F	P	Prediction		K-S Z		K-S Z		Position	
		Pro	Am				Pro	Am	Pro	P	Am	P	Pro	Am
9	The most important aspect of photographs is that they provide historical information about families.	5.86	5.37	0.97	1.34	n.s.	√	√	2.49	0.00	2.22	0.00	√	√
9	Photos can tell people something about themselves	5.68	5.79	1.00	0.10	n.s.	√	√	2.70	0.00	2.49	0.00	√	√
9	Photos can show the changes in people over time e.g. growing up	6.64	6.79	0.98	0.76	n.s.	√	√	3.70	0.00	3.67	0.00	√	√
9	Photographs help to link the past and the present	6.27	6.11	1.00	0.15	n.s.	√	√	3.06	0.00	2.75	0.00	√	√
9	Photographs can be used to "freeze" time.	6.64	6.16	0.95	2.19	n.s.	√	√	3.70	0.00	2.94	0.00	√	√
9	Family photographs help to unify the family	4.91	4.32	0.97	1.25	n.s.	√	√	1.35	0.05	0.80	n.s.	√	
9	Most photographs are taken during happy times	5.86	6.05	1.00	0.13	n.s.	√	√	2.70	0.00	2.75	0.00	√	√
9	Looking at photographs can evoke positive emotions in people	6.59	6.53	1.00	0.08	n.s.	√	√	3.48	0.00	3.17	0.00	√	√
9	Looking at photographs can evoke negative emotions (e.g. sadness) in people	5.27	6.37	0.88	5.50	0.02	√	√	2.06	0.00	2.75	0.00	√	√
10	Photos shouldn't be taken at times of anger or sadness	3.77	3.74	1.00	0.00	n.s.	√	√	1.28	n.s.	0.92	n.s.		
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken of distressing scenes	3.86	3.47	0.99	0.36	n.s.	√	√	1.28	n.s.	1.22	n.s.		
10	Photographs shouldn't be taken when people are scarred or have a physical deformity	2.95	2.16	0.95	1.92	n.s.	√	√	1.71	0.01	2.26	0.00	X	X
10	Photos shouldn't be taken of the deceased at a funeral	4.86	4.21	0.97	1.04	n.s.	√	√	1.71	0.01	0.80	n.s.	√	
10	Any important event in a person's life is worth recording, because it's all part of the experience of living	5.05	4.47	0.98	0.75	n.s.	X	√	1.85	0.00	1.99	0.00	√	√
11	Family photographs are usually only of interest to the immediate family.	4.86	4.16	0.96	1.78	n.s.	X	√	1.85	0.00	0.73	n.s.	√	
11	Family photos are taken in order to pass on to the children	3.82	3.47	0.99	0.34	n.s.	X	√	0.92	n.s.	1.30	n.s.		
11	The main function of family photographs is to keep in touch with extended family and friends	4.73	2.95	0.75	12.68	0.00	√	X	1.42	0.04	1.76	0.00	√	X

Table 6.2 (continued): Results of discriminant analysis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Goodness of Fit test

Statement no.	Mean		Wilks λ	F		P		Prediction		K-S Z		K-S Z		Position	
	Pro	Am						Pro	Am	Pro	P	Am	P	Pro	Am
2 Professional photographers can capture "the spirit of the moment" better than amateurs can.	4.55	2.89	0.84	7.67	0.01	✓	X	✓	X	1.14	n.s.	1.76	0.00		X
2 You need a lot of technical skill to take a good family snap.	4.18	2.63	0.85	6.74	0.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	0.99	n.s.	2.03	0.00		X
3 Studio photos tend to be of much better quality than those taken by amateurs.	5.95	4.32	0.82	8.27	0.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	3.06	0.00	1.30	n.s.	✓	
3 People tend to value photographs taken by professionals more than those taken by amateurs.	5.55	4.05	0.83	7.75	0.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	2.27	0.00	0.65	n.s.	✓	
3 Photographs are better than slides or video recordings because they're more accessible to the family.	6.14	5.32	0.90	4.14	0.05	✓	✓	✓	✓	3.06	0.00	1.99	0.00	✓	✓
3 Most people display professionally taken photos around but keep snapshots in a pile/box/album	6.09	4.53	0.83	8.07	0.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	2.70	0.00	1.61	0.01	✓	✓
4 There are no gender differences in attitudes to the technology of photography.	4.73	3.26	0.86	6.55	0.01	✓	X	✓	X	1.56	0.02	1.26	n.s.	✓	
5 A good photo is one in which features of composition such as light, camera angle etc. are taken into consideration when taking it. .	6.64	4.74	0.66	20.27	0.00	✓	X	✓	X	3.48	0.00	1.53	0.02	✓	✓
5. Professional photographers pay more attention to the composition of their photographs than amateurs do	6.27	5.26	0.88	5.47	0.02	✓	X	✓	X	3.06	0.00	1.99	0.00	✓	✓
8 People should put captions on their photos - e.g. date, place, people in photo.	6.32	4.95	0.86	6.24	0.02	✓	✓	✓	✓	3.48	0.00	1.84	0.00	✓	✓
8 Photographs do not necessarily represent reality.	4.91	6.32	0.83	8.20	0.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	1.56	0.02	3.17	0.00	✓	✓
8 Photographs are records of "what really happened"	4.68	2.47	0.72	15.45	0.00	X	X	X	X	1.63	0.01	2.03	0.00	✓	X
9 Looking at photographs can evoke negative emotions (e.g. sadness) in people	5.27	6.37	0.88	5.50	0.02	✓	✓	✓	✓	2.06	0.00	2.75	0.00	✓	✓
11 The main function of family photographs is to keep in touch with extended family and friends	4.73	2.95	0.75	12.68	0.00	✓	X	✓	X	1.42	0.04	1.76	0.00	✓	X

Table 6.3: Statements on which professionals and amateurs differed significantly.

Technical issues and professionalism

Hypothesis 1. This hypothesis suggested that professional photographers will be perceived by both professional and amateur photographers as being more comfortable with the technical aspects of photography than amateurs.

Hypothesis 1 was rejected. Neither professionals nor amateurs clearly agreed or disagreed with this statement (Professionals: K-S $Z=.57$, $p>.05$; Amateurs: K-S $Z=.88$, $p>.05$).

Hypothesis 2. With regard to photographic flair, professionals and amateurs both tended to agree with the statement that professionals have a better eye for photogenic subjects than amateurs, though this trend was not significant (Professionals: K-S $Z=1.21$, $p>.05$; Amateurs: K-S $Z=.04$, $p>.05$). Amateurs and professionals disagreed significantly regarding professionals' ability to 'capture the spirit of the moment' (Wilks' $L=.84$, $p<.05$). Amateurs felt strongly that professionals were not better at capturing the spirit of the moment (K-S $Z=1.76$, $p<.01$), and surprisingly, the professionals did not feel strongly either way (K-S $Z=1.14$, $p>.05$). A similar pattern was evident in attributions of technical skill to professionals. Professionals and amateurs disagreed significantly on the amount of technical skill needed to take a good family snap (Wilks' $L=.85$, $p<.05$). Amateurs strongly disagreed with the suggestion that a good family snap required technical skill (K-S $Z=2.03$, $p<.01$), and again, professionals did not feel strongly either way. Both professionals (K-S $Z=1.42$, $p<.05$) and amateurs (K-S $Z=2.22$, $p<.01$) strongly agreed that the gap in technical ability between professionals and amateurs was narrowing, and that the quality of equipment did not influence the choice of subject matter (professionals: K-S $Z=2.20$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.57$, $p=.01$).

Therefore, in the area where professionals would be expected to feel that the differences between themselves and amateurs lie, i.e. in the domain of technical ability and flair for photography, professionals did not consider themselves to be more competent than amateurs, and amateurs felt strongly that professionals did not have superior skills to their own.

Hypothesis 3. Professionals and amateurs differed significantly with regard to the quality of professional photographs and the value perceived to be attached to them. Professionals believed strongly that studio photographs tend to be of much better quality than snaps (K-S $Z=3.06$, $p<.01$, Wilks' $L=.82$, $p<.05$), that people tend to value professionally taken photographs more than snaps (K-S $Z=2.27$, $p<.01$, Wilks' $L=.83$, $p<.05$) and that people tend to display professional

photographs around the house while keeping snaps in a box (K-S $Z=2.70$, $p<.01$, Wilks' $L=.83$, $p<.05$). Amateurs did not feel strongly about these statements; the differences between professionals and amateurs lay in the professionals' strong agreement. Similarly, professionals also felt strongly that photographs are more accessible than slides or video recordings (K-S $Z=3.06$, $p<.01$, Wilks' $L=0.9$, $p=.05$). Both professionals and amateurs agreed with that a camera is less intrusive than a camcorder (Professionals: K-S $Z=1.49$, $p<.05$, amateurs: K-S $Z=1.57$, $p=.01$, Wilks' $L=.97$, $p>.05$).

Hypothesis 4. The hypothesis that professional photographers would consider themselves to be immune to biases due to gender in the type of photographs they take was not supported, though professionals were more willing to generalise regarding gender biases in amateur photography. Both professionals and amateurs believed that the photographs they took were influenced by gender. Professional photographers agreed strongly with the suggestion that the gender of professional (K-S $Z=1.78$, $p<.01$) and amateur (K-S $Z=1.35$, $p=.05$) photographers can influence the kind of photograph they take, whereas amateurs did not react strongly to this suggestion.

Professionals were more sceptical than amateurs regarding the existence of gender differences in attitudes to the technology of photography (Professionals: K-S $Z=1.56$, $p<.05$, amateurs: K-S $Z=1.26$, $p>.05$; Wilks' $L=.86$, $p=.01$). There were no significant differences between amateurs and professionals with regard to gender differences in camera ownership and responsibility for photography: both groups felt that men tended to own the best cameras (professionals: K-S $Z=1.85$, $p<.01$; amateurs K-S $Z=1.57$, $p=.01$), while those who seek the services of professional photographers on behalf of their families tend to be women (professionals: K-S $Z=2.49$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.72$, $p=.01$). Professionals also felt strongly that women tended to be responsible for family photography in general (K-S $Z=1.56$, $p<.05$), including being responsible for maintaining the photographic collection (K-S $Z=2.63$, $p<.01$). Furthermore, gender is seen to influence the kinds of photographs taken by both professionals and amateurs.

Hypothesis 5. Though both professionals (K-S $Z=3.06$, $p<.01$) and amateurs (K-S $Z=1.99$, $p<.01$) agreed that professionals pay more attention to the composition of their photographs than amateurs do, professionals demonstrated significantly stronger agreement with this statement than amateurs did (Wilks' $L=.88$, $p<.05$). Professionals (K-S $Z=3.48$, $p<.01$) also agreed significantly more strongly than amateurs (K-S $Z=1.53$, $p<.05$) with the suggestion that a good

photograph is one which is well composed (Wilks' $L=.20.27$, $p<.01$). In the light of this, it is surprising that both professionals (K-S $Z=2.49$, $p<.01$) and amateurs (K-S $Z=2.22$, $p<.01$) agreed that everyone has a different idea about what constitutes a good photograph, and therefore, that the "goodness" of a photograph cannot necessarily be judged objectively.

Photographic meaning

Hypothesis 6. This hypothesis related to the relationship between the composition and style of a photograph and its message. Both professionals (K-S $Z=30.6$, $p<.01$) and amateurs (K-S $Z=1.99$, $p<.01$) agreed that the composition of a photograph affects its message. Neither professionals nor amateurs felt strongly towards the statement that the truest photographs are candid ones.

Hypothesis 7. Professionals and amateurs both agree that photographs taken by professionals are more posed than those taken by amateurs (professionals: (K-S $Z=2.27$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.99$, $p<.01$). They also agreed that professionally taken photographs were more artificial (professionals: (K-S $Z=1.35$, $p=.05$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.80$, $p<.01$), but, on the other hand, neither group felt that the nicest photographs were candid ones. Amateur photographers felt that people generally dislike appearing in posed photographs (K-S $Z=1.53$, $p<.05$), but neither professionals nor amateurs felt strongly that people generally had an aversion to appearing in candid photographs. They did, however, agree, that people who like photographs don't necessarily like appearing in them themselves (professionals: K-S $Z=1.49$, $p<.05$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.71$, $p=.01$).

Hypothesis 8. This hypothesis relates to the potential for meaning attributed to photographs by professionals and amateurs. It was hypothesised that professional photographers would be more appreciative of the malleability of photographic meaning and of the dissociation between manifest and latent content, and would therefore tend towards the symbolist myth.

Amateurs and professionals differed significantly in the extent to which they felt people should caption photographs. Though both types of photographer tended to feel that it was desirable (professionals: (K-S $Z=3.48$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.84$, $p<.01$), they differed in the strength of their agreement: professionals seemed to feel it was extremely important to do so (Wilks' $L=.86$, $p<.05$). This is surprising given that neither professionals (K-S $Z=1.42$, $p<.05$) nor amateurs (K-S $Z=1.53$, $p<.05$) believed that a photograph needs a caption before it can be understood by an "outsider".

Though professionals agreed with the suggestion that photographs do not necessarily represent reality (K-S $Z=1.56$, $p<.05$), amateurs agreed significantly more with this statement (K-S $Z=3.17$, $p<.01$; Wilks' $L=.83$, $p<.05$). Professionals also differed from amateurs in feeling that photographs are records of 'what really happened' (K-S $Z=1.63$, $p=.01$; Wilks' $L=.72$, $p<.05$); amateurs disagreed with this statement (K-S $Z=2.03$, $p<.01$). Professionals and amateurs both felt that a stranger looking at a family's photographs would be able to learn something from them (professional: K-S $Z=2.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.45$, $p<.01$). Both groups also agreed that photographs only represent selected aspects of people's lives (professional: K-S $Z=2.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.98$, $p<.01$). Photographers seemed to be suggesting that 'the camera never lies, but it *does* omit'. This interpretation is supported by the responses of both sets of photographers to the statements relating to symbolism: professionals and amateurs agreed that photographs can symbolise something (professional: K-S $Z=1.78$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.22$, $p<.01$), and the interpretation, rather than their truth or falsity, is what counts, and that the same photograph can evoke different emotions at different points in time (professional: K-S $Z=2.27$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.71$, $p<.01$). Professionals and amateurs did not differ significantly in their awareness of the power the photographer exerts over the content of a photograph, though amateurs disagreed significantly with the statement that photographers are passive witnesses of the events they photograph (K-S $Z=1.61$, $p=.01$).

Functions of photographs

Hypothesis 9. Both professionals and amateurs strongly agreed that photographs can fulfil the following roles in family life: tracking physical resemblances among family members (professional: K-S $Z=2.84$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.68$, $p<.01$), sharing the emotion of an event with people who were not present (professional: K-S $Z=2.91$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.03$, $p<.01$), evocation of memories (professional: K-S $Z=3.13$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.68$, $p<.01$), provision of historical information about families (professional: K-S $Z=2.49$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.22$, $p<.01$), telling people about themselves (professional: K-S $Z=2.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.49$, $p<.01$), tracking changes across time (professional: K-S $Z=3.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=3.67$, $p<.01$), linking the past and the present (professional: K-S $Z=3.06$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.75$, $p<.01$), 'freezing' time (professional: K-S $Z=3.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.94$, $p<.01$), capturing happy times (professional: K-S $Z=2.70$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.75$, $p<.01$), and evocation of both positive emotions

(professional: K-S $Z=3.48$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=3.17$, $p<.01$) and negative emotions (professional: K-S $Z=2.06$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.75$, $p<.01$).

Amateurs and professionals were undecided regarding the potential of photographs to track personality traits across family members. Surprisingly, given the findings in Study 1, it was professionals who felt most strongly that family photographs help to unify the family (K-S $Z=1.35$, $p<.05$), though this difference was not significant (Wilks' $L=1.25$, $p>.05$).

Hypothesis 10. Surprisingly, given the findings regarding inappropriate topics in Study 1 (p. 124), neither professionals nor amateurs had strong feelings regarding most situations which might be considered inappropriate as the topic of photographs, including photographs of people who are injured or disfigured or photographs during distressing scenes or times of anger or sadness. In fact, both groups strongly *disagreed* with the suggestion that photographs shouldn't be taken of injured or disfigured subjects (professional: K-S $Z=1.71$, $p=.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=2.26$, $p<.01$). However, professionals strongly agreed that photographs shouldn't be taken of the deceased at a funeral (K-S $Z=1.71$, $p<.01$). The responses of both sets of respondents to the suggestions regarding inappropriate occasions are supported by their responses to the final statement in this set: all agreed that any important event in a person's life is worth recording, because it's all part of the experience of living (professional: K-S $Z=1.85$, $p<.01$; amateurs: K-S $Z=1.99$, $p<.01$).

Hypothesis 11. The hypothesis that professional photographers would consider photographs playing a much more public role in family life was supported. Professionals felt strongly that the main function of family photographs is to keep in touch with extended family and friends (K-S $Z=1.42$, $p<.05$). Amateurs strongly disagreed with this statement (K-S $Z=1.76$, $p<.01$; Wilks' $L=12.68$, $p<.01$). However, professionals also felt that family photographs are only of interest to the immediate family (K-S $Z=1.85$, $p<.01$). Neither group agreed with the suggestion that photographs are taken so that they can be passed on to the children.

Discussion

The findings of this study in relation to issues of technical competence and professionalism recapitulate Bourdieu's to a surprising extent. Professional photographers did not see themselves as more technically competent or 'better' at taking photographs than amateurs. Admittedly, they did not feel this as strongly as the amateurs, but nonetheless, there was little evidence that

professionals feel they can bring something to family photography which amateurs cannot. An exception to this was the area of composition, at which professionals were considered better than amateurs by both groups. This points to the notion of 'de-professionalisation' of photography, which was suggested by Bourdieu.

Hypotheses 6 to 8 expanded the issue of photography beyond the actual photograph to a consideration of the whole product, i.e. the photograph, the photographic message, and the experience of being photographed. In terms of the experience of being a subject (Hypothesis 7), professionals and amateurs agreed that professionally taken photographs tended to be much more posed than those taken by amateurs, but professionals did not seem to be as aware as amateurs were of a general aversion to appearing in posed photographs. This lends support to my suggestion in the introduction to this chapter that the ambivalence of amateurs to being photographed by professionals is due to a difference in keying. This is further supported by the tendency professionals showed towards the realist myth. They agreed with some aspects of the symbolist myth, e.g. that the photographer influences the style as well as the content of a photograph, and thereby authors its message, as illustrated by the following quote from a female photographer who has been a practising portrait photographer for ten years:

"I still stamp my own hallmark and my own way of doing things on my work in the studio. I mean, I have a particular style of portraiture, I have a particular style of arrangement, I have a particular style of composition: people trust me to do that. Or else they've recognised a particular style of my work that they come to me specifically for, and that's the way I like to do it. And when I go out of course, I do my own thing anyway; just do it automatically. But I set up a particular style or background or whatever, and suit the way I feel it should be presented."

However, they did not agree as strongly as amateurs with the statements relating to symbolism, and differed from amateurs in considering that photographs are records of what really happens. Therefore, when professional photographers pose their subjects for a photograph, they are treating this pose as 'real', and there is none of the subtle acknowledgement that an event is being staged that would occur were the amateurs and professionals sharing the same 'key'. This confirms Beloff's (1985, p.183) suggestion that we find posing in a photography studio almost intolerable because we are endeavouring, through acting and posing, to look natural, spontaneous and unposed. This combination of a realist tendency with an acknowledgement of the posed nature of most professional portraits is encapsulated in the following quote from a male professional photographer of twenty five year's standing, who

practises both studio photography at the behest of clients, but who also considers himself a photographic artist, and who has published several collections of his own works:

"A lot of weddings, most in fact, have a particular pattern, and [my job] is capturing that flow or pattern of the wedding - a lot of those shots are a must, to capture the essence of the day as it happens. On the other hand, there's a lot of formal stuff that would have to be set up anyway, because no matter how much people say they would like it to be different, there's no escaping from actual formal shots. "

Later on, the same photographer comments

"Well, I would have thought that photographs really portray reality..... I would have thought that it's the perfect communicator of reality. I don't go in for fantasy images, I don't like to create images of fantasy. For me, it's the mirror held up to nature. "

This difference in keying also accounts for the difference in audience for family photographs perceived by amateurs and professionals. Professionals think that photographs are used to communicate with extended family. Given that there is far less opportunity to construct stories around photographs when they are given to relatives, in that the repeated opportunities for viewing them in a family context are reduced, it makes sense for the photographs themselves, rather than the stories which they are used to support within the family, to carry the family's message, which, according to professionals, at least, is a message regarding the unity of the family. If the photograph is the message, then the photograph must be keyed as a true statement, and therefore, professionals' conception of the realism of photographs is perfectly consistent with the uses to which they feel photographs are being put.

The findings from this study have implications for five of the seven propositions delineated in chapter 1.

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

The question arising from this proposition was question (d) (see Chapter 4), i.e. how much influence over the manifest content is attributed to a photographer. Hypotheses 1 to 6 all had a bearing on this question. Professional photographers considered themselves as being better at composition than amateur photographers, and both amateur and professional photographers felt that the composition of a photograph affects its message. This makes the findings in relation to Proposition Three all the more surprising.

Proposition Three: Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

The answer to the question 'are "realist" and "symbolist" myths discernible in the discourse of amateur and professional photographers?' seemed was 'yes', but surprisingly, in the light of the fact that professionals are well aware of the use of composition to manipulate meaning, professionals still felt that photographs are records of 'what really happened', and they therefore seem to espouse the realist myth more strongly than amateurs. Nevertheless, just as participants appeared to oscillate between the realist myth and symbolist myth in Study 1, professionals also acknowledge that photographic meaning is malleable.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

Professional photographers agree, as amateurs do, that photographs can help people track changes across time, and can help link the past and present and 'freeze time'.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

Professional photographers agreed more strongly than amateurs that photographs can help to promote family unity. However, they also felt that photographs were used for communication outside the family rather than inside the family, and this points to the notion that professionals see photographs as being used to communicate a particular image of the family to those outside it, rather than being used within the family.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

With regard to the issue of inappropriate topics for family photography, it is surprising that, given that professionals seem to lean more towards the creation of an image of a happy family, they do not seem to have any strong opinions regarding occasions which are inappropriate for family photography. It may well be here that their professionalism comes to the fore: a professional will photograph whatever the client family presents as being important to that family. Of course, it is possible that professional photographers are seldom presented with the dilemma of an inappropriate topic: aside from funerals, and

disfigurement or disability, the other topics which were noted as inappropriate - intimate or embarrassing moments, or illness, are unlikely to be situations in which a professional photographer is present.

Conclusion

To return to the more general questions raised in the introduction, professional photographers are more committed to the use of family photographs to portray family unity to the outside world, and therefore could be considered to be reinforcing social norms regarding the appropriate representation of families. Professionals tend to see themselves as capturing reality, and this lends weight and credibility to their role in promoting the rhetoric of 'happy families'.

CHAPTER 7: STUDY 3: AN ARCHIVAL STUDY OF FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS.

Introduction

In my review of the literature on family photographs, I indicated that many claims made about the representation of families in their photographs require a comprehensive and systematic archival study of family photographic collections in order to examine them adequately. It is this lacuna in the empirical research that this chapter will address.

In Chapters 1 to 3, it was suggested that there may be cultural codes governing the appropriate depiction of families in photographs. Bearing in mind Goffman's (1971) claim that it can be as important to represent oneself as possessing a certain quality as to actually possess that quality, no claims will be made regarding what 'actually' happens in families on the basis of archival data, but rather, a claim will be made regarding how families *choose* to portray themselves.

Numerous specific claims have been made regarding the manifest content of photographs, and these have been discussed in Chapters 1 to 3. Each has been embodied in one of the theoretical propositions introduced in Chapter 1 and developed in successive chapters. The claim that cultural codes influence how families choose to represent themselves is discussed in Proposition One, where I suggested that if the information available in a family photograph is to be recognisable by all individuals who have access to the same cultural codes, then the manifest content must be codified, i.e. the depiction of family roles in family photographic collections must be subject to some identifiable regularities. Proposition 4 asserts that family photographs are vehicles of identity, and that analysis of the manifest content will yield information regarding what identities are made available to family members in by their photographs. More specific claims regarding the content of family photographs have been discussed in Propositions 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and are expressed as hypotheses as follows (the proposition to which each statement relates is included in brackets):

1. The salience of time as a theme in photographic meaning will be reflected by a high frequency of photographs depicting passage of time, such as developmental milestones and rites of passage. (P2)
2. There will be more photographs taken at times of life cycle transitions (P2)
3. There will be more photographs containing nuclear family members and close kin than of extended family members and non-relatives. (P5)
4. Children will appear more often with nuclear family members and close kin than with extended family members and non-relatives (P5)

5. A high proportion of photographs will be of rituals and ceremonials. (P5)
6. The spatial behaviour of family members will be intimate. (P5)
7. A high proportion of photographs will be taken in or around the family home. (P5)
8. A high proportion of photographs will display positive affect. (P 5)
9. There will be few, if any, photographs of inappropriate occasions such as sexual activity, birth, death, occasions where negative affect predominates, or personal hygiene activities. (P6)
10. There will be more candid photographs than posed photographs (P6), and more photographs taken by amateur photographers than by professional photographers.
11. The setting for photographs taken in the home will be primarily in public areas, i.e. garden and living rooms, and seldom in more private areas, such as kitchen, bedroom and bathroom. (P6)
12. If a distinction can be drawn between family roles, then that distinction will be reflected in the events in which family members are portrayed as participating, in the spatial relationship of family members, and in the postures assumed by family members. Interpreting Minuchin's (1974) spatial metaphor literally, an analysis of the spatial relationships of family members in photographs should yield normative data illustrating symmetry in spouse subsystems, with power lying with the parents in parental subsystems, and younger children seeking out older children in the sibling subsystems. (P5)
13. Fewer photographs will be taken at later stages in the life cycle (P2).

Method

Recruitment

I recruited for this study by word of mouth, and by posting advertisements around the university. Advertisements, in the form of 'letters to the Editor' were also placed in two local newspapers; one in an industrial town in the North of England, and another in a market town in the Irish midlands.

A total of 13 families was recruited. Of the initial 13, three families dropped out during the study: one at the outset due to other commitments, and two at the data analysis stage due to their reluctance to allow me access to the entire collection (they only wished to show me a sample of their 'best' or 'favourite' photographs). The initial criteria for participation were that all the children in the family were living at home for the entire period covered by the photographs which I examined, that there should be at least two children in the family, and that there should be a continuous photographic record of the family

(i.e. families who had used ciné cameras, slides and videos during part of their life were excluded). However, it proved to be difficult to find families who conformed to all these criteria who were willing to allow access to their photograph collection, especially given that someone generally needed to be available for several hours initially while I familiarised myself with the collection. In the end, I accepted any family which was willing to grant me access to their collection, with the caveat that families containing a professional photographer or a keen hobbyist were also excluded, to ensure that only families containing 'snappers' comprised the sample. The composition of each family is illustrated in Table 7.1. (Family names have been replaced by pseudonyms).

Family	Number of children	Number of children still at home	Number of years covered by photographs	Total number of photographs
Bates	2	0	30	383
Cronin	4	1	29	938
Dannenberg	1	1	4	756
Dean	2	0	35	394
Johnson	2	1	25	325
Lynch	2	2	17	3102
Powell	2	2	5	974
Rees-Burke	2	2	16	667
Richards	3	3	22	1251
Ryan	3	3	17	391
				9181

Table 7.1: Composition of families and photographic collections

Procedure

Initial contact and arrival in household. After my initial contact with family members, where I introduced my study to participants, and established approximate frequency of photo-taking, who took the photographs, who maintained the collection, and what format the collection was maintained in, I arranged to visit the participants in their homes to catalogue their family albums. I had one point of contact in each family; this was usually the 'curator' of the family album.

Family tree. On my arrival at the participants' homes, the first stage of the procedure consisted of sketching a family tree and life line for each family. Some families had prepared this in advance; others did it in my presence. The family tree was drawn on an A3 page, and covered 3 generations: children in the participating family and their first cousins, parents and parents' siblings, and grandparents. Members of the family who were considered special or who

had played a role of surrogate parent, uncle or aunt, cousin or child were also included. The family tree served several functions: it enabled me to familiarise myself with the family and establish rapport with my informant; it also made it easier for me to establish whether there had been any additions or departures from the family, for example, as a result of death, divorce, remarriage, or estrangement. Dates of birth, marriages and deaths were also included in the family tree, which generally took about 10 minutes to complete.

Family lifeline. The next stage consisted of the creation of a family 'lifeline' by each informant. This traced significant events in the family life cycle, from the date of the parents' first meeting to the present. Informants were prompted with a set of categories under which to generate events, to ensure completeness. These categories were: parents' employment, births, marriages and deaths, children's education, ceremonies (e.g. First Communion), house moves, holidays, achievements, and 'low points', and informants were asked to generate these dates for all members of the family. The life line assisted me in dating each photograph, and also provided a list of significant events in the family's life cycle against which I could plot frequency of photo-taking.

Introduction to the collection. The next phase involved my informant orienting me in the family collection. I requested to see photographs from the parents' wedding onwards (if this was feasible). I asked what organising principles (if any) were used to maintain the collection (e.g. chronological order, similar events together, separate albums for each child, etc.), established an approximate chronological order in which to study the photos, and spent approximately 10 minutes showing the informant the kind of information I would be extracting from each photograph. I also asked to see at least one photo of each family member to establish what they looked like.

The behaviour of each informant as I actually catalogued their collection (an activity which could be seen as intrusive and rather threatening) is described in each family vignette (see below).

Cataloguing. Data from each photograph were entered directly into a computer database. I worked through the first few photographs with the informants present, and then continued alone. With permission (and indeed, encouragement!) from my informants, I reorganised batches of photographs in chronological order, to facilitate cataloguing. I consulted my informants for each photograph which I was unable to code in any particular category, though these requests became fewer and fewer as I became familiar with the appearance of each family member at different ages, and also started to recognise other

details which facilitated coding, such as which house the photograph was taken in, what kind of car the family owned at different stages, apparel for various key events, such as weddings of a close relative, and locations of holidays, etc.

Coding scheme

The research questions described above required data regarding who was in the photograph, when the photograph was taken, where the photograph was taken, the event depicted, the spatial relationship of members in the photograph, the affective tone of members in the photograph, the posture of members in the photograph, the style of the photograph and whether the photograph taken by a professional or an amateur photographer. Table 7.2 illustrates which hypothesis each category of data relates to.

Hypothesis	Data category
1. The salience of time as a theme in photographic meaning will be reflected by a high frequency of photographs depicting passage of time, e.g. developmental milestones and rites of passage.	Event
2. There will be more photographs taken at times of life cycle transitions.	Life cycle
3. There will be more photographs containing nuclear family members and close kin than of extended family members and non-relatives.	Who
4. Children will appear more often with nuclear family members and close kin than with extended family members and non-relatives.	Who
5. A high proportion of photographs will be of rituals and ceremonials.	Event
6. The spatial behaviour of family members will be intimate.	Spatial
7. A high proportion of photographs will be taken in or around the family home.	Location
8. A high proportion of photographs will display positive affect.	Affect
9. There will be few, if any, photographs of inappropriate occasions such as funerals, sexual activity, bathing and personal hygiene activities, giving birth, or occasions where negative affect predominates.	Event
10. There will be more candid photographs than posed photographs, and there will be more photographs taken by amateur photographers than by professional photographers.	Style Photographer
11. The setting for photographs taken in the home will be primarily in public areas, i.e. garden and living rooms, and seldom in more private areas, such as kitchen, bedroom and bathroom.	Location
12. If a distinction can be drawn between family roles, then that distinction will be reflected in the events in which family members are portrayed as participating, in the spatial relationship of family members, and in the postures assumed by family members.	Spatial Posture
13. Fewer photographs will be taken at later stages in the life cycle.	Life cycle

Table 7.2: Hypotheses and relevant data categories

These 9 categories were operationalised as follows:

1. Who is in the photograph? People in the photograph were initially coded according to their relationship to the family, e.g. 'paternal grandmother', 'maternal first cousin' etc. However, this coding was found to be too fine, as trivially small frequencies were being returned for many of the categories, and possible combinations had too many degrees of freedom to allow meaningful analysis. Therefore, some categories were aggregated at the data reduction stage, resulting in the following categories: Child 1, Child 2, Child 3, Child 4, Mother,

Father, Significant other (relatives and friends), and Other (strangers and acquaintances).

2. When was the photograph taken? Initially, the exact date was recorded (i.e. day, month and year). At the data reduction stage, to facilitate comparison between families, the photograph dates were coded by year, which were subsequently standardised to 'years after birth of first child', as illustrated in Table 7.3.

Year of family life	Year
First years of marriage	0
1st child born	1
1 year after 1st child	2
⋮	⋮
35 years after 1st child	36

Table 7.3: Coding of date of photograph

3. What event is depicted in the photograph? At the data collection stage, events were recorded in as much detail as possible. As it would have been impossible to ask the informant what each photo depicted, the coding of events where a caption was not present was necessarily subjective. Where photographs were part of an obvious series (e.g. a film's worth), and were of a particular event, e.g. a holiday, they were coded as that event. Photographs which were not part of a series were coded using the event which seemed to me to be most salient in the photograph. Several of the families were sent a copy of the catalogue, and made amendments accordingly. Few of these amendments were in the event category; they were mainly dates, which were occasionally several months out, and people, where the photograph contained distant relatives or friends who rarely appeared in the photographs.

At the data reduction stage, the events were reduced to a smaller number of categories which emerged from the initial rich descriptions. These codes are listed in Table 7.4. The finer codes embodied in these meta-codes can be seen in Appendix 6.

Event	Included
Holiday/outing	Honeymoon
Sport and recreation	Picnic
	Hobby
	Playing
	Reading
	Sunbathing
	Watching television
Anniversary/birthday	
Rite of passage	Christening
	Confirmation
	First Communion
	Graduation
	First day at school
	Wedding
Seasonal festival/event	Guy Fawke's
	Christmas
	St. Patrick's Day
	Mother's Day/Father's Day
	Easter
	Hallowe'en
	New Year
	Valentine's Day
Visit	Visiting friends or relatives
Care of new baby	Bathing baby
	Breast feeding
	Changing nappy
Performance/achievement	Competition
	Prize giving
Work/school	Domestic work
	School events which weren't classified as performance/achievement
Personal hygiene	In bath
	On toilet
Eating/drinking	
Party	Evening function
	Dinner party
Landscape/nature	Snow
	Picking flowers
In bed	
Self presentation	Dressed up
	Fancy dress
	New haircut
	Making faces
Developmental milestone	First tooth
	First smile
	First step
Pregnancy/giving birth	
Presents	Presents under Christmas tree
	Specific present, e.g. new bicycle
Asleep	In bed or elsewhere
Home improvements	Decorating
Photography session	School or passport photo
Community event	Charity event
Nudity	Children
	Adults

Table 7.4: Events depicted in photographs

Event	Included
Pet	All animals classified by family as a pet, including goats, sheep
Mess	Children with food smeared on faces Someone covered in mud after sports
Kissing	
Injury	
Memento mori	Photograph of building which was about to be torn down Prayer cards (sent out after funerals)
Group photo	Any group not classified under other headings
Celebrity	Someone locally, nationally or internationally 'famous'.

Table 7.4 (continued): Events depicted in photographs

4. What is the spatial relationship of family members in photographs? The relative positions of family members in photographs were recorded on blank matrices (see figure 7.1). Each family member was represented by a circle. The difficulty of representing the location of each family member in the three dimensions which are captured on a photograph by a two dimensional sketch was overcome by treating the rows of the matrix as the picture plane, i.e. the bottom row was the foreground, the next row the mid-foreground, the next mid-background and the top, background.

The physical relation of each family member in the photograph was represented by arrows indicating the direction of touching, a slash indicating close enough to touch, but not touching (i.e. people standing within an arm's length of each other) and a double slash indicating not close enough to touch.

Figure 7.1 illustrates a sample coded photograph: Jon is behind Jill, is within arm's length of her, and is touching her. Jill is sitting down, and Jon is standing.

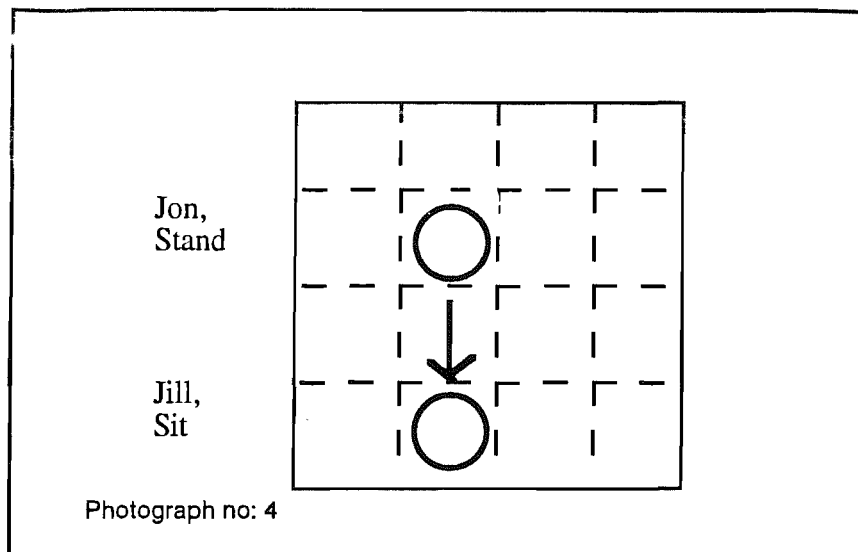


Fig. 7.1: Coding of spatial relationships between subjects in photograph

5. Where was the photograph taken? Location of the photograph was initially coded in as much detail as possible, and then re-coded at the data reduction stage into 'indoors at home' (room specified where possible), 'outdoors at home' (front doorstep or garden), 'away from home' (local or non-local), 'school', 'work' or 'photographic studio'. Photographs taken in a 'home away from home', e.g. inside a hotel room, chalet or caravan where the geographical location is not evident were also coded as 'home'. This decision was made on the basis that behaviour in a home base is likely to be far more similar to behaviour at home, in that it is occurring in private, than behaviour on, for instance, a beach.

6. What is the style of the photograph? The style of the photo was classified as 'posed', 'candid', 'mixed' or 'not applicable'. A posed photograph was one where all the subjects in the photograph were looking at the camera. Though this does not capture the range of 'posing' from being aware of the presence of a camera just before the photograph is taken through to the creation of an elaborately constructed pose, these distinctions could not be made on the basis of the photograph alone. Photographs which were taken in situations where more than one camera was present, so that gaze was directed towards a different camera, were still coded as posed. This only occurred in group wedding photographs.

A 'candid' photograph was one in which the subjects did not *appear* to be aware of the presence of the camera. (Therefore, a photograph of someone who was aware of the camera's presence, but who was studiously ignoring it, was also coded as 'candid'). The term 'candid' emerged from my interviews with

amateur photographers, who frequently referred to the television programme, 'Candid Camera' to denote a 'sneaked', 'stolen' or 'unposed' photograph.

'Mixed' denotes that some people in the photograph appeared to be aware of the presence of the camera, whereas others were not. This occurred, for example, in photographs where there was a 'main' subject in the foreground, and also people in the background.

'Not applicable' was used where the subject matter was inanimate.

7. What postures do family members assume in the photograph? The posture of each family member in the photograph was coded as standing, sitting, kneeling, lying, or being held in arms or on someone's lap.

8. By whom was the photograph taken? Photographs were coded as having been taken by a professional photographer (this included people who considered themselves 'serious' amateurs who took photographs as a hobby, of which there were very few, as I had explicitly requested that the main photographer in the family should not be a keen photographer) or an amateur photographer: a self-designated 'snapper'. The type of photographer was relatively easy to establish - many of the photographs taken by professionals were in their original wrapping or cardboard frame, and were of a distinctive size and paper quality.

9. What is the affective tone of family photographs? The affective *appearance* of each family member was coded as positive, negative or neutral. A smiling family member, or one who seemed to be deliberately pulling a silly face, was coded as 'positive', a frowning or crying family member was coded as 'negative', and all other expressions were coded as neutral. Expression was only coded in posed photographs, as expressions in candid photographs are too dynamic to code in this way.

An introduction to the families

Given the small size of the sample, and the exploratory nature of this study, and also given Billig's (1994) castigation of 'depopulated psychological texts', wherein the individual research participants are reduced to nameless, faceless 'subjects', I felt that a description of each family, including how I conducted the research in each household, would be more useful than trying to characterise the families in more general terms. Names have been replaced by pseudonyms and other identifying information has been removed, or substituted with information which is similar in form, though not in substance (e.g. the nature of the hobbies in which families were involved has been changed, though not

the extent of their involvement in them). Similarly, home towns of a similar size and character have been substituted for the actual town of residence of each family.

It is not without some trepidation that I embarked on these vignettes. Inevitably, I describe other families by comparing them to my own. Therefore, there was a danger that a description of a family very different from my own would emerge as a list of implicit differences, which are just a step away from value judgements. Furthermore, were I a sociologist, I might well attempt to describe these similarities and differences in terms of class distinctions. However, class is not an issue I am comfortable with, particularly as my own culture, and therefore, class system, is substantially different from the one in which the families I was working with live. Therefore, I have deliberately bracketed the idea of 'class' as a descriptive device in favour of describing the families as they appeared to me. The first vignette is of my own family (real names included with their permission), and from this I hope the reader who may wish to draw class based inferences may do so.

I attempted to address the issue of bias in three ways. Firstly, the very act of writing vignettes enabled me to think about the assumptions and biases which I was bringing to each household. Secondly, I have also included a vignette of my own family, which enabled me to make explicit my own 'family constructs'. Finally, I have endeavoured to describe each family by applying a predefined set of dimensions to all of them, though I have included other material which I feel gives a 'flavour' of that family.

Bates. The Bates family were recruited through mutual friends. They live in a university town in the south of England. Marianne Bates is a chartered accountant, and Philip, her husband, is a lawyer. Their family tree and lifelines are illustrated in Figure 7.2 and 7.3 respectively.

I visited the Bates on two successive mornings, and worked in their dining room. Both were on holiday, and were doing some interior decorating.

My visit to the Bates was the least productive of all my family visits. I found it difficult to form a clear picture of their life cycle, even after compiling the life line and family tree. Clarifying who was in the photographs, and the events and locations, was also difficult, as both Marianne and Philip were up ladders, hanging wall-paper, etc., and were quite brusque when disturbed. In general, I felt tolerated rather than welcomed. To be fair, I felt that Philip had forgotten I was coming on my first morning - he came downstairs tying his dressing-gown, and looked first startled, and then disgruntled, when he saw me. Until then, Marianne had been pleasant enough, though distant, to me. However, they commenced bickering once Philip arrived in the kitchen, and

continued to do so sporadically throughout both mornings, closing the kitchen door once their voices started to rise. I was, on the whole, relieved to leave.

The collection, which is managed by Marianne, had quite substantial gaps in it, and though she assured me that that was all the photographs they had, I did wonder whether some had been either kept from me, or destroyed. Though her daughters no longer live at home, Marianne was also convinced that they had not removed any of the photographs.

The two main themes of the photograph collection was the girls' sporting prowess, and the family's holiday home. Philip's hobby - classic cars - was also well represented in the photo collection.

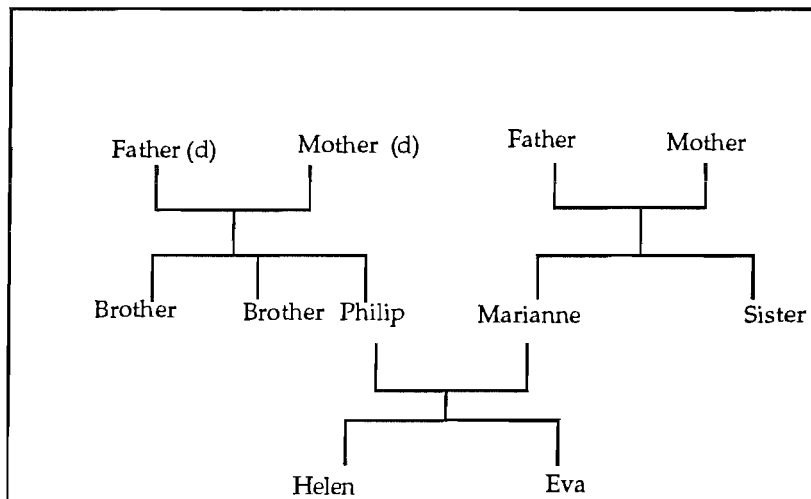


Fig. 7.2: Bates family tree

Date	Event
0	Married
1	Helen born
3	Eva born
5	Helen starts school
7	Eva starts school
18	Move to new house
20	Paternal grandfather dies
21	Eva to college
22	Paternal grandmother dies
25	Eva's graduation
28	Maternal grandmother 80th birthday celebration
29	Helen to college
32	Maternal grandparents golden wedding celebration
33	Helen's graduation

Fig. 7.3: Bates lifeline

Cronin. My family consists of 6 members (7 if one includes Cleo, the dog) (See figure 7.4). My mother, Geraldine, is a market research supervisor, and Jerry, my father, is the principal of a secondary school. They also both work as

counsellors for a charitable organisation funded by the Catholic church. The family home is on the outskirts of a large market town in the Irish midlands, and has been the family home since my parents' second year of marriage. Of the four children (myself, aged 26), Conor and Diarmuid (twins, aged 22), only 1, Dearbhla (aged 15), is still living at home.

The photographer, and curator of the family photo collection is Geraldine. The collection is about as disorganised as a collection could possibly be - all the photographs, apart from approximately 150 which are in albums, are loose in a cardboard box. Few, if any, are captioned. To facilitate my research, my brothers returned photographs, which they had 'borrowed' from the collection when they left home.

The main themes running through our photograph collection are family gatherings, sports, a very successful school orchestra in which my brothers played, and family holidays (all but two of which were in Ireland). 'The Family' is the central organising feature of the Cronins, and shows of family solidarity on special occasions, such as Christmas, which often precipitated conflict when we were younger, are now accepted, or at least tolerated, by the Cronin children.

The photographs were classified by me during a visit home. I knew the dates, events and locations of most of them - those which I did not know were labelled in the evening by Geraldine.

I found the process of classifying my own family photographs aroused stronger emotions in me than I had expected. I felt sorry for the five year old Órla who had to cope with what she perceived as the sudden change from being apple of her two parents' and three grandparents' eyes to being 'piggy in the middle' between two boisterous twin boys who occupied her parents' laps! I was also intrigued by the fact that some of the most glorious holidays I remember had few photographs taken, whereas *the* big one - the month long trip to France en famille, was painstakingly documented, and remembered by all members of the family bar my mother as the holiday from hell!

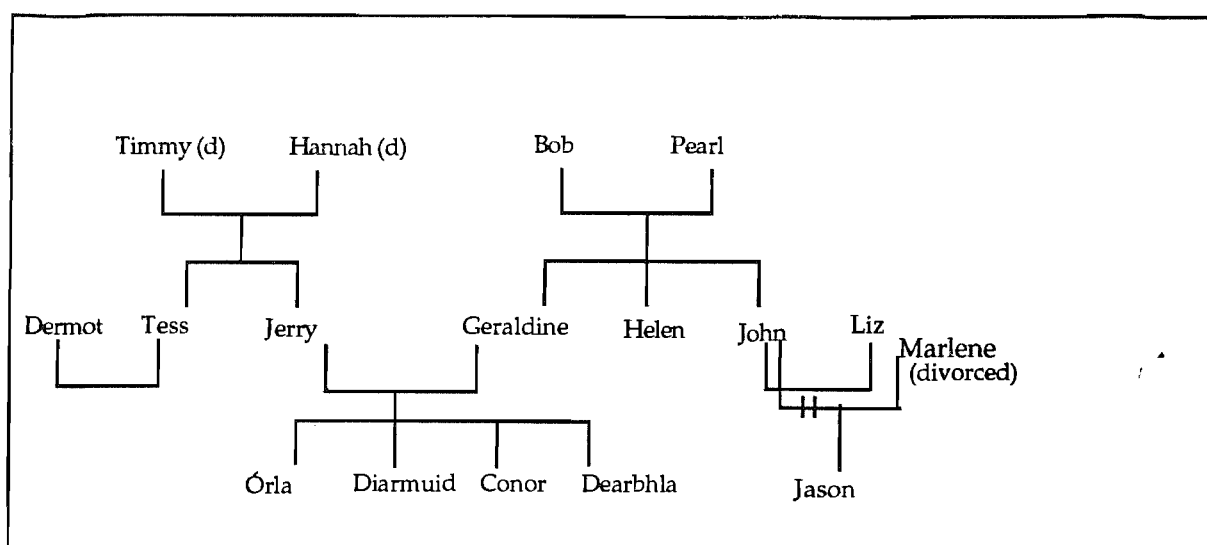


Fig. 7.4: Cronin family tree.

Date	Event
0	Married
1	Órla born
3	Moved to current house
5	Diarmuid and Conor born
7	Órla starts school
10	Diarmuid and Conor start school
12	Dearbhla born
16	Geraldine starts small business
17	Dearbhla starts school
18	Family almost moves to Dublin
19	Órla leaves home
24	Diarmuid and Conor leave home Jerry starts new job

Fig. 7.5: Cronin lifeline

Dannenbergs. My contact with the Dannenbergs was with Becky, who telephoned me after seeing my advertisement at the university where she is a research student. Becky is Australian, and she met her English husband, James, while they were both on a student exchange visit to Europe while they were undergraduates. They are a young family (see Figs. 7.6 and 7.7), and Becky felt they might be suitable candidates given the avidity with which they have been photographing their baby daughter, Zoë. Becky also felt her experience as an immigrant, which necessitated her bringing only her most precious possessions and photographs to her new home in England, might also be of interest.

While compiling the lifeline, Becky preferred not to tell me anything about her husband, other than that he was an employee of the university, as 'he was 'a very private person', who had been apprehensive at the thought of a stranger rummaging through their photographs. Becky and James have one

good automatic camera, and share the photo taking. Becky is the curator of their album. Becky and James have just bought their first house, and with Becky a full time student, and James a contract researcher, finances are tight, but not unbearably so. They feel themselves to be at the beginning of their careers, and therefore foresee several household moves dictated by their careers for the next few years.

I spent my visit to the Dannenbergs in the sitting room (surrounded by Zoë's toys), while Becky studied in the dining room and Zoë was at nursery. On the second day, Becky took Zoë to a mother and baby group, and left me working in the house alone. I did not meet James. Becky was extremely chatty, and invited me to have lunch with her on each of the two days I spent at the Dannenberg's home.

All the Dannenberg's photographs were either in albums (in chronological order) or in their individual packets, which were labelled and dated.

There was one particular album (the 'red' album) which Becky warned me not to look at if I was squeamish, but said I was quite welcome to look at it if I wished. This album turned out to be a 'blow by blow' chronicle of Zoë's birth (a home water birth) taken by the trainee midwife who accompanied the midwife (this was a wonderful and very moving, though rather graphic, set of photographs). Becky and I discussed these over lunch; she commented that these photographs look positively serene in comparison with the noise and pain characterising the occasion. She also commented that these, like many family photographs, have formed her memory of the birth of Zoë, and have replaced the memories of a long and painful labour.

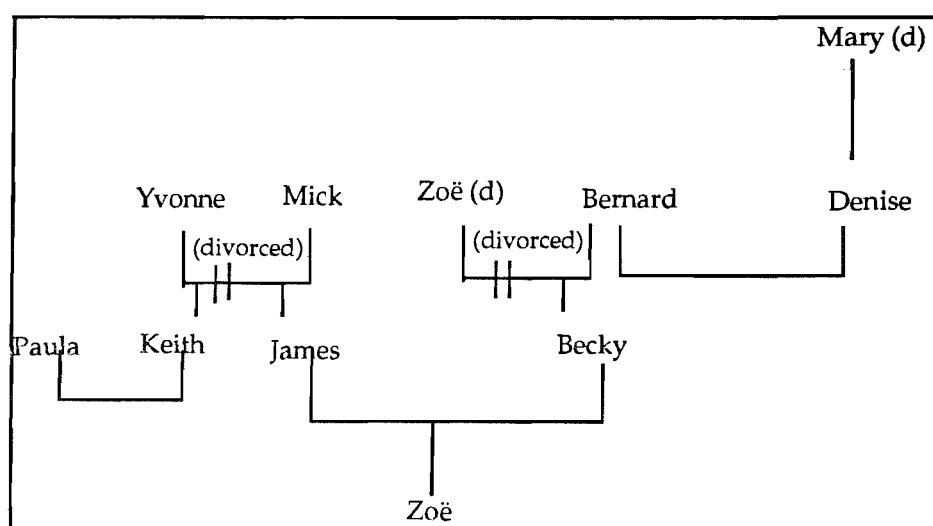


Fig. 7.6: Dannenberg family tree

Date	Event
0	Becky and James move in together James graduates
1	Becky graduates. Becky and James move house. Zoë born August.
2	Becky and James get married in Australia Becky starts PhD.

Fig. 7.7: Dannenberg lifeline

Dean. The Deans were family friends, living in the South of England. Tony is a psychologist, and Elizabeth an artist. They have two children, neither of whom are still living at home. Their son, Michael, is living in the U.S., where he works for a large computing firm, and their daughter, Maggie, is an academic working in the midlands.

The Deans had a voluminous family photograph collection, as they had inherited photographs from both sides of the family. However, for the purposes of this study, only photographs taken by the Deans themselves, since marriage, were examined.

Recent photographs were kept in their packets, in chronological order. Earlier photographs were loose in a box. The balance of their collection was top-heavy towards later stages in the life cycle, as the Deans were particularly strapped for cash early in their married life, and could neither afford a camera nor, when they did buy a camera, developing costs. Therefore, many of the earlier photographs were taken by friends, or were school photographs taken by professionals. Most of the photographs were of holidays and the children playing. As they were somewhat estranged from Tony's side of the family early in their married life, there were fewer photographs of the extended family than in other families' collections. As the Deans lived quite a distance away from my home, they permitted me to take their photographs home with me once the initial orientation was complete, and return them once I had finished.

In some ways, the Dean family were the most personally difficult for me to work with, in that I knew them socially, and therefore felt somewhat uncomfortable with my role as researcher where they were concerned. Also, I knew Tony far better than Elizabeth, and therefore was concerned that though I was invited by him on behalf of the whole family to use their collection as data, it was possible that the other family members, particularly Elizabeth, felt that they could not refuse. This was a general issue regarding family members' consent: I could never be absolutely sure that my contact person in the family had not leaned unduly on other family members to take part.

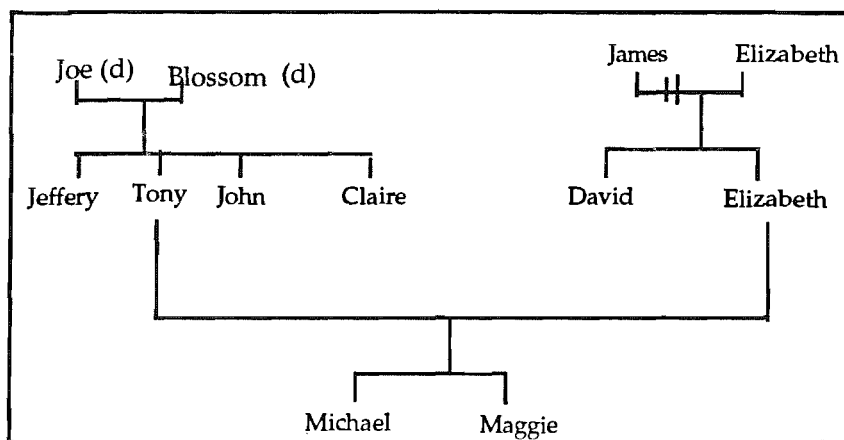


Fig. 7.8: Dean family tree

Date	Event
0	Tony and Elizabeth marry
1	Michael born
3	Maggie born
4	Tony starts new job
5	Tony starts new job
10	Tony starts new job - family move
12	Tony starts new job
14	Tony's father dies
	Elizabeth's mother divorces
	Elizabeth's mother moves in with the Deans
16	Family move house
	Tony starts new job
25	Family move house
28	Elizabeth becomes full time artist
32	Move house
33	Tony's mother dies
34	Tony retires

Fig. 7.9: Dean lifeline

Johnson. The Johnson family (see Figure 7.10) currently consists of Mary (a nurse), Adam (still living at home) and Ann (who moved out in the past year to work as a warden in sheltered housing for the elderly). Adam is studying computer science at a university nearby. Mary, and Phil, the children's father, were divorced when Ann was 12. Phil is no longer very involved with the family, though according to Mary the divorce was amicable, and he stayed in touch with the children as they were growing up.

Mary was recruited to this research by a mutual friend. Mary's work has brought her into contact with researchers in the past, and she has a policy of helping struggling young PhD students, by participating in their research whenever possible.

Mary claimed, when filling in the family lifeline, that they were a very boring family. Indeed, hobbies, holidays, outings, etc. were far more sparsely represented in their photograph collection than in any of the other collections I

studied, and the Johnsons are still living in the home Phil and Mary bought when they got married. However, the Johnsons had a very rich and interesting emotional life. Mary, as she passed through the dining room where I was based, and answered questions concerning dates and events, told me in detail of her father's remarriage, and the rift it caused in the family, culminating in a somewhat comical (according to Mary) weekend where Mary was shuttling between her father's house and her own, while entertaining her sister and pretending to each faction that she was not in contact with the other!

The impression I got from speaking with Mary and examining the photographs was that Mary and her son had a very intense relationship. For example, Mary made veiled references to the fact that Ann's moving out was 'none to soon', and her honest admission that Adam was her favourite. She felt that mothers and sons were far more likely to be close than mothers and daughters. I felt that photographs of Adam heavily outnumbered those of Ann (in this the Johnsons differed from most of the families I visited, in that they didn't seem to make the conscious effort made by other families to take equal numbers of photographs of each child on particular occasions). Indeed, for a while, I assumed that Adam was the eldest child, as there were quite substantial gaps in the album where Ann didn't appear at all.

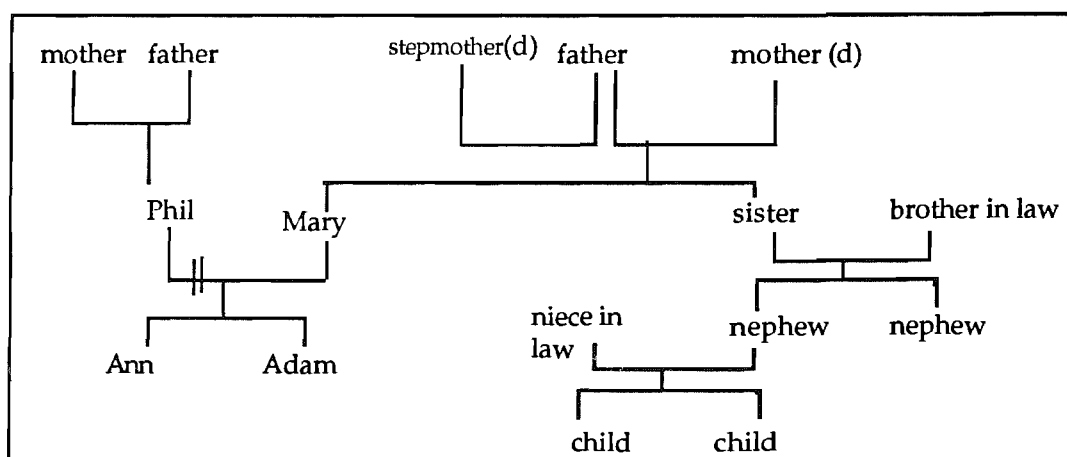


Fig. 7.10: Johnson family tree

Date	Event
0	Married
1	Ann born
4	Adam born
	Moved to present house
9	Mary back to work
12	Mary's mother died
13	Mary's father remarried
17	Ann enrolled Girl Guides
18	Stepmother died
19	Divorced
24	Adam to university

Fig. 7.11: Johnson lifeline

Lynch. The Lynch family were without a doubt the most committed family to the project. They responded to an advertisement placed by me in a local newspaper. Their collection finally totalled 3102 photographs. They explicitly took their photographs to have a documentary record of their family life. They wished to organise them in order to be able to pass them on to their sons, Mike and Harry. (They had no photographs of their own childhood, and regretted this). Susan is a part time secretary, and a part time factory worker. She was born and brought up two doors down from the terraced house in which they're living, and has lived in her home town all her life. Her mother still lives in her old home. Neil comes from a different town, and they met while he was working in Susan's home town. He has worked his way up from being a shop floor worker to being a manager in the heavy engineering company for which he works.

I was working in the Lynches' sitting room, primarily at weekends, and their normal family life ebbed and flowed around me. I distinctly felt after the first day or so that they forgot I was there - I based this feeling on the general volume of their interaction (they rapidly dropped the 'hush, Órla's working!'), and also on the fact that the bickering one would expect to find in any family continued unabated around me. The Lynches were concerned that I didn't work too hard, and stopped me every couple of hours for coffee, when I joined them and chatted for a while. We mainly talked about the children, and about the photographs. I was also given a door key, as the second and third days on which I visited them were weekdays, when both Neil and Susan were at work. I felt privileged to have been welcomed into a family so thoroughly; Neil and Susan were garrulous, and I learned much about the family.

Susan and Neil were adamant that their entire life revolved around their children and their children's education. This also became clear to me as I got to know the family better: throughout the family life cycle, money was in extremely short supply, but money was always set aside for music lessons, for

sports equipment, and for a trip to holiday camp every year. Of the 3102 photos I looked at, only in the 1994 batch were there any photographs of Neil and Susan out without their children accompanying them - this was a weekend away, their first since they were married.

Susan and Neil regaled me with the story of their wedding with much laughter: they became engaged three weeks after they met, and were married 4 months later, when Susan was pregnant with Mike. A week before the wedding, Neil got cold feet and called everything off. Everything was 'called back on' a few days before the wedding, by which time many of the wedding presents had been sent back and the guests had been advised not to come. Hence, their wedding was a good deal smaller than anticipated! This story appeared to be an oft told tale, and one which, judging from Mike and Harry's reaction, they had heard many times and were thoroughly bored with.

One distinctive feature of the Lynches' household was Neil's insistence on the importance of touching. He felt that his somewhat harsh upbringing had callused him, and he wished to prevent this affecting his sons. He felt that he had been quite successful in teaching his sons to show affection physically, and indeed, compared with my own brothers, the Lynch brothers seem to be much more willing to be seen with their parents (not that they have much choice, as both Neil and Susan are heavily involved in many of their children's activities, e.g. youth club leaders, school governors, etc.), and to be hugged by them, though, as Susan said, they're getting to the age now where they're inclined to swat their parents away if they demand too many hugs!

Many of the photographs in the Lynch collection were of achievements. Whether this is because their children were particularly successful, or whether this was a product of careful documenting of particular events is hard to say. It was noticeable, though, that Mike (who is currently head boy at his school) was particularly highly thought of by his parents - he is academically successful, studious, musical and also very talented at sports. Harry, on the other hand, hangs out with a rather more wild crowd than Mike, and seemed to get into more fixes as a child, such as broken bones, fights, trouble at school, etc. I found myself beginning to feel sorry for him, e.g. when one whole week's worth of photographs at holiday camp consisted of Mike's winning, or being in the process of winning, a talent competition, and Harry pulling faces and striking comic poses in the photographs.

Interestingly, during a particular wrangle which was happening around me, where Harry got a ticking off about being careless with his belongings, Susan was gently reprimanded by Neil for always picking on Harry. I was intrigued to see whether this, and other comments and incidents which I felt reflected a certain amount of strain in the relationship between Susan and

Harry would manifest itself in physical representation of their relationship in the photographs.

The Lynches' reason for taking part in this research was that it would be an opportunity to get their photo collection sorted out so that the boys would have a complete record of their lives. They had attempted this, to a certain extent, when they compiled 'this is your life' books for Mike and Harry for their 10th birthdays, which contained photographs for each year of their lives, with captions such as: 'This was my first day at school - I had a great time and didn't want to come home'; 'this is my first birthday - look at all my lovely presents'.

I felt a little uncomfortable with the Lynches at first, as I was afraid they'd see me as 'a Psychologist up from the South'. They told me quite early on that they'd never been further than a hundred miles from home, and one of the first pieces of information revealed by Neil and Susan was that Susan had gone to the other side of the country to do further professional training, but missed home so much that she dropped out of the course. Much was also made of Neil's work related qualification, obtained recently by part-time study. Though they hadn't appeared to be in awe of me at all, they did tell me towards the end of my stay with them that they had been afraid I'd turn up in a suit with a briefcase, and had thought carefully about responding to my advertisement, but had been reassured by 'how down to earth I sounded on the phone'. (I took this as a compliment!).

Neil and Susan worked hard with me on their photo collection: we established a system whereby I'd pile any uncaptioned or undated photographs to one side, and they would caption them in the evenings ready for me to catalogue the next day. I then sent them several drafts of the finished catalogue which they amended and returned.

I was particularly struck by the Lynches' carefully thought out approach to child-rearing. They seemed to talk a lot about strategies - when should the curfew be, what sort of behaviour was considered acceptable, etc., and also their effort to convey these consistently to the boys so that they couldn't 'play Mum off against Dad'. I was further struck by Harry and Mike's friendliness towards me, and their taking over of the coffee supply when their Mum and Dad were out. I had wondered whether they resented me looking through their baby photographs, but they seemed happy enough to have me there, though they weren't as free with background stories as Neil and Susan were. I did get some curious glances from the almost constant procession of friends and relations who seemed to use the house as a short cut from the front street to the back lane, and who usually stopped for a banter with Neil, or a glance at the ever-present sports programmes on their way through.

In the course of Neil's and Susan's conversations about the photographs, and about the events at which they were taken, Neil mentioned that the highlight of Mike and Harry's early childhood, for him, was when he was on strike for 13 weeks when Mike was 6 months old. He remembers this period as a glorious summer of walks in the park and generally getting to know his new son. This time to play with his infant son and 'be a proper, full-time father' was something he very much regretted missing out on when he was back at work and Harry was born. He suggested that this difference in the amount of time spent with each of the boys would be very salient in the photograph collection.

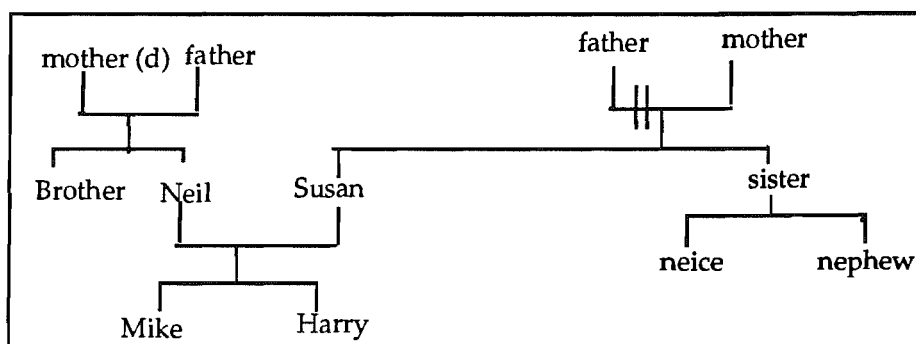


Fig. 7.12: Lynch family tree

Years after first child	Event
1	Neil and Susan meet and marry Mike born
3	Harry born
5	Mike's first day at school
7	Harry's first day at school
8	First family holiday
12	Move to new house Neil graduates course
13	Mike's first day at secondary school
15	First holiday abroad
17	Neil and Susan's first trip away alone

Fig. 7.13: Lynch lifeline

Powells. The Powells were recruited by word of mouth. Doug is a dentist, and Jenny, his wife, is an adult education lecturer. Though it was Doug who approached me, and with whom I liaised throughout the study, as we vaguely knew each other, it was his wife Jenny who was the curator of the photo collection. Jenny and Doug have two children: Matthew and Bernadette. The

Powells' collection was without a doubt the most organised collection I saw: every single one of their photos was in a numbered album, captioned and in chronological order. The first batch of photos I classified while baby-sitting for them. They showed me who each person in the family looked like, and then left me to my own devices (I had no queries for these photos, as they were so thoroughly captioned). The second batch was delivered to me at work, as the Powells lived some distance from me.

Many of the Powells' photographs were of religious events (Jenny is a practising Catholic). They are very involved with their extended family on both sides, spending Christmas in alternate years at the home of each set of grandparents, and holidaying with Doug's brother and sister in law. They live in a village not far from a large university town. I didn't get to know the Powells particularly well during my work with their collection: they provided me with family trees and life lines which they sketched methodically and without adding 'superfluous' information.

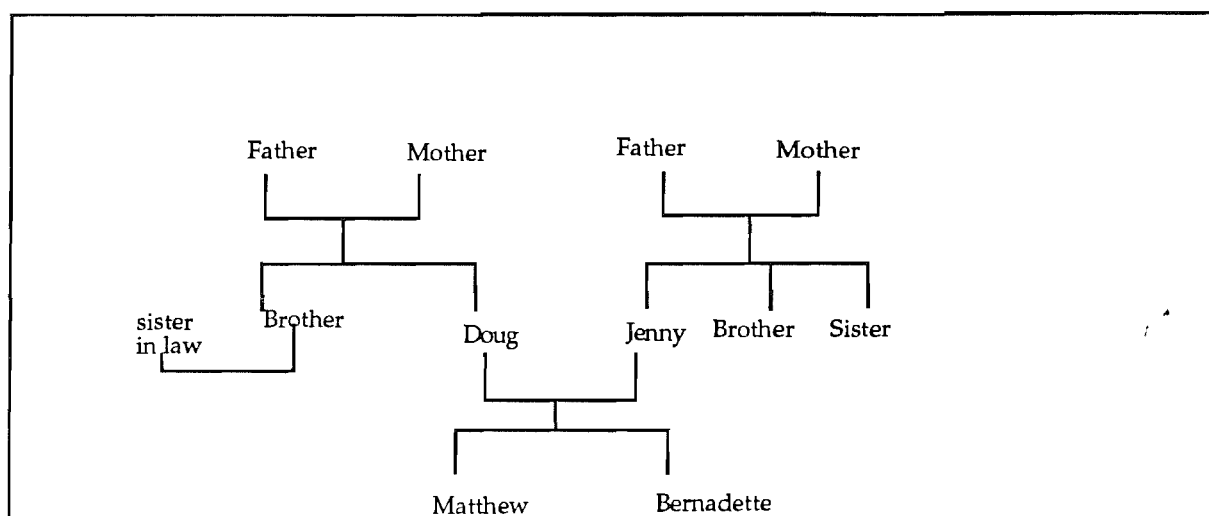


Fig. 7.14: Powell family tree

Date	Event
0	Married
	Jenny starts M.Sc.
0	Doug graduates
	Jenny graduates
	Doug's grandmother dies
1	Matthew born
2	Doug graduates
	Move house
3	Bernadette born
4	Doug starts new job
5	Doug graduates
	Matthew starts school
	Doug starts new job
	Move house
6	Jenny gives up job
	Buy and move into new house
7	Jenny starts new job
	Bernadette starts nursery
8	Bernadette starts school

Fig. 7.15: Powell lifeline.

Rees-Burke. My point of contact with the Rees-Burkes was Sara, to whom I was referred by her husband, who was introduced to me by a mutual friend. It is Sara who maintains the Rees-Burkes' photograph collection. This family is English, and was recruited through mutual friends. Emily, the daughter, was vaguely known to me before the study commenced. Sara was interested in my research, she said, as she had just completed a family therapy course. We spent some time over coffee on the second day discussing this course.

The Rees-Burke household comprised two parents and two children. (See Figure 7.16). Sara Rees-Burke is a clinical psychologist, and her husband, Geoffrey, runs an engineering business, in which Sara is a partner. Sara gave up her career when their first child was born, and has been a full-time homemaker ever since. They intend to remain indefinitely in their home at the edge of the Sussex Downs, in which they have lived for eight years. According to themselves, their life revolves around horse breeding, a hobby which Geoffrey has developed into his business, so work and leisure are very often intermingled. They've been through lean times while they were setting up the business, but now feel they've reached an even keel, though they still cannot often afford to indulge their other main passion, which is travel. (Geoffrey and Sara spent a year travelling in Africa when they were first married).

Their children, Emily and Peter, are described by their mother as shy children. Emily shares her father's passion for horses, and is showing promise in competitions. Peter is rather studious and musical, and has an active dislike

of riding (which I suspect his mother has shared on occasions; she certainly has become less involved with horses over the years, though she continues to support the other family members' endeavours, attending competitions, driving Emily to lessons, etc.).

There are two cameras in the household. One, Geoffrey's, is a particularly expensive model, which is necessary for his work. Sara's is an automatic 'Point and Shoot'.

When I visited their home, I was based in a loft conversion with a view of the downs which serves as a second sitting room for the family, and which is primarily used by Sara and Geoffrey. All the photographs which Sara felt constituted 'the collection' were in albums, and were roughly chronological - to the surprise of Sara, who, as the custodian of the collection, hadn't been particularly fussy about the order or theme of adjacent photographs, being primarily concerned with reducing several thousand photographs of varying quality to a more manageable collection when they moved house. There was also a box of unsorted 'rejects' containing about 200 photographs with the albums. These were left uncatalogued, as they consisted primarily of duplicates, and of photographs taken before Sara and Geoffrey's marriage.

After providing the lifeline (see Figure 7.17) and family tree, Sara left me to work by myself, dropping in every couple of hours or so with cups of coffee. I didn't meet any other members of the family during the data collection, apart from their extremely friendly cat, Tigger.

Sara told me more about the family over lunch than she did while she was compiling the family tree and lifeline. She told me a bit about family life and her role in it, which at times she felt was primarily as chauffeur. She missed working in her profession, but felt it was unfeasible to try and combine it with homemaking, especially given their relatively remote location. She described the family as 'doers', and said I'd probably find that most of the photographs would be of walks and picnics 'en masse' with aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents, as opposed to the more 'domestic', 'cute baby' type photographs which she felt might be more typical of other families' collections.

I very much liked Sara, and felt comfortable with her; I have found the other members of the family rather stern and quiet on occasions when I met them. Of all the families I met, it was the Rees-Burkes' lifestyle, if not the way they seemed to 'be' together as a family, which I felt most affinity towards. The photographs were indeed very 'outdoorsy', and made their life seem one long adventure (though as Sara compiled the family lifeline she commented on how uneventful their life had been). Looking through the collection, I was struck by the absence of typical 'proud parent' photographs. I also felt Peter to be a rather shadowy figure in the family, often looking quite solemn in the

background, while Emily, while she was younger, at least 'played to the camera'. Sara volunteered (a propos of our initial search for a photo of each family member in order to help me identify them) that Peter had been quite camera shy when he was younger.

I spent a day and half at the Rees-Burkes in all, and examined 667 photographs spanning 16 years.

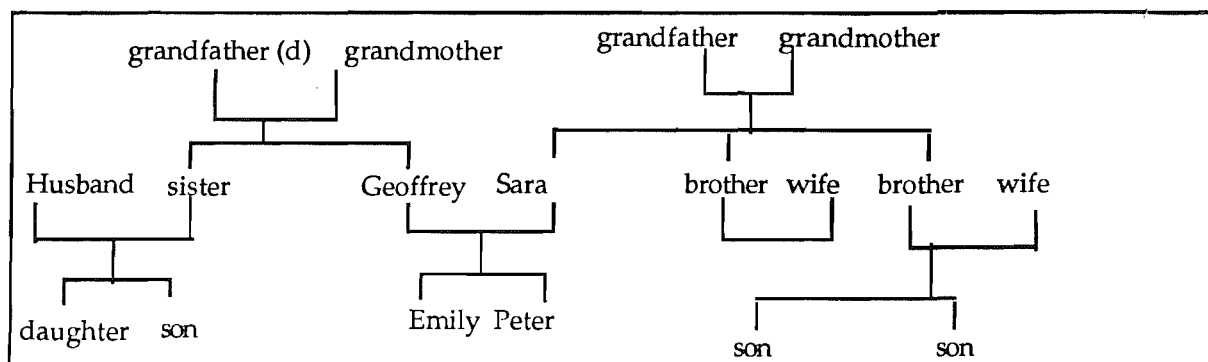


Fig. 7.16: Rees-Burke family tree

No. of years after 1st child's birth	Event
0	Sara and Geoffrey marry
0	Business set up
1	Emily born
3	Peter born
5	Geoffrey's grandfather dies
5	Emily starts school
6	Move to current house
7	Peter starts school
10	Geoffrey's father dies

Fig. 7.17: Rees-Burke lifeline

Richards. This family is the second family of Maria, the mother and curator of the album. Hope is her daughter from her first marriage to Zach, and Peter and Paul are her sons from her marriage to John (Figs. 7.18 and 7.19). They live in a small village in Hampshire.

Maria's family of origin owns a large sugar plantation in Mauritius, where they still live. Maria was educated in England. Maria and her family's links with the extended family have remained firm across both marriages; she and the children spend most summers in Mauritius, and her daughter is planning to go 'back' there when she leaves school. In particular, Maria stated that her father was a very strong influence on her and her children, and is seen as the patriarch of his family, both nuclear and extended. The Mauritian connection is one of the most salient themes in the family photograph

collection; a very large proportion of the photographs was taken in Mauritius, many of them on magnificent beaches. Both Zach and John are English, and Maria is in sporadic contact with Zach, though relations have been strained at times when she felt he wasn't taking an active enough part in the parenting of Hope. Their parting was mutual and amicable. John is a businessman, and Maria is doing a PhD, having worked at her profession for some 15 years.

Maria responded to one of my posters around the university. In the course of examining their voluminous photograph collection, I met John, Peter and Paul. Hope is away at boarding school at the moment. The daytime atmosphere at Maria's home was extremely studious, and therefore very productive. I had an open invitation to come as often and stay for as long as I wished. However, I tended to leave when the children arrived home, having being collected by John, as they descended in an animated, chattering unit, and Maria stopped work to chat to them. I didn't wish to intrude on such a familiar and intimate time. Towards the end of the data collection period, Maria delivered the final boxes to my home, as she was not going to be around for a whole day. Maria was very forthcoming with stories surrounding the photographs, and I built up a very vivid picture of her family history.

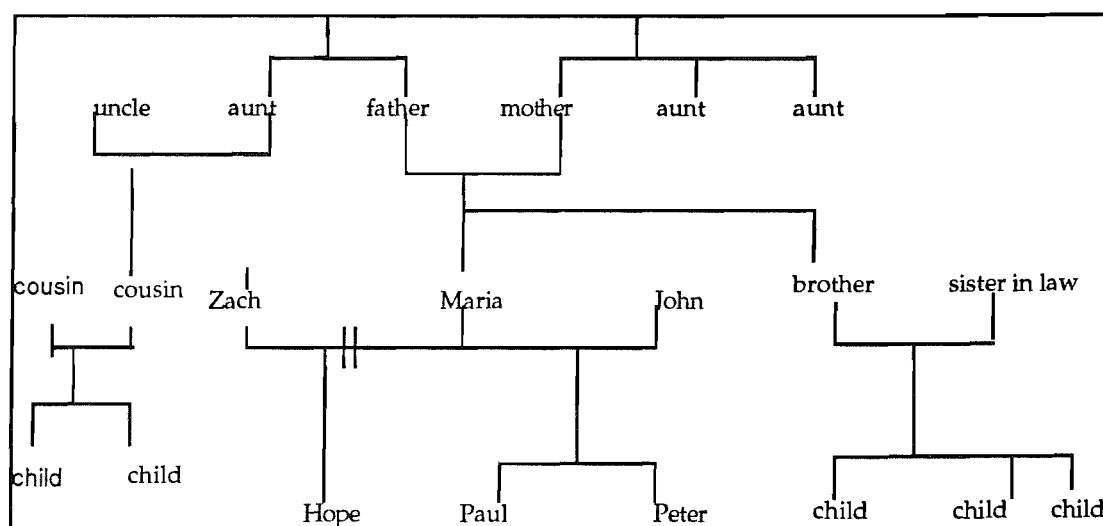


Fig. 7.18: Richards family tree

Date	Event
0	Maria and Zach marry
1	Hope born
2	Move to U.S.
5	Maria and Zach divorce
9	Maria and John marry
	Maria and John move to England
14	Paul born
16	Peter born

Fig. 7.19: Richards lifeline

Ryan. The Ryans were friends of my parents, and had volunteered through my mother, having heard about my research and finding it interesting. Gearóidín was my contact in this family, and she was also the curator of their collection, which was a highly organised set of collated photographs, all captioned and filed in numbered albums. Gearóidín and her husband Seámus have 3 children: Fintan, Áine and Tomás. The Ryans are Irish, and live in the country about fifteen miles from an Irish city.

Gearóidín is a full time counsellor, and is the main breadwinner in the family. Seámus is a farm manager.

The Ryans have very strong links with Gearóidín's family of origin, all of whom live or holiday on a small island off the west coast. It is here that most of the family photographs are taken, during the summer holidays with up to 20 members of the extended family around.

Ordinary life in the Ryan family is fairly quiet. Gearóidín is the life and soul of the family, according to herself, and also according to my parents! Though Seámus was around while I was examining their collection, I only met him briefly one day at the front door. He seemed a quiet, shy man.

As Gearóidín sat with me when I commenced looking at the collection, she commented on how many special events were laid on for the children - outings, fancy dress parties, etc., and said she should sit them down some day to look at these photos, and that maybe she wasn't such a bad mother after all! (She had said during previous conversations that though she loved her work, she regretted the frequency with which it interfered with her domestic life in recent years).

The strong Catholicism of the Ryan family was evident in their photograph collection. Over and above the predictable events in an Irish family's photograph collection: baptism, First Communion, Confirmation, there were also numerous photographs of pilgrimages, retreats, etc.

I felt welcomed and comfortable at the Ryans. I warmed to Gearóidín's animation and enthusiasm, and also found her interest in my work inspiring.

Date	Event
0	Married Gearóidín working as Arts Officer Seámus starts new job
1	Fintan born (Sept) Gearóidín gives up work Seámus moves to new company House move
3	Áine born (Oct)
4	Gearóidín starts a nursery school and commences work with a voluntary organisation
5	Tomás born (Dec) Fintan to school
8	Áine to school
9	Fintan's First Communion
10	Seámus changes job
11	Seámus's father dies. Tomás to school Áine's First Communion
14	Fintan to secondary school Gearóidín working on local history project and writing book Tomás' First Communion Fintan's confirmation
16	Áine to secondary school Gearóidín running own company and teaching on adult education courses Seámus changes job Áine's confirmation Tomás in hospital for operation
18	Tomás to Secondary school Tomás' confirmation

Fig. 7.21: Ryan lifeline

Reflection on family visits

1. Variety of families. The above vignettes describe a wide variety of families. They differed in terms of their nationality, occupations, household structure, whether they lived in an urban or rural area, number of children, child-rearing practices, educational attainment, household income, and religious affiliation. It was too small a sample to call a 'reasonable cross section' of families, particularly as there are many different ways in which people order their domestic arrangements which would be seen as 'families' by those involved (Gittens, 1985). All my families, with the exception of the Johnsons, resembled the traditional 'nuclear' family, in comprising a 'man and a woman legally bound to each other by marriage and living in a common residence', and thus

were representative of the 39.9% of the population who are classified as "married couple with dependent or non-dependant children" (General Household Survey, 1992). However, it became apparent that many of my families had moved through different domestic arrangements before arriving at their current one, and thus they represented, at some stage in their lives, several other groups. Two of the families (the Richards and the Johnsons) had been lone parent families. One of the families is a 'step' family (the Richards). The parents in two of the families lived together before marriage (the Lynches and the Dannenbergs), and one of the families had had a child before getting married (the Dannenbergs). Two of the households had spanned three generations for a time (the Deans and the Cronins). Therefore, the process of eliciting a family lifeline illustrated to me very vividly the variety of domestic arrangements which are labelled 'family'. It also provided reassurance that I was not examining highly stereotypical families. I could therefore proceed with the confidence that if there are regularities identifiable in family photographic collections, these regularities could be attributed to norms of representation rather than to the replication of actual 'nuclear' family structures in photographs.

2. Issues of consent. As I mentioned in the vignettes, I had a key informant in each family. This raises a question regarding the consent of other members of the family to my examining their album. Though I asked my informant whether other members of the family had consented to my being there, I can only trust that they did. This is a particular concern in relation to the children in their families; the younger they were, the less likely they were to have been asked for their consent. The only source of reassurance on this point is that, in the families where I met the other members while collecting the data, they seemed happy enough for me to be there.

3. Selectivity of the album. Though I emphasised to each family that I needed to see the entire collection, it is possible that some photographs were not shown to me. These photographs may have been private and perhaps slightly risqué photographs of the parents, or photographs of family members in embarrassing poses or situations. My informants in Study 1 highlighted the likelihood of teenagers, in particular, removing photographs of themselves from the collection. However, given that I was interested in how families choose to represent themselves, this is not a particularly severe problem for this research, as photographs which are kept back can be considered as not forming part of the family's social identity.

A more serious problem raised by selectivity is that by examining the photographs, it is possible that I was legitimising one particular account of the family, i.e. that of the curator of the collection. The quote from Holland, Spence and Watney (1986) in Chapter 1 of this thesis suggests that family photography can help to perpetuate the status quo in families, and it is therefore possible that I was compounding this by appearing to treat the photographic collection as data. For instance, I may have been adding further to the distress of children who feel that they have not been documented as much as their siblings in the photographic collection. Apart from emphasising to each family that I was not using the photographs to draw inferences regarding that particular family, there is little that can be done about this issue apart from noting it as an issue. However, it could be argued that this entire research project is aimed at examining the identities made available to family members in their photographic collections, and therefore will provide a means of examining the kinds of family accounts which photographic collections themselves legitimise.

4. Disengaging. Some issues raised by my working with families persist beyond the data collection stage. Having started out as a virtual stranger to all these families apart from the Deans and, of course, the Cronins, I now know as much, or more, about their history as a close friend might. This in itself creates an imbalance in my relationship with them, in that, should I meet them socially, which is possible in the case of the Rees-Burkes, the Ryans, and the Richards, the nature of my relationship with them will need to be re-negotiated, to render it more symmetrical: we cannot pretend to be strangers, and yet I cannot presume upon my knowledge of the family and treat them as friends. In contrast, it could be said that my involvement of the Cronins in my research was an abuse of my relationship with them; however, prior to commencing an analysis of the Cronin family photographs, this issue was raised and discussed with my family, and it was felt that to research other families while keeping my own family life private was in itself unethical.

The relationship established with each family has also effectively expanded the possible readership for this thesis; though those who read it are most likely to be other academics, it is possible that one or two of the families may actually seek out the thesis and read it. I neither encouraged nor discouraged this when they inquired about the possibility of doing this, but it does make the theoretical ethical problem of representing each family honestly and yet in not too negative a light, a very real practical problem. Though the families are almost definitely not recognisable by anyone outside the family, they are certainly recognisable to family members. Though the possibility that this thesis may be read by the participating families cannot

be allowed to influence its content, it nevertheless makes the process of describing each family even more difficult.

Results

To facilitate comparison across families, given that the families did not have equal numbers of children, only the data for the first two children are reported in most of the categories.

The data for the archival study were categorical data, expressed in terms of frequencies, or, in some cases, percentages. This fact, combined with the relatively small sample size, severely constrained the selection of statistical tests available.

In order to test most of the hypotheses, the use of ANOVA would have been desirable, in order to establish the existence of main effects and of interactions between variables. However, ANOVA is based on the assumption of normally distributed continuous data, and there is no reason to expect that my data were normally distributed.

Therefore, in most cases, apart from Correspondence Analysis, which will be discussed presently, the Chi squared goodness of fit test was employed. This was despite some cells having a frequency of less than 5, as Everitt (1992) suggests that the small expected frequencies restriction for Chi squared is overly conservative.

1 Who appears in family photographs?

A complete breakdown of who appears in each photograph can be seen in appendix 7. For brevity, only summary data will be reported here.

Table 7.5 illustrates the frequency of combinations of nuclear family members, and extended family and others (extended family and others were merged into the category 'significant other').

	Nuclear family only	Nuclear family with significant others	Significant others only	Total (All photos)	χ^2	Sig.
Bates	208 (55.6%)	119 (31.8%)	47 (12.6%)	374 (100%)	104.35	p<.001
Cronin	256 (30.1%)	286 (33.6%)	308 (36.2%)	850 (100%)	4.81	n.s.
Dannenberg	653 (87.0%)	72 (9.6%)	26 (3.5%)	751 (100%)	975.77	p<.001
Dean	244 (65.6%)	95 (25.5%)	33 (8.9%)	372 (100%)	189.69	p<.001
Johnson	182 (57.8%)	99 (31.4%)	34 (10.8%)	315 (100%)	104.85	p<.001
Lynch	1952 (64.1%)	776 (25.5%)	316 (10.4%)	3044 (100%)	1403.11	p<.001
Powell	476 (49.3%)	297 (30.8%)	192 (19.9%)	965 (100%)	128.21	p<.001
Rees-Burke	336 (51.9%)	287 (44.4%)	24 (3.7%)	647 (100%)	261.07	p<.001
Richards	927 (74.7%)	202 (16.3%)	112 (9.0%)	1241 (100%)	965.31	p<.001
Ryan	286 (71.1%)	108 (26.9%)	8 (2.0%)	402 (100%)	295.94	p<.001
Total	5520 (61.6%)	2341 (26.2%)	1100 (12.2%)	8961 (100%)	3479.80	p<.001

Table 7.5: Frequency and proportion of photographs containing nuclear family and significant others.

As was hypothesised (hypothesis 3), overall, there were significantly more photographs of nuclear family only than there were photographs of nuclear family with significant others (either close kin, extended family or non-relatives). 'Significant others only' was the least frequent category in the 'who' data. ($\chi^2=3479.8$, $df=2$, $p<.001$). As can be seen from Table 7.5, this was the case for each of the individual families apart from Cronins.

The homogeneity of this finding was all the more surprising given that there were some families where significant others might be expected to be as frequently represented as nuclear family members, for example, the Lynch family, who only live two doors down from a maternal grandmother and around the corner from a maternal sister, and the Richards and Johnsons, in which families the mothers brought up their children without the father being present for a time, and towards whom each mother's family of origin was extremely active and supportive.

Table 7.6 illustrates the combinations of family members with which children tend to appear.

	Child/ children alone	With mother	With father	With both parents	With sig. other*	Total	χ^2	Sig.
c1	1521 (49.84%)	393 (12.88%)	459 (15.04%)	105 (3.44%)	574 (18.81%)	3052 (100%)	1894.06	p<.001
c2	697 (57.60%)	111 (9.17%)	153 (12.64%)	20 (1.65%)	229 (18.93%)	1210 (100%)	1163.47	p<.001
c3	99 (74.43%)	8 (6.01%)	6 (4.51%)	1 (0.75%)	19 (14.29%)	133 (100%)	252.83	p<.001
c1c2	811 (44.66%)	148 (8.15%)	307 (16.9%)	67 (3.69%)	483 (26.6%)	1816 (100%)	969.39	p<.001
c1c3	7 (41.1%)	3 (17.66%)	1 (5.88%)	0 (0%)	6 (35.29%)	17 (100%)	10.89	n.s.
c2c3	60 (60.6%)	10 (10.1%)	12 (12.12%)	5 (5.05%)	12 (12.12%)	99 (100%)	103.68	p<.001
c1c2c3	39 (33.91%)	22 (19.13%)	21 (18.26%)	11 (9.57%)	22 (19.13%)	115 (100%)	17.65	p<.05
Total	3234 (50.20%)	695 (10.79%)	959 (14.89%)	209 (3.24%)	1345 (20.88%)	6442 (100%)	4229.51	p<.001

* mother, father and both parent categories also include significant others. The 'significant other' category consists of photographs which *only* contain children and significant others.

Table 7.6: Children alone, and in combination with siblings, and the combinations of other family members with whom they appear.

The data in table 7.6 show that though there fewer photographs are taken of Child 2 alone than of Child 1 alone, a plausible explanation of this is that there are fewer opportunities to photograph a child alone when there is more than one child in the family; if one controls for decreased opportunity to photograph a child alone, i.e. by including photographs taken with Child 1 in Child 2's total, there are approximately equal numbers of photographs containing Child 2 (1508) as there are of photographs of Child 1 alone (1521). A higher percentage of photographs of Child 2 (57.6%) are of Child 2 alone, and this is by far the most frequent category of photograph for all three children.

With regard to the combinations of family members and others with whom each child tends to appear: again, there are fewer photographs of Child 2 or Child 3 alone with at least one parent. If one includes photographs which include more than one child in the total number of photographs taken with parents for each child, then a total of 1537 photographs of Child 1 are taken with

at least 1 parent, 887 photographs of Child 2 are taken with at least one parent, 100 photographs of Child 3 are taken with at least one parent (Note that some photographs are counted more than once in this calculation: a photograph of Child 1 and Child 2 with parent is counted as 1 photograph of Child 1 with parent and 1 photograph of Child 2 with parent). Therefore, the hypothesis that there will be fewer photographs of later children taken with parents is supported. However, it must be noted that the percentage of photographs of each child with parents remains relatively stable: 30.6% of photographs of Child 1 are taken with at least one parent, 28.9% of photographs of Child 2 are taken with at least one parent, and 25.2% of photographs of Child 3 are taken with at least one parent. Therefore, the composition of photographs, in terms of family members who appear, does not appear to be changing; rather, there is a decrease in the absolute number of photographs taken of later children. Taking into account the falling away of photographic activity over the life cycle which is illustrated in Figure 7.22, the proportion of photographs in which family members and others appear with each child, when the decreasing opportunities to photograph a single child are taken into account, remains similar for each child. In decreasing order, the combination of family member each child is likely to appear with is alone (first child), alone or with siblings (later children), with one or both parents, and with significant others.

Combination	All photos of children	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4
Child alone	2346 (35.62%)	1521 (30.29%)	697 (21.30%)	99 (24.94%)	29 (20.14%)
With nuclear family	3379 (51.31%)	2926 (58.27%)	2346 (71.70%)	279 (70.28%)	76 (52.77%)
Significant other	861 (13.07%)	574 (11.43%)	229 (7.00%)	19 (4.79%)	39 (27.08%)
Total	6586 (100%)	5021 (100%)	3272 (100%)	397 (100%)	144 (100%)

Table 7.7: Aggregated data showing combinations in which child appears

While Table 7.6 illustrates the kind of photographs children are likely to appear in, Table 7.7 shows the kinds of combinations an individual child is likely to appear in. However, the analysis of the column headed 'all photos of children', in which each data point is counted only once, indicates that overall, the most common combination is child with nuclear family member, with photographs where a child appears on its own as the second most common,

and finally, child appearing with significant others as the least common combination. Therefore, Hypothesis 4, which suggested that children will appear more often with nuclear family members and close kin than with extended family members and non-relatives seems to be supported. The other columns in Table 7.7 cannot be subjected to statistical testing, as they include data points which may have been counted more than once, e.g. a photograph of child 2 with nuclear family could also include child 1, in which case, it would have been counted under both child 1 and child 2..

2. When are photographs taken?

Figure 7.22 illustrates the frequency of photo taking over the family life cycle for all families. These data have been standardised so that Year 0 represents the year in which the first child was born for all families.

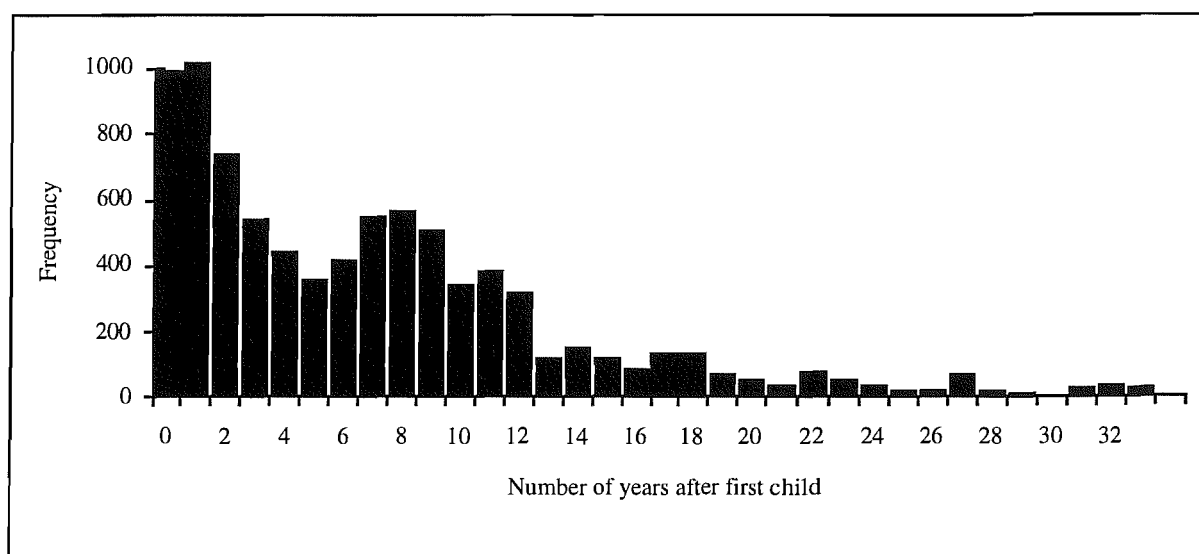


Fig. 7.22: Overall frequency of photographs taken in each year from birth of first child onwards.

Figure 7.22 illustrates a gradual overall decline in the number of photographs taken over the life cycle. ($\chi^2 = 9592.52$, $p < .001$, $d.f. = 33$). Therefore, the hypothesis that photographic activity will decline over the life cycle (hypothesis 14) was supported. However, the aggregation of data from all the families in figure 7.22 masks substantial individual differences across families. Therefore, the frequency of photo taking over the life cycle is broken down by family in Figures 7.23(a) to (j). Major life cycle events for each family are indicated on the individual graphs. The last bar on each graph is the final year for which photographs existed in that family.

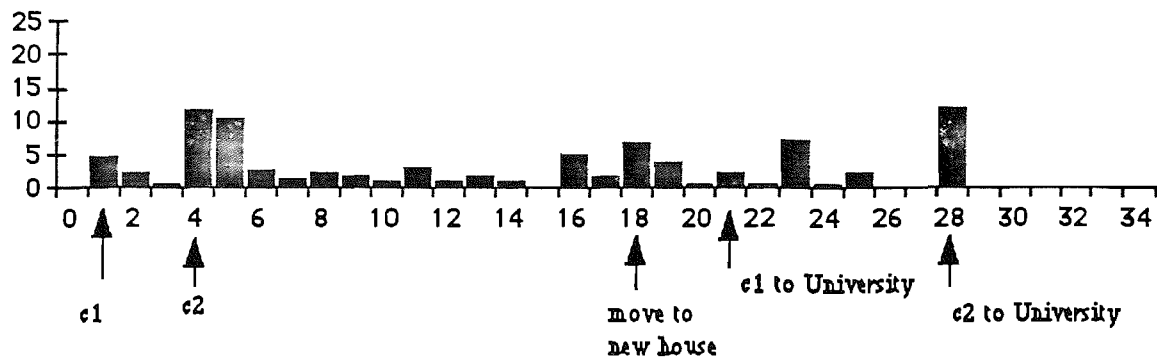


Fig. 7.23 (a): Frequency of photo-taking over the Bates family life cycle

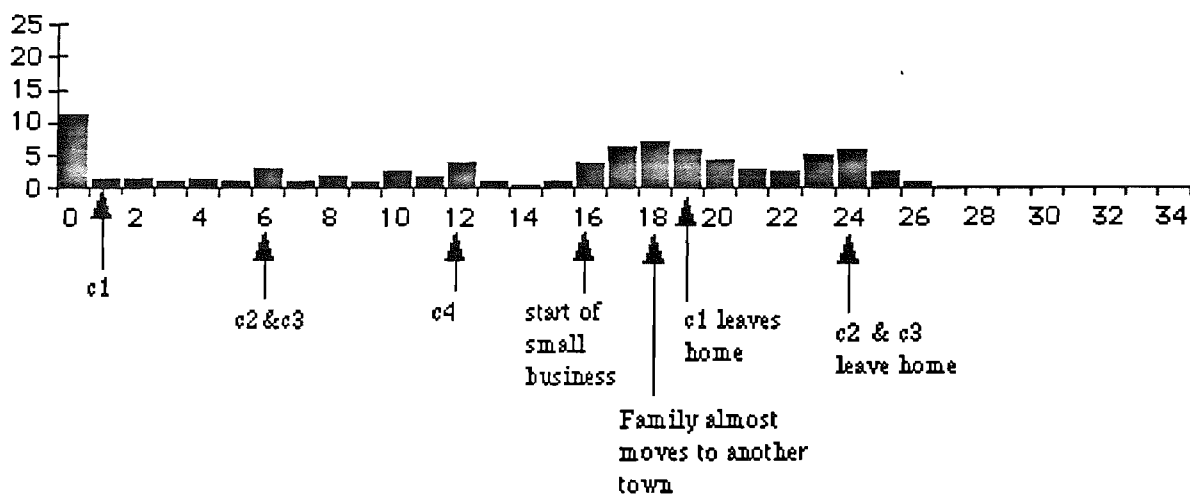


Fig. 7.23 (b): Frequency of photo-taking over the Cronin family life cycle

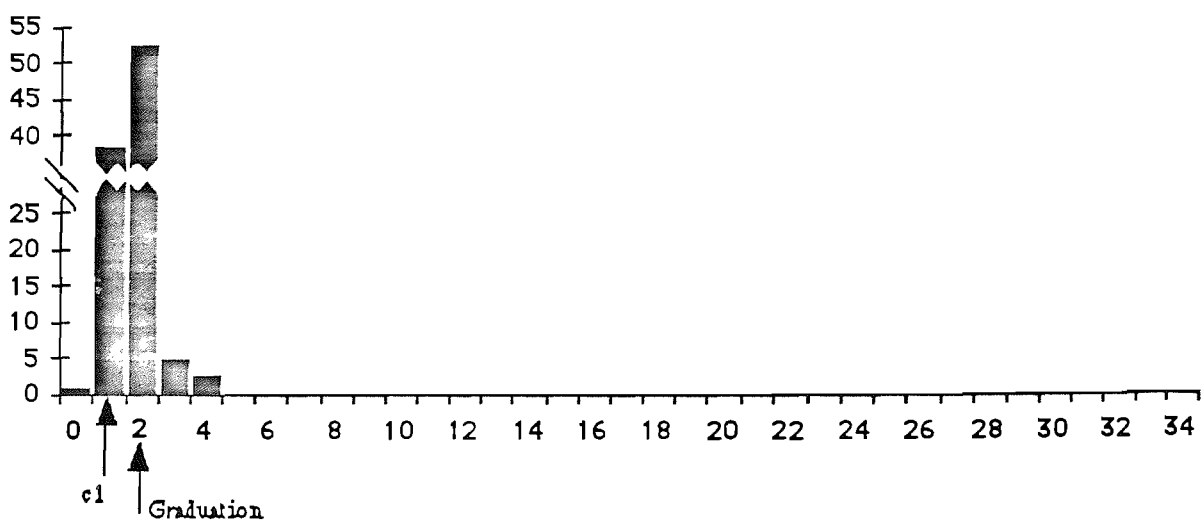


Fig. 7.23 (c): Frequency of photo-taking over the Dannenberg family life cycle

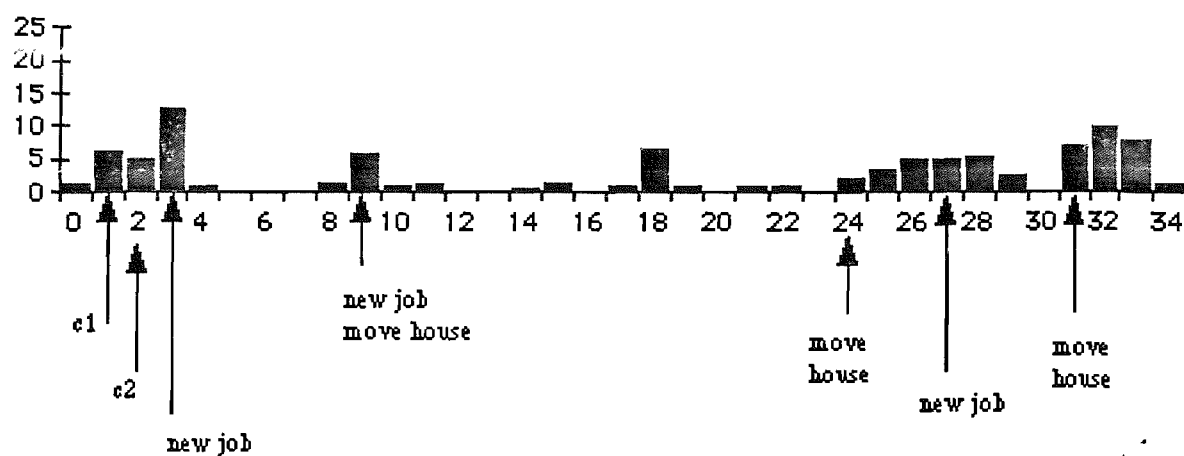


Fig. 7.23 (d): Frequency of photo-taking over the Dean family life cycle

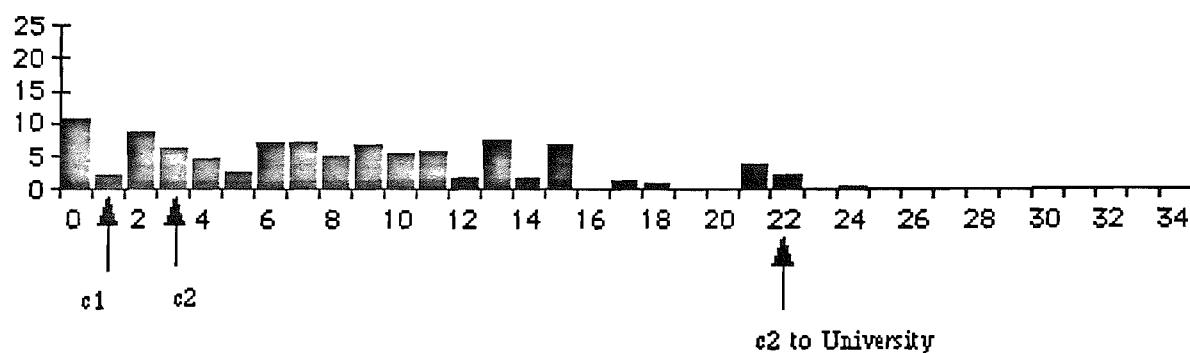


Fig. 7.23 (e): Frequency of photo-taking over the Johnson family life cycle

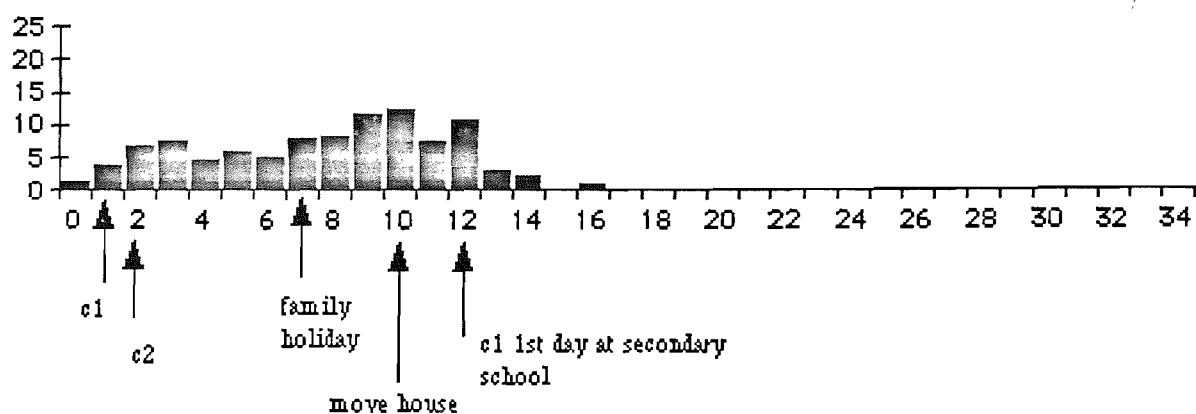


Fig. 7.23 (f): Frequency of photo-taking over the Lynch family life cycle

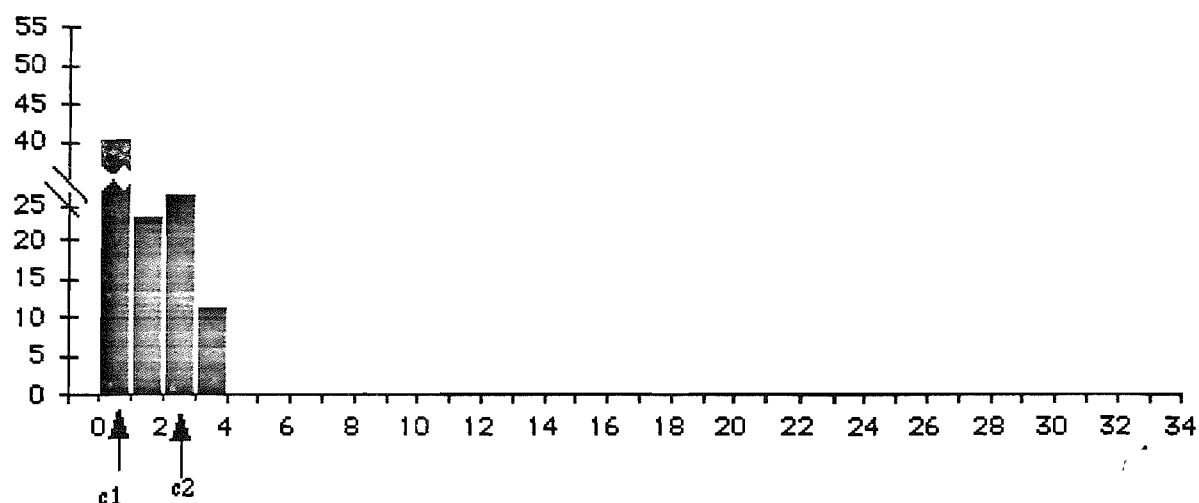


Fig. 7.23 (g): Frequency of photo-taking over the Powell family life cycle

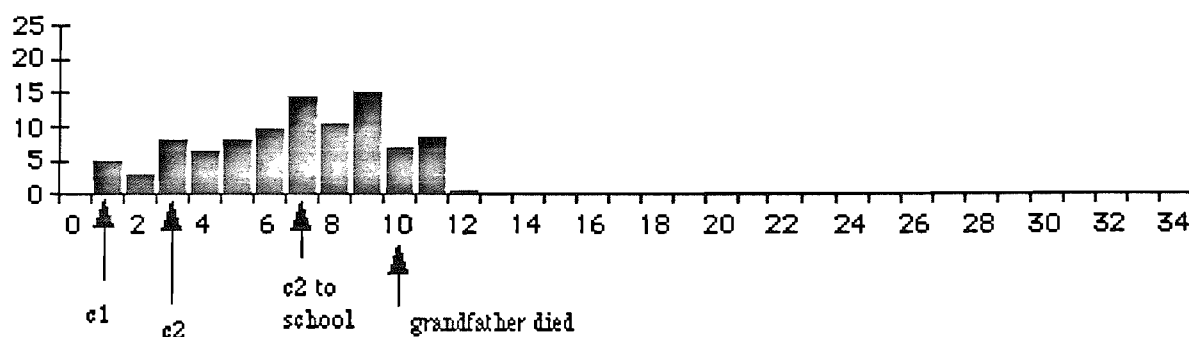


Fig. 7.23 (h): Frequency of photo-taking over the Rees-Burke family life cycle

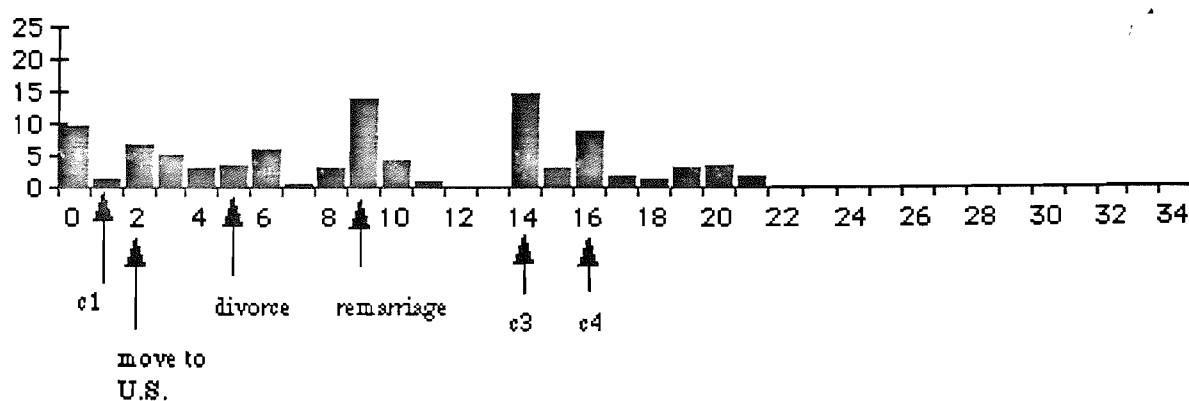


Fig. 7.23 (i): Frequency of photo-taking over the Richards family life cycle

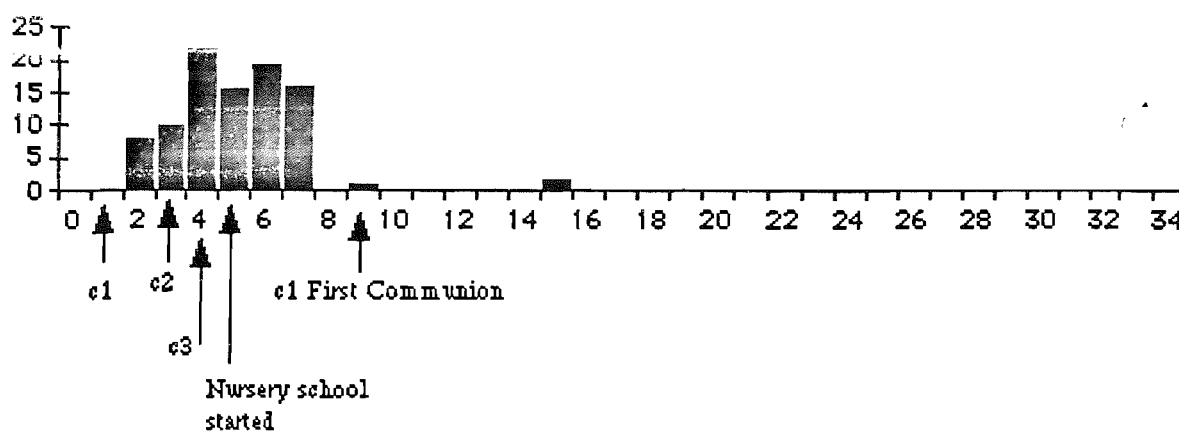


Fig. 7.23 (j): Frequency of photo-taking over the Ryan family life cycle

As can be seen from the individual graphs in figure 7.23, the number of photographs taken by each family in each year of their life cycle varied significantly across their life cycle. (See table 7.8 for statistics).

Family	χ^2	Degrees of freedom	P
Bates	375.44	26	<.001
Cronin	559.27	27	<.001
Dannenberg	880.61	4	<.001
Dean	247.92	26	<.001
Johnson	142.95	22	<.001
Lynch	1168.44	16	<.001
Powell	167.70	3	<.001
Rees-Burke	352.48	14	<.001
Richards	793.30	19	<.001
Ryan	203.56	8	<.001

Table 7.8: Chi-square statistics for individual families.

It can be seen from the individual life cycle graphs in figure 7.23 above that peaks in photographic activity in individual families tended to correlate with the occurrence of major life events, particularly the birth of a child, and a child leaving home.

3. What events are photographed?

Table 7.9 illustrates the frequency of photographs in each category.

Event	Total	%
Holiday/outing	1974	21.5
Sport and recreation	1073	11.7
Anniversary/birthday	762	8.3
Rite of passage	661	7.2
Seasonal festival/event	489	5.3
Visit	443	4.8
Care of new baby	268	2.9
Performance/achievement	240	2.6
Work/school	218	2.4
Personal hygiene	126	1.4
Eating/drinking	119	1.3
Party	74	0.8
Landscape/nature	71	0.8
In bed	68	0.7
Self presentation	66	0.7
Developmental milestone	62	0.7
Pregnancy/giving birth	60	0.7
Presents	59	0.6
Asleep	59	0.6
Home improvements	52	0.6
Photography session/passport photo	42	0.5
Community event	23	0.3
Nude	20	0.2
Pet	19	0.2
Messy!	18	0.2
Kissing	15	0.2
Injury	9	0.1
Memento mori	6	0.1
Group photo	6	0.1
Celebrity	6	0.1
Unknown event	2073	22.6
Total	9181	100

Table 7.9: Frequency and proportion of all photographs in each event category.

The categories holiday/outing, sport and recreation, anniversary and birthday, rite of passage, and seasonal events account for 55% of all photographs. The data for individual families can be seen in appendix 8, and follow a similar pattern: in every family apart from the Dannenbergs (of whose photographs the above categories comprised 35%), these 5 categories account for at least 40% of all photographs. 33% of all photographs are of holidays or other forms of recreation. 15.5% of all photographs are of rites of passage including anniversaries and birthdays. Given that each family member only has a birthday once a year, and also given that each child will only go through major rites of passage, such as graduation, First Communion, Confirmation etc. once in a lifetime, this is a comparatively high proportion of ritual events, and therefore Hypothesis 1, which suggested that there will be a high proportion of

photographs depicting rites of passage, was supported, though there were comparatively few photographs (0.7%) of developmental milestones.

Hypothesis 6 suggested that there would be a high proportion of photographs of rituals and ceremonials. As mentioned above, there was indeed a high proportion of photographs of rites of passage, and these, taken together with seasonal events which tend to be ritualistic, provide support for hypothesis 6.

The categories comprising the fewest photographs were 'nudity', someone appearing 'messy', 'injury' 'memento mori' and 'kissing' (0.7% altogether). There were no photographs of sexual activity, and few of pregnancy or childbirth (0.7%) or of people in bed (0.7%). Therefore, the suggestions that sex, birth, and death are considered inappropriate occasions for photography was supported. Personal hygiene was relatively infrequent (1.4%) as a topic for photography, but was as frequent as eating and drinking (1.3%), which was surprising, as personal hygiene might have been expected to have been a much more taboo subject for photography than eating and drinking.

4. What is the spatial relationship of family members in photographs?

'Touching' data were only collected for family members. Data regarding spatial arrangements of people in the photograph were reduced in the following way: for each possible pair (a, b) in the photograph, their physical relationship to each other was coded as: a touching b , b touching a , reciprocal touching between a and b , a and b close enough to touch, but not touching, and a and b not close enough to touch.

The data were further reduced as follows: data for the third and fourth children were omitted to facilitate comparison across all families, as not all families had more than two children. Data for the Dannenberg family were also omitted, as they only had one child, thus yielding too few possible combinations of family members to be interpretable.

The final possible category of 'touching' was 'not adjacent and not touching'. Data in this category were not analysed. Though it would have been interesting to see who people tend not to stand beside, no conclusions could have been drawn, as this category also encompassed people sitting opposite each other with, for example, a table between them, or people in the background and foreground of the photo. It also conflated situations where one might have a choice regarding where to stand (for example, group photos) with situations where one did not have a choice, for example, candid photographs, or photographs of activities where position is dictated by the activity, such as sports.

In order to assess whether particular kinds of touching were associated with particular pairs of family members, a correspondence analysis was performed. Correspondence analysis is one of a family of multivariate statistical techniques which comprises principal components analysis, multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis. It is similar to principal components analysis, but is suitable for binary or categorical data. It enables spatial representation of frequency data, using chi-square distances which have been cast into contingency tables, by calculating proximities among categories, those which are closer being represented as more similar.

Table 7.10 shows the cross tabulated frequency data for spatial arrangements of pairs of family members. The total of each column and row are used to calculate weighted distances for the correspondence analysis.

<i>a, b</i>	<i>a -> b</i>	<i>b -> a</i>	<i>a<->b</i>	<i>a // b</i>	<i>na</i>	TOTAL
mother, father	22 (5.72%)	41 (10.66%)	99 (25.74%)	42 (10.92%)	181 (47.06%)	385 (100%)
mother, child1	295 (46.90%)	14 (2.23%)	43 (6.84%)	71 (11.29%)	207 (32.91%)	630 (100%)
mother, child2	167 (45.09%)	9 (2.43%)	32 (8.64%)	24 (6.48%)	139 (37.53%)	371 (100%)
father, child1	303 (38.18%)	23 (2.90%)	47 (5.92%)	108 (13.61%)	311 (39.19%)	792 (100%)
father, child2	207 (36.85%)	19 (3.38%)	25 (4.45%)	47 (8.37%)	263 (46.81%)	561 (100%)
child1, child 2	116 (6.50%)	32 (1.79%)	45 (2.52%)	303 (16.97%)	1279 (71.62%)	1775 (100%)
TOTAL	1110 (24.42%)	138 (3.04%)	291 (6.40%)	595 (13.09%)	2380 (52.36%)	4514 (100%)

Table 7.10: Frequency of spatial arrangements for pairs of family members

Legend:

a->b : 1st member of pair touching 2nd member of pair

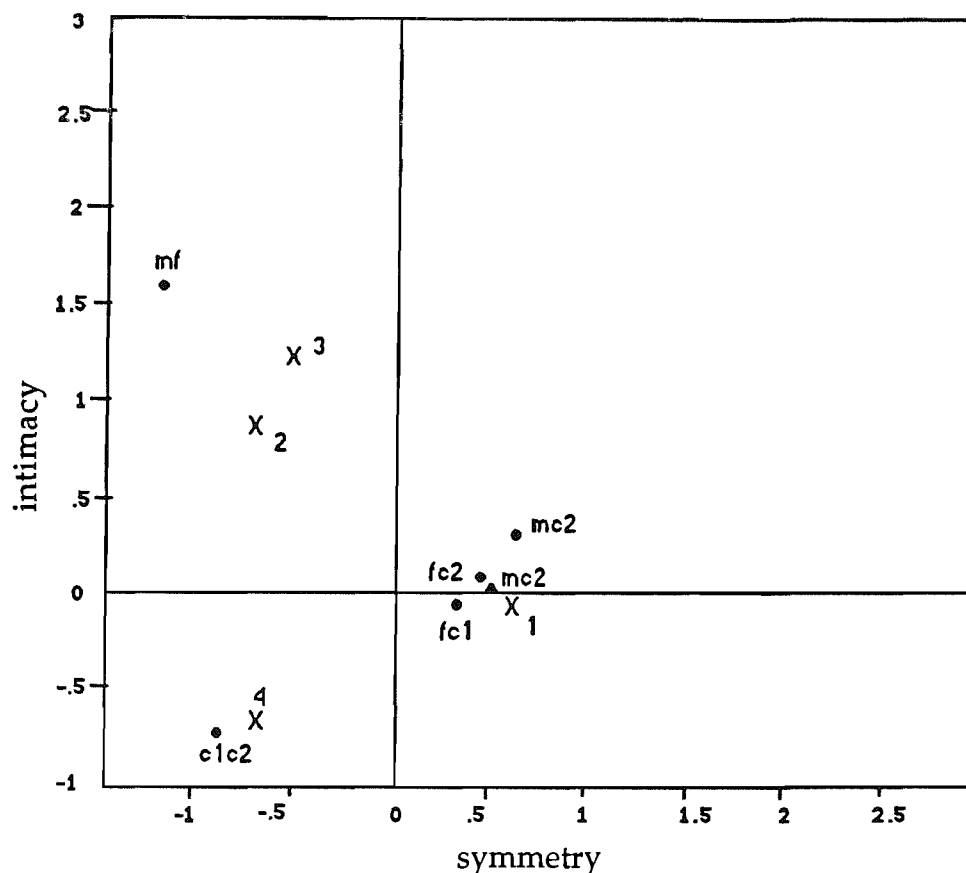
b->a : 2nd member of pair touching 1st member of pair

a<->b: Reciprocal touching between members of pair

a//b: Members of pair close enough to touch, but not touching.

na: Members of pair appear in same photograph, but are not close enough to touch.

The relative frequencies which form the basis of the correspondence analysis can be seen in Appendix 9.



Legend:

• Family member pair

X Type of touching

Family member pairs:

mf	mother-father
c1c2	child1-child2
fc1	father-child1
fc2	father-child2
mc1	mother-child1
mc2	mother-child2

Type of touching

1	a touching b
2	b touching a
3	reciprocal touching
4	close enough to touch, not touching

Fig. 7.24: Correspondence analysis of spatial relationship of family member pair.

Figure 7.24 illustrates the results of the correspondence analysis. Certain types of touching are clearly associated with certain combinations of family members. Mother-father pairs are closely associated with reciprocal touching, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, with 'b touching a' touching, i.e. father touching mother. The touching in child-child pairs is symmetrically 'close enough to touch but not touching', and parent-child pairs are very strongly associated with asymmetrical 'a touching b' type touching, i.e. parent touching

child. The axes have been provisionally labelled 'symmetry' and 'intimacy', and this will be discussed presently.

Hypothesis 6, which suggested that the spatial behaviour of family members would be intimate was not supported: intimacy seems to depend on to whom the family member is relating, i.e. the way in which children behave towards each other is different from the way in which they relate to their parents.

Hypothesis 12, which suggested that family roles would be reflected in spatial relationships, was supported, as there is a clear distinction between the way in which spouse, parental, child and sibling roles are reflected in spatial relationships.

5. Where are family photographs generally taken?

From Table 7.11, it can be seen that photographs taken at home were most often taken in public areas. Thus, Hypothesis 11, which stated that photographs would usually be taken in public areas of the home, was supported. There was an approximately equal number of photographs taken in the local area outside the home, and in non-local areas.

location		Sub-total	Total
Home: public	sitting room	2351	
	garden	929	
	front doorstep	332	
	dining room	131	
	other (hall, unknown, study, playroom)	154	
	<u>Total home: public photos</u>		3897
Home: private	bedroom	202	
	kitchen	188	
	bathroom	109	
	<u>Total home: private photos</u>		499
	<u>Total home photos</u>		4396
Local	school	300	
	photographic studio	114	
	work	103	
	hospital	67	
	other	1334	
	<u>Total local photos</u>		1918
Non-local	<u>Total non-local photos</u>		1944
unknown location			923
		<u>Total</u>	9181

Table 7.11: Location for family photographs.

6. What is the prevailing style of family photographs?

Overall, the data in table 7.12 demonstrate that the family photographs which included people were much more likely to be posed rather than candid or mixed ($\chi^2=47.687$, $df=2$, $p<.001$), and therefore Hypothesis 10, which stated that family photographs are more likely to be candid rather than posed, was rejected.

Style	Frequency	Percentage
Candid	3215	35.0
Posed	5322	58.0
Mixed	274	3.0
Not applicable	370	4.0
Total	9181	100.0

Table 7.12: Photographic style

Is the style of family photographs affected by who takes them? Table 7.13 illustrates the types of photographs taken by professional and amateur photographers. There is a significant difference in the type of photograph taken by each ($\chi^2= 114.02$, $d.f.= 3$, $p<.001$), and it can be seen from table 7.13 that amateurs are responsible for the mixed photographs and photographs without people, and tend to take more posed than candid photographs. The professionally taken photographs in the albums which I examined were more likely to be posed than candid.

	Candid	Posed	Mixed	Not applicable	Total
Amateur	3178 (35.84%)	5045 (56.90%)	273 (3.08%)	370 (4.17)	8866 (100%)
Professional	37 (11.75%)	277 (87.94%)	1 (0.32%)	0	315 (100%)
	3215	5322	274	370	9181

Table 7.13: Interaction between photographer and style of photo

7. What are the most common postures for family members in photographs?

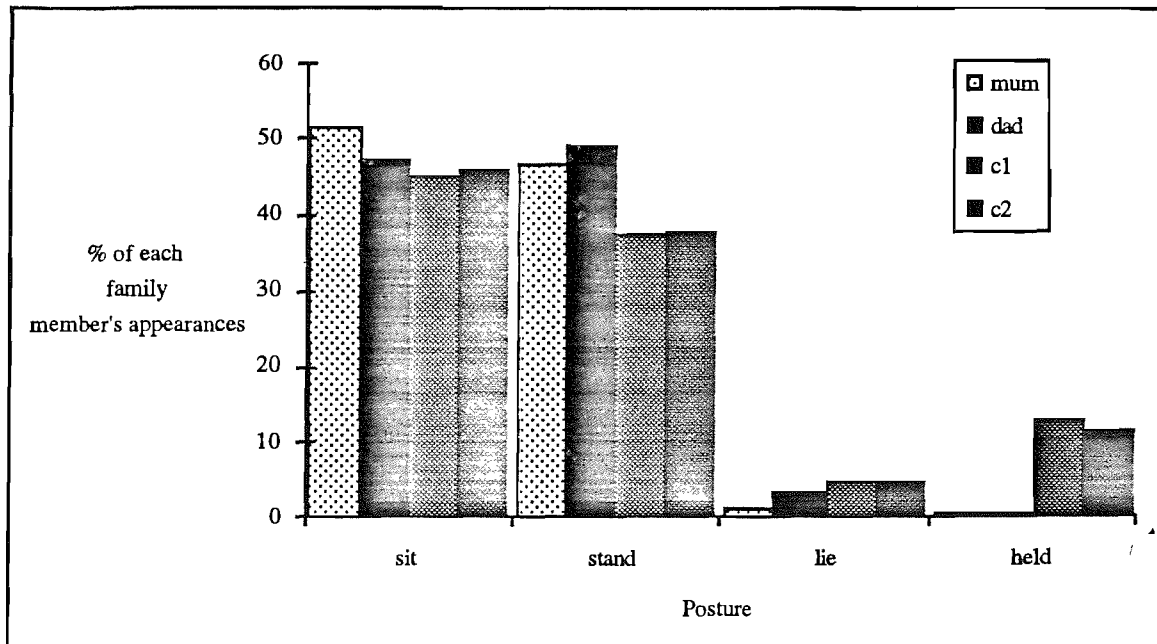


Fig. 7.25: Postures of family members in photographs

Figure 7.25 illustrates the postures which family members adopt in photographs. It can be seen that for all family members, sitting is the most frequent posture, followed by standing. There are no significant differences in the relative frequency with which each family member sits ($\chi^2=2.43$, d.f. = 3), stands ($\chi^2=2.53$, d.f.=3) or lies ($\chi^2=2.98$, d.f. =3). There is also no difference in the relative frequency with which mothers and fathers assume any of the postures. However, children are significantly more likely than adults to be held when they appear in photographs ($\chi^2=72.57$, d.f.=3). Therefore, there is some support for hypothesis 12, i.e. that family roles would be reflected in the postures adopted by family members in photographs, in that there are clear differences in posture between children and adults, though not between adults in different roles.

8. By whom are family photographs generally taken?

It can safely be assumed that the vast bulk of family photographs are taken by amateur 'snappers'. Of the photographs I examined, 315 were taken by professionals or serious hobbyists, and the remaining 8,866 by amateurs.

9. What is the affective tone of family photographs?

Figure 7.26 illustrates the facial expression of family members in photographs. The most common facial expression was positive (smiling), followed by neutral and negative. ($\chi^2=47.18$, d.f.=2, $p<.001$).

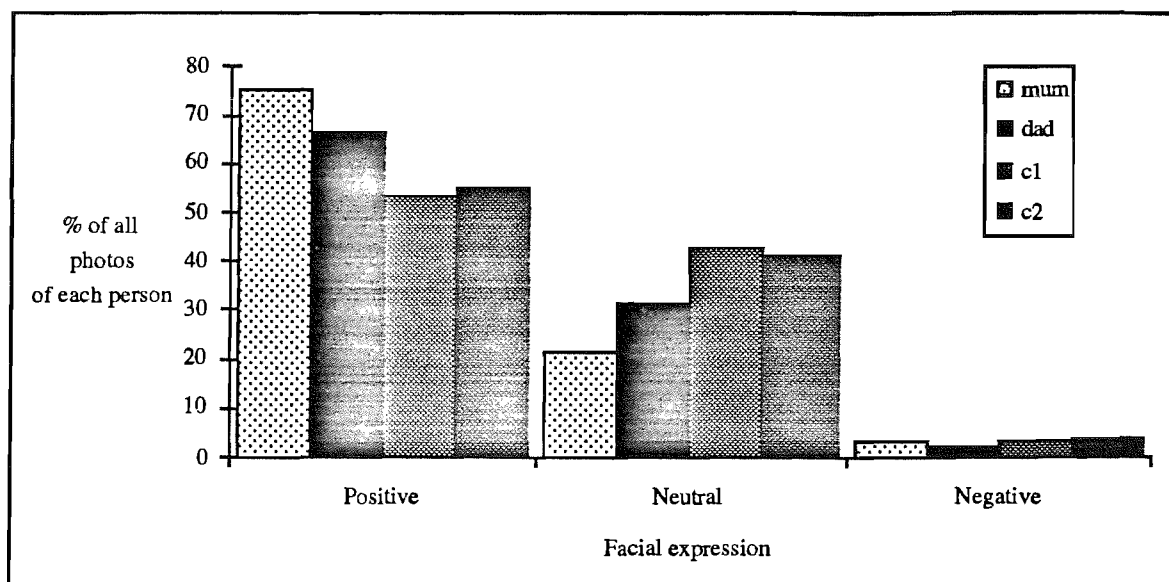


Fig. 7.26: Facial expression of family members in photographs

There was no difference among family members in the frequency with which they displayed negative ($\chi^2 = 0.45$, d.f.=3, $p>.001$), positive ($\chi^2 = 5.03$, d.f.=3, $p>.001$) or neutral ($\chi^2 = 8.77$, d.f. =3, $p>.001$) affect.

Hypothesis 8, which suggested that a high proportion of photographs will display positive affect, was supported.

Discussion

The aims of this study were two-fold: firstly, to provide some systematic descriptive data regarding the typical composition of family photographic collections, and secondly, to test 13 hypotheses derived from the theoretical propositions introduced in Chapter 1, regarding the manifest content of the photographs. I intended to address some of the methodological shortcomings of previous research on family photographic research.

These aims have been achieved, and this study has also raised some interesting questions which warrant further investigation.

Proposition 1 suggested that a family photograph can be considered to contain a studium if the manifest content of family photographs comprises systematic commonalities across photographic collections from different families. There were commonalities in the content of family photographs, and these can be summarised as follows:

Photographs are primarily of nuclear family members, followed by nuclear family with significant others. The least frequent category of person appearing in the family photographic collection is 'significant others'. This is the case regardless of how close the nuclear family is to the extended family, both in terms of geographic proximity and intensity of relationship. This refines Gardner's (1991) finding that photographs tend to be of nuclear *and* extended family.

Children are the most likely family members to appear in the photographs, and they tend to appear without their parents.

There is a gradual decline of photo taking over the life cycle, with peaks occurring at times of major life cycle changes.

Over half of the photographs depict holidays and outings, sport and recreation, birthdays and anniversaries, rites of passage and seasonal events such as Christmas. These data support Williamson's (1984) claim that, where family photographs are concerned, fun must not only be had, it must be *seen* to be had.

Parents appear in photographs touching symmetrically, children appear in photographs as not touching each other, and parents' spatial relationship to children is asymmetric, with the parent touching the child.

Family photographs are more likely to be taken by amateurs than by professionals, are likely to be posed rather than candid, and those which are taken by amateurs are more likely to have only some of the subjects in any particular photograph posing for the camera (i.e. to contain some people posing, and some who appear to be unaware of the camera) than is likely in professionally taken photographs.

Photographs are more likely to be taken in the public areas of the home than anywhere else. Those taken in locations away from home are as likely to be taken away from the neighbourhood (i.e. non-local) as in the local area. This supports to some extent Gardner's (1991) finding that family photographs tend to be local rather than 'cosmopolitan', but only if one accepts Gardner's coding scheme, in which every photograph was coded as either local or non-local. However, while Gardner coded both 'home' and 'locality' photographs as local, I chose to code photographs which were taken in locations away from the family home, but which were taken somewhere which could be considered a home base, as 'home' photographs. I drew a further distinction between 'home' and local photographs. Therefore, I found that photographs were most likely to be taken at home, but when they were taken away from home, they were just as likely to be 'cosmopolitan' as local.

Subjects in photographs are most likely to sit or stand, but children are more likely to be held than adults.

Subjects in photographs are more likely to smile than to display a neutral expression or frown, and this holds for all family members. Thus, the 'imperative to smile', which was noted by Beloff (1985), does exist in family photographs, but contrary to the findings of Ragan (1982) and Mills (1984), which, it must be noted, were not based on family photographs, males are just as likely to smile as females. Beloff (1985) suggested that it is particularly children who have an obligation to follow what she calls the 'smile rule'. The proportion of photographs of children smiling was statistically equivalent to the number of photographs of adults smiling, and, on the face of it, these data would not appear to support Beloff's suggestion. However, it was noted that overall, more photographs tend to be taken when children are very small. Infants in the first months of life do not tend to smile for a camera. Therefore, we can only assume that children become aware of the smiling imperative for photographs at a very young age, or else, that they 'make up' for their solemnity when they are older, and thus smile more than adults once they are old enough to be aware of the camera.

Having established that there are regularities in family photographic collections, it is now possible to return to the hypotheses derived from the Propositions.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

Proposition Two suggested that if an important aspect of photographs is their relationship to time, then this will be reflected by a high frequency of photographs depicting passage of time, i.e. anniversaries and birthdays, developmental milestones and rites of passage. These categories of photograph accounted for 16.2% of all photographs. This is astonishingly high when one considers that the most frequent topic of photographs - leisure (including holidays, outings, sport and leisure) was merely twice as likely to occur in the collection (34% of photographs were of leisure). If one considers the bulk of leisure time occurring at weekends, and during school or work holidays, then almost one third of each calendar year can be considered as potential leisure time, and there are therefore at least 120 days where an opportunity to take this type of photograph is available, whereas there are likely to be, at most, only 7 rites of passage in any child's life (baptism, first day at school, first communion, confirmation, school graduation, university graduation, marriage), and each family member will have only 1 birthday a year, which in a family of four children only provides 150 opportunities over an entire lifetime to take photographs, i.e., on average, 6 opportunities a year. It is therefore reasonable

to conclude that a disproportionate number of photographs in the family photographic collection have a bearing on the passage of time.

The other question embodied in Proposition Two suggested that if family photographs are used to control subjective experiences of time, then there will be more photographs taken at times of life cycle transition, in order to control the experience of the speed of that transition. This was also shown to be the case. Therefore, we can conclude that an important aspect of photographs is their relationship to time.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

Proposition Five suggests that family photographs illustrate family unity and cohesiveness, and I argued that if this was the case, there would be more photographs of nuclear family members and close kin than of extended family members and non-relatives, and this was indeed the case. However, within this manifestation of group cohesiveness, children most frequently appeared on their own in photographs. It may be possible to explain this with reference to the type of photographs taken. As was noted above, there was a higher proportion of photographs of rituals than might be expected given the relative infrequency of their occurrence. Rites of passage are one of the most common rituals in families, or at least, are the form of ritual most easily identifiable in photographs. However, rites of passage tend to be focused on one child (with the exception of weddings), and therefore it is possible that it is this relatively large category which accounts for the increased number of photographs of children alone.

Hypothesis 4, which stated that if photographs are used to portray family unity, then children will be more likely to appear with nuclear family members than with significant others was accepted.

As well as the co-occurrence of family members in photographs, family intimacy, as indexed by their spatial behaviour in relation to each other, was also predicted to be intimate if family photographs were used to depict unity. Parent-parent and parent-child combinations were likely to be touching if they were close enough to touch, whereas child-child combinations were not likely to touch. However, the results indicate that touching as an index of intimacy should be treated with caution, as touching can also be used to assert power. The results demonstrate that family members in a powerful role tend to touch those in a less powerful position.

The boundary between the family system and the outside world, as operationalised in terms of the proportion of photographs taken in or around the family home, and in terms of the people appearing in the photographs, was

clearly in evidence. Most photographs were taken in and around the family home, and the photographs of most families, with the exception of the Cronin family, contained primarily nuclear family members. This lends credence to the use of family photographs to depict family boundaries, and thereby to the idea that family photographs tend to depict the family as cohesive. However, just depicting the family at home together is not likely to be enough to demonstrate family unity: the family needs to be seen as enjoying and actively partaking in that unity. Family members are more likely to be smiling in photographs, and this helps to boost the idea of a unified, happy family.

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

It was suggested in Proposition 6 that if photographs present an idealised personal history, then there will be few, if any, photographs of inappropriate occasions such as sexual activity, birth, death, occasions where negative affect predominates, or personal hygiene activities. This was the case, and furthermore, there were far more posed photographs than candid photographs, and the camera was seldom allowed into private and possibly less 'presentable' areas of the home, such as bedrooms, kitchens and bathrooms. This may be a function of both the room itself not being presentable, or not being large enough to take a photograph in, and the activity going on in it, such as chores, personal hygiene and undressing not being considered a desirable aspect of the identities which family members wish to portray. This indicates that a large amount of what Goffman (1967) called 'face work', goes on in photographs. However, aside from the *family* not wishing to portray inappropriate occasions in their photographic collections, recent stories in the media concerning the opprobrium heaped on Sally Mann (Williams, 1992), whose book 'Immediate Family' depicted her children nude and in what some felt were provocative and disturbing poses, and on the questioning of a news presenter and her partner by the police when they were reported by a Boots photographic processor for having handed in photographs of their seven year old daughter in the bath (Pallister and Nowicka, 1995), indicates that there are strong social proscriptions regarding what constitutes an 'appropriate' photograph of a child, which may well influence the taking, or the retention in the photographic collection, of certain kinds of photographs of children.

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

Proposition Seven suggested that family dynamics are manifest in family photographs. Though actual family dynamics cannot be inferred, there are

regularities in how family choose to portray themselves in relation to each other. The family theory which had most to say in relation to the family's use of space was Minuchin's Structural Theory: he suggested that there are three important subsystems in the family: the spousal subsystem, the parental subsystem, and the sibling subsystem, and that power relations and intimacy will differ for each of these subsystems. My data do seem to illustrate both the existence of these subsystems, and the existence of the power relationships and intimacy styles which Minuchin suggested characterises these subsystems. Touching, which was treated as an index of intimacy, had two aspects: who was 'doing' the touching and who was being touched. If it is assumed that the person who is initiating or 'doing' the touching is the more powerful of a pair, then my data illustrates Minuchin's theory perfectly: spouses touch each other, and therefore occupy symmetrical positions in terms of power, parents touch children, and therefore occupy asymmetrical positions, the parent is the more powerful member of parent-child pairs. Siblings do not touch each other, and therefore are symmetrical in terms of power. (Interestingly, '*b* touching *a*' type touching is also associated with spousal pairs, though less strongly than reciprocal touching. This involves father touching mother, and therefore implies that if there is any asymmetry in the spousal pair, it is the father who is the more powerful member of the spousal subsystem).

If intimacy is operationalised as the existence or not of touching, then spousal and parent-child pairs are intimate, and sibling pairs are not, which again supports the structural account of families.

It might be expected that the posture of family members would also illustrate power relations, but there were few significant differences in the postures assumed by family members in photographs. Each family member is equally likely to be sitting or standing, though mothers are marginally more likely to sit, and fathers to stand, than are the children, but this is not statistically significant. However, children are significantly more likely to assume the less powerful postures of lying or being held than are their parents, and this again indicates asymmetry of power in the parent-child subsystem.

It is important to emphasise here that no claims are being made on the basis of these data regarding actual family dynamics. However, these data are exciting, because they indicate the existence of regularities in family photographic collections which demonstrate both the operation of societal norms regarding what constitutes an 'acceptable' family *and* the incorporation of those norms into family myths. The extent to which these norms influence, or are influenced by a family's behaviour 'behind' the photograph remains to

be seen, and some suggestions regarding how this may be investigated will be mooted in Chapter 8.

Relationship of these findings to previous empirical research

Gardner (1983). My findings replicated Gardner's to some extent. Like Gardner, I found that family albums are most likely to depict nuclear family members or extended kin and to highlight nuclear family events. I defined locations in more detail than did Gardner; I replicated her finding that photographs were most likely to be taken at home, but found that when they were taken away from home, they were just as likely to be 'cosmopolitan' as local, thus challenging Gardner's definition and findings relating to 'cosmopolitan' photographs. 'Scenic' photographs (which were coded as 'landscape' in this study) only comprised 0.8% of the total photographs, and therefore were not found to be as salient in family photographic collections as Gardner claimed. However, her finding that most of the photographs were likely to be posed was replicated.

The contribution of this study over and above the findings Gardner has already documented is that the coding of the photographs was transparent, and therefore, replicable, and also, the sample I used did not exclude people who did not have a 'formal', well-organised photographic collection. Though this made the coding process much more difficult, the large difference in quantity of photographs comprising the collections Gardner and I examined (the maximum number of photographs comprising any one of the collections Gardner examined was 314, whereas the size of the collections I examined ranged from 325 to 3102) means that it could be argued that my sample was slightly more representative of 'typical' photographic collections, given that I found in Study 1 that most of my participants did not always have their albums arranged as systematically as they felt they ought. The most important implication my work has in relation to Gardner's, though, is that there are systematicities in family photographic collections which are attributable to societal norms, and therefore, the extent to which inferences can be made about the actual family dynamics underpinning family photographic collections is severely limited.

Halle. (1991). Halle concentrated on photographs on display in households, which in my study were too infrequent to carry out an independent analysis. Some of Halle's findings regarding the kinds of photographs which are generally displayed were replicated in this study of whole collections. Photographs were predominantly of kin, as Halle found, but

12.3% of photographs were of non-kin (appendix 6), as compared with Halle's finding of 5.5% of photographs of non-kin displayed. This finding makes sense if one assumes that photographs on display will be highly selected, and might be expected to emphasise the key characteristics of the collection. Halle's finding that informal leisure events are more likely to be depicted than formal occasions was also replicated.

There was a large discrepancy in the number of photographs of individuals alone documented by Halle as being displayed around the house (0.5%) and by myself as comprising the photographic collection (23.85% - see appendix 6). This could either be explained with reference to my previous argument that the displaying of photographs amplifies tendencies already inherent in the album, or else that there are processes governing the display of photographs which are additional to those governing the compilation of the album. This could only be evaluated by comparing the albums of individual families with the photographs which they choose to display.

Kenyon (1989). The participants in Kenyon's study claimed that the photographs which were most frequently taken in their own households were places, family snaps, holiday, nature, family portraits and 'other'. I suggested that interpreting these findings as indicating the actual frequency of photographs of these events was problematic, given that participants were filling in the questionnaires from memory. However, I also suggested that they may have provided normative information regarding what photographs *usually* comprise a family photographic collection.

My findings did not entirely bear out this suggestion. Of the categories Kenyon's participants identified as being most frequent, only the category holiday appeared as a frequent event in my data (21.5% of photographs - see table 7.9). 'Places' was not operationally defined by Kenyon: if included as an aspect of holiday photographs, then it was very frequent, but if it just means landscape or scenic photographs, then only 0.8% of the photographs I examined could be defined as either 'places' or nature (The 'landscape' category in my data included 'nature' photographs). Finally, family portraits, which, if they were formal portraits, were coded as 'group photos' in my data, only comprised 0.1% of photographs. Therefore, it must be concluded that either Kenyon's sample was a very different one from mine, or that asking people to describe their family photographic collections from memory does not provide particularly valid data.

Titus (1976). The results of the 'who' data category substantially modify the findings of Titus (1976). I argued in my account of Titus' research (Chapter 2)

that examining the absolute frequency of children appearing alone in photographs is misguided, as to take a photograph of the second child or later children alone would entail actively excluding older children from the photograph. When I analysed appearance of children in photographs, I found that there were no significant differences between the number of photographs taken of Child 1 alone and the number photographs including Child 2 (appearing either alone or with Child 1). Furthermore, the proportion of photographs of Child 1 taken with parents, and of Child 2 and later children taken with parents remains similar across all children; thus, though Titus' argument that Child 1 appears more often with parents than do later children, is supported by my data, her interpretation that this shows more role learning occurring at the transition to parenthood, is not supported by my data. It would appear that Gale and Hollingworth's (1984) suggestion that decreasing novelty accounts for the difference in frequency of photographs of each child is supported, as a decline in frequency of photo taking seems to occur evenly across all combinations of family members with the birth of successive children.

Conclusion

To summarise the findings of this archival study: the manifest content of family photographs illustrates the importance of the 'special' relationships which photographs have to time. The manifest content also illustrates what constitutes the ideal family: one which appears happy and cohesive, which is leisured and cosmopolitan, which is child-centred, which has a clear identity which bounds it from its environment, and which is enacted via specialisation of the roles of family members in relation to each other, particularly in terms of power and intimacy.

Though I pointed out in Chapter 1 that these claims have often been made for family photographs, this study is novel in the breadth and depth of categories which were examined, and in the systematic methodology which was employed. It thus lends weight to any caution against using photographs in therapeutic contexts (Cronin and Gale, 1996), in that it demonstrates unequivocally that family photographic collections are subject to regularities which renders their use to draw inferences regarding the quality of family life in any individual family vulnerable to the imposition of societal norms regarding what constitutes a 'functional' or 'dysfunctional' family.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

This chapter will review the progress made on each of the Propositions on which this thesis was based. Some limitations of this research will be discussed, and suggestions for future research will be made. The Propositions, which until this point have been treated as being independent, will be discussed in relation to each other, rather than in numerical order.

Discussion

Proposition One: 'There are two types of photographs: those which contain a 'studium' and those which contain a 'punctum'.

The existence of two kinds of message in photographs: 'studium', or information, and 'punctum', or emotional impact was confirmed in Study 1. Participants' discussion of the photographic message was categorisable using these two themes. However, a photograph can contain a studium *and* a punctum, i.e. it is not so much that there are two types of photograph, but rather that there are two types of message.

The concept of 'studium' was refined in this study: it emerged that information does not necessarily need to be contained in the photograph, but can be elicited from the viewer's memory. There was, therefore, an implicitly constructivist approach to knowledge espoused by my participants, whereby though they claimed that pictures can represent reality, and that reality can be 'read' from a photograph by the viewer, they also claimed that reality can be distorted by the photograph, and therefore they qualified the 'objectivity' of the studium. The implications of these findings for the archival study, and indeed, for any research on photographs, were that though cultural conventions of representation may exist, the regularities in photographs indicating the existence of those conventions must not be accepted as indices of the nature of the 'reality' behind the photograph.

However, I also suggested that family photographs may be influenced by cultural conventions governing the appropriate representation of families, and that, if this was the case, then this gives some support to Barthes' (1980) claim for the accessibility of information in photographs. My archival study, Study 3, did yield a set of conventions governing families' depiction of themselves in photographs. However, these conventions emerged as the result of arduous and detailed coding. The immediate recognisability of families and family roles in photographs by a casual observer needs to be further researched, using methodology similar to that of Barnes and Sternberg (1989), which was

described in Chapter 2, substituting real relationships for the artificial ones which Barnes and Sternberg used as stimuli.

With regard to the existence of Barthes' punctum: my participants did agree, though, that the punctum was particular, in that individuals react differently to photographs, and the affective impact of a photograph can change over time for any one individual. I suggested in Chapter 3 that, according to Nye's account of Social Exchange Theory, positive affect is a reward in itself. Though every participant in Study 1 mentioned the affective power of photographs, only two thirds of them mentioned positive affect. Therefore, in terms of the photographic message, though photographs can be used to exchange affect, this is not their sole or even primary function. However, Study 3 demonstrated that there is a strong imperative to smile in family photographs, and this is particularly strong for children, and this does point to the use of photographs as tokens of affect.

Proposition Three: 'Lay perceptions of the nature of photographs can be described as being grounded in either a 'realist folk myth' or a 'symbolist folk myth'.

Proposition Four: 'Photographs gain their meaning in a narrative context'.

Proposition Three is related to Proposition One in that it concerns what, significance, or potential for meaning, is attributed to photographs by their users. Two 'myths' regarding the potential of photographs for meaning were identified: the 'realist' myth and the 'symbolist' myth. Given that photographs are considered to contain information, Proposition 3 raises the issue of the attributed provenance of that information: is it 'truth' or is it 'symbolic'?

My analysis of the data yielded by Study 1 led me to qualify this proposition. Though the two myths were discernible, no individual was exclusively located within either of them; rather, individuals moved freely between them. What seemed to emerge was a distinction between a theoretical meaning and a practical meaning, i.e. that when talking about photographs in the abstract, my participants tended towards the symbolist myth; whereas they switched to the realist myth when talking about specific photographs (e.g. 'this photograph shows...'). Therefore, Sontag's (1977) suggestion, to which I referred in Chapter 1, that the realist myth is somehow attributable to a naïve realism on the part of lay photographers, does not capture the complexity of the interaction. Rather, there is a favouring of stories occurring, i.e. the owner of the photograph seems to be saying implicitly 'given the manifest content of the photograph, here's my story; someone else may have a different story'. There doesn't seem to be a presumption of truth, i.e. that one story is better or truer

than the other. This interpretation of the invoking of realist and symbolist myths has important implications for the use of photographs in families; it enables the 'rhetorical battle', which Beloff (1993) suggests gets played out in photographs, to occur in the interactional context in which photographs are viewed. If we accept that each family has an ideal of itself which it attempts to construct and maintain (c.f. Reiss's (1981) description of the family paradigm, which I discussed in Chapter 3, then treating photographs as a 'mirror held up to reality', would not enable the family to preserve its paradigm; rather, photographs would challenge that paradigm, showing the family 'warts and all'. But if photographs are treated as malleable, then they are ideal props with which to construct family stories. My participants' acknowledgement of the malleability of photographic meaning which was described in Study 1, and the results of Study 3, which indicated that family photographs are highly systematic in what they depict and omit, all point towards the importance of photographs, not as static slices of the family's reality, or a visual filing cabinet which allows access to memory, but rather as props which help the family tell and retell its story.

Study 2, where I investigated the discourses surrounding photography available to professional photographers, indicated that professional photographers seem to treat the family's story as a given, and I suggested that this was the origin of the tension experienced by some of my participants in Study 1 when they visited a photographic studio. It appears that professional photographers are in the business of documenting 'The Family' for posterity, and for the extended family, rather than helping 'a family' to tell its own story.

Proposition Five: 'Family photographs may draw on ancient themes of unity and cohesiveness'

Moving from an abstract concept of a family story, what aspects of the family myth are best encapsulated in family photographs?

Proposition Five suggests that family photographs are used to promote and maintain family unity. The theme of *usage* of photographs, as described above, also arises in relation to this proposition. It emerged in Study 1 that photographs can be used to maintain family solidarity in several ways; not only do they *depict* the family together (as was found in Study 3, where the trend was for family photographs to tend to depict groups of nuclear family members to the exclusion of others, and where rituals which may serve to create and maintain family unity were over-represented in the photographic collections), but they can also help to *bring* the family together, both at the time of taking them, and on the occasions when family photographs are viewed by the nuclear family or sent to the extended family. It is the latter aspect which was

emphasised by professional photographers, who felt that an important aspect of photographs was to convey messages about family unity to the extended family.

These findings regarding the family's working to create and maintain unity bear out the emphasis placed on unity as a target of family interaction by Distance Regulation Theory (Kantor and Lehr, 1975). It would be interesting to investigate whether the use of photographs to create and maintain family unity is particularly common in families which, according to Distance Regulation theory, are 'closed type' families, which Kantor and Lehr claim are more likely to use icons and symbols to promote its members' adherence to strategies which help it to attain its desired position on the target dimensions.

Proposition Two: 'The essence of a photograph which differentiates it from other forms of representation, is its relationship to time'.

Time did emerge as a significant aspect of photographs in Study 1. The relationship of photographs to time was primarily governed by the manifest content, according to the participants in this study, who felt that photographs could be used to document change, and who claimed that they took many photographs of rites of passage. This was borne out by the archival study, in which I found that rites of passage, which serve to mark the passage of time in the family, were well represented in the photographic collection. I also found that peaks in photo-taking activity occurred during times in the family life cycle when families were undergoing rapid change. However, developmental milestones were not particularly well represented in the collections, and therefore it could be argued that the time which is at issue in the photographic collection is 'family' time, i.e. the whole family's trajectory through time, rather than the development of any one individual. Therefore, family photographs seem to encapsulate the processes of time management identified by Kantor and Lehr (1975) extremely well, in that they tell us how often events occur, what the family chooses to value from the past, and what the family collectively envisions for the future. Photographs enable families to record and remember events from the past (Study 1), and enable them to control their subjective experience of time (Study 1) or even to 'freeze' time (Study 2). Photographs also provide information regarding events which mark the passage of time (Study 3).

Proposition Six: 'Our personal histories are not only contained in family albums, but they are created by them'.

I suggested in Chapter 4 that the relevance of family photographs for individual identities may be more apparent in the latent content than in the manifest content of photographs. Issues of personal identity were raised in

relation to the latent content of photographs, in Study 1, where it was noted that participants tended to dislike their appearance in photographs. However, they also seemed to feel that they had little control over their appearance in photographs, or in the collection: individuals other than the curator of the collection can feel that they are having a history imposed on them which tells or at least, facilitates, a story other than the one they would tell.

Proposition Seven: 'Inferences regarding family dynamics can be drawn from the manifest content of photographs'.

The archival study examined the manifest content of ten family photographic collections in detail. To my knowledge, it is the only study which attempts to catalogue regularities in such collections in a reliable and clearly documented way. At the very least, this study demonstrates that there are cultural conventions governing the representation of families in photographs, in terms of who appears in the photographs, the depiction of affect, power and intimacy in photographs, the depiction of family roles and boundaries, when photographs are taken, and the events they depict. Evidence has finally been provided oft-cited but hitherto untested assertion that family photographs depict happy, united families.

However, the proposition above has not been tested in terms of whether 'actual' family dynamics are depicted in photographs. I have not attempted to draw any inferences regarding actual family dynamics which manifest themselves in photographs, nor do I feel that such an exercise would be a useful one. I have argued throughout this thesis that meaning is constructed around family photographs; therefore, any comparison of actual family dynamics yielded by standardised family measurement tools would only enable correlations between family dynamics and photographs to be established; it would not be possible to infer a causal link between the dynamics of an individual family and the manifest content of that family's photographic collection.

Nevertheless, the finding of clear themes within the manifest content of family photographic collections does raise some exciting possibilities for further research, and these will be discussed presently. I will first discuss some limitations of this research which future research could address.

Limitations of this research.

From the outset, this research was intended to be exploratory, as there was little methodologically sound research on which it could build. To that end, this endeavour has been successful, in that it provides some systematic data on which future research can build; it has laid to rest some prevalent

misconceptions regarding the evidential power of photographs, and it has shown how the 'rhetorical battle' inherent in photographic meaning serves an important role in family life. However, there are some methodological limitations of this research which will need to be addressed in future research.

Firstly, the in-depth nature of qualitative research means that it does not lend itself to large sample sizes. Nevertheless, all three studies would benefit both from having a larger sample, and from having a sample drawn from a wider cross section of photographers. This is particularly the case for the archival study, where only ten families were studied. The archival study was a particularly time consuming one, as there were nine pieces of information to be coded for in each photograph, which meant that each photograph took, on average, about two minutes to code. This meant that, with just one researcher working, it was not possible in the time available to both collect the data *and* carry out a reliability study. Therefore, for the archival study in particular, a team of researchers coding and recoding the collections of a greater number of families would be desirable.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this research is that it does not go far enough. It provides a titillating insight of the potential role of photographs in the family's construction of reality, but it is only a beginning. It constitutes a preliminary attempt to rectify the under-researching of visual artefacts by psychologists, and there is quite a way to travel before visual artefacts assume their rightful place in the literature on psychological aspects of material culture, an area of psychological research which is itself in its infancy.

To this end, there are several specific studies which would help to extend this research.

Suggestions for further research

1. Gender and family photographs. The issue of gender and photography in this thesis was notable by its absence. The archival study established that there are certain norms of representation governing the depiction of family roles in photographs. However, these roles are treated as being only incidentally gender bound. There is no account of what it means to present oneself as a woman, a man, a girl-child or a boy-child in photographs. Therefore, future research needs to systematically examine whether the gendered behaviour which Spence (1978), Mills (1984), Ragan (1982), and Goffman (1976) claim occurs in photographs actually does occur in the context of family photographs.

2. The use of family photographs to convey the family paradigm to children. I have emphasised that the meaning of family photographs arises through their use, and that their function is to create and maintain the family paradigm.

However, this account of their use has mainly been based on 'second-hand' accounts from my informants in Study 1. A study which adopts the methodology used by Edwards and Middleton (1988), i.e. participant observation of parents interacting with their children, with photographs as a focus of the interaction, and which analysed the resultant data in terms of the discourses regarding family life as it is portrayed for children in the communication around photographs, would be desirable.

3. Where do the norms of photographic representation originate? There are several ways in which norms of photographic representation may be perpetuated. Brown (1981) identified norms governing the representation of families in magazine advertising. However, given the changes in family life over the last decade in Western Europe, including increased life-expectancy, reduction in number of children, postponement of children until the couple are in their thirties, the increasing divorce rates, and the decreasing popularity of marriage (Statistical office of the European Communities, 1992), Brown's study may well be dated, and warrants replication, taking into account the methodological flaws in his research which I identified in Chapter 2. Another influence on norms of photographic representation is likely to be the ways in which professional photographers choose to depict families. In Study 2, it was established that professional photographers have firm ideas regarding what constitutes an appropriate representation of a family, and a content analysis of trade magazines would provide a more substantial body of data regarding the nature of these conventions would be a logical next step in the examination of professional photographer's impact on family photographs.

4. Comparison between family narratives and individual narratives

Throughout this research, I have effectively reified the family. Though I endeavoured to treat it as a 'unity of interacting personalities', as recommended by Burgess (1926), the data from the studies, and particularly from the archival study, have been treated as though 'the family' was speaking with one voice. This is inevitable, to a certain extent, given that I was dealing with a unitary photographic collection in each family. However, future research should attempt to tease apart the family story from individual stories, as this would provide an insight into how the individual establishes their personal identity within the context of the family. One means of doing this would be to provide a set of families with a camera for each member, and to compare the ensuing sets of photographs within each family.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have reviewed and evaluated some key family theories. I have considered how each theory may inform an investigation of the meaning and functions of photographs in families. I then refined the seven Propositions which I first introduced in Chapter 1 to take into account these insights from family theory.

This thesis as a whole has tested claims which have frequently been made, but seldom tested, regarding the meaning and functions of family photographs. It investigated the potential which photographs have for meaning, and consulted two distinct groups responsible for producing family photographs, i.e. families themselves, and professional photographers. It has achieved a detailed and systematic account of how photographs are used to construct meaning in the family, and what the nature of that meaning is. The second contribution this thesis makes to the study of the role of photographs in family life is a systematic archival study of the photographs which typically comprise family albums. Though we all 'know', from examining our own family collections, what goes into a family photograph collection, this is the first broad examination of a corpus of family collections which enables us to distinguish between the influence which individual families' creativity and own way of being, and the conventions which we have internalised from societal prescriptions regarding what constitutes 'a family', have on the construction of the family collection.

APPENDIX 1: THE AUTHOR'S PUBLISHED PAPERS ON PHOTOTHERAPY

Photographs and the therapeutic process

ÓRLA CRONIN, University of Southampton, and ANTHONY GALE,
University of Portsmouth

READERS OF FORUM may have heard of the use of photographs as an aid to therapy. There is considerable literature in this field, but as far as we are aware, relatively little has been published about phototherapy in British journals. In this brief article, we offer a short history of phototherapy, provide a taxonomy of the various uses of phototherapy, delineate the assumptions which underlie the use of photographs in therapeutic contexts, raise a number of critical points and conclude with some encouraging noises. Anecdotal evidence acquired by the first author during family therapy training would indicate that many practitioners do indeed make use of photographs as a resource, without necessarily espousing the title "phototherapist" or phototherapy. Readers will, we hope, see that personal and family photographs may be of use in treatment, particularly in the early stages of therapy.

History of phototherapy

Photographs have been used as the basis for illustrations in psychiatric textbooks since 1846, and the notion of actively employing photographs in the therapeutic process emerged not long after, with Kirkbride, an American psychiatrist, using the newly invented "photographic" magic lantern slides as part of a treatment and recreational programme for his patients around 1849 (Burns, 1980). In Europe, Hugh Diamond, a psychiatrist at the Surrey County Lunatic Asylum, began to use photographs to "demonstrate" the results of treatment and to present an "accurate self-image" to patients (Diamond, 1856/1976).

There seems to have been a lacuna in the documented use of photographs in therapeutic settings in this century, until the publication of Akeret's (1973) book, *Photoanalysis: How to interpret the hidden meaning of photographs*. As interest in the area burgeoned, the International Phototherapy Association and its associated journal, *Phototherapy* was founded in 1976, and since then, with the help of the *Phototherapy Journal* and related art therapy publications, phototherapy has gained a small but steady fol-

lowing in the United States, with the use of photographs being primarily associated with psychotherapy. In the UK, however, phototherapy is primarily associated with Jo Spence and Rosy Martin (e.g. Martin and Spence, 1991, see below), who used photographs in a co-counselling setting in order to challenge the assumptions and norms of family life. The most recent publication relating to phototherapy is Linda Berman's (1993) book, *Beyond the Smile*, a handbook of uses of photographs in therapy aimed at practitioners. Berman suggests that photographs help the therapist to gain a view of the relationships, the hierarchies, the culture, myths, norms and customs that make up the family system.

Uses of phototherapy

Weiser, the director of the Phototherapy Centre in Michigan, reviewed phototherapy and its uses in 1984 and concluded that there is a conspicuous lack of homogeneity in the practice of phototherapy. However, there are a number of common elements in the ways in which photographs are used and the therapeutic goals they support. There are also a number of associations underpinning practice which warrant elucidation, if not deconstruction.

The different uses of photographs in therapy can be placed on a continuum ranging through information gathering, the support and development of explicitly defined behaviours, to the revelation of supposed psychodynamic processes and emotional reactions. We have summarized the therapeutic practices which make use of photographs. (These summaries are based on Fryrear's [1980] list of phototherapy styles.) The categories described below are not mutually exclusive, and different approaches overlap. However, it can be seen that as one moves through the continuum, more interpretation and elaboration of the content occurs, including the interpretation of emotional significance and hidden meaning. This interpretation and elaboration is very often contributed by the therapist, sometimes without

reference to the client's view, and generally without any other external validation of the "meaning" of the photographs.

Obtaining information about the client's background. The socio-economic status and home environment of the client are inferred from photographs—for example, the neighbourhood, the physical state of repair of the home and the depiction of domestic possessions, such as books, furniture and decor. Other information might include family topography, i.e. networks of relatives and generational links (e.g. Berman, 1993).

Establishing rapport. Photographs are used to break ice in the initial stages of therapy, providing a non-threatening topic of discussion. This usage therefore offers an entrée to the therapeutic process rather than being a means to therapy itself (e.g. Gerace, 1989). It also allows the client to take the initiative in the therapeutic relationship by selecting photographs to bring for the first session.

Eliciting verbal behaviour. Albums or individual photographs are used as a stimulus to trigger discussion about the client's family life (e.g. Entin, 1983).

Skill acquisition as therapy. Taking, processing and presenting photographs of themselves and of their social and physical environment helps the client to engage with others, to see a task through from beginning to end, to organize their activities and to end up with a product of their own creative endeavours (e.g. Phillips, 1987). Thus photography is merely one of a range of possible activities having common positive effects; the client could as an alternative, for example, be encouraged to prepare and cook a meal.

Creative exploration of personal identity. Re-enactment of personal photographs helps the client to explore different perspectives of themselves and their past. The therapist (or in the case of Martin and Spence [e.g. 1987], the counsellor) discusses the person's choices of photographic subject matter to explore their personality (Weiser, 1985).

Documenting change. The client's demeanour depicted in photographs taken during the course of therapy is said to reveal changes in emotional state; photographs are therefore used as a dependent variable or index of therapeutic progress (e.g. Akeret, 1973; Diamond, 1856/1976). Samples of photographs from across the life cycle are used to examine life cycle and environmental change

(Gerace, 1989; Sedgwick, 1979).

Promoting change through feedback and self-confrontation. Typically, adolescents with low self-esteem, poor body image and a variety of emotional problems obtain feedback from photographs, sometimes taking photographs of each other in groups. Some researchers have claimed that psychotic behaviour can be reduced through self-confrontation using photographs (e.g. Hunsberger, 1984). Family photographs have also been used in treatment of eating disorders (e.g. Wessels, 1985) both as a means of tracing the origins of eating disorders in family dynamics and in treating disorder by challenging distorted body images.

Triggers for memories. Photographs may be used to stimulate memories of the past (Weiser, 1984), to check on the accuracy of recollections of family events or characteristics (Meloche, 1973) and to track continuities of themes in memory from past to present (Anderson and Malloy, 1976).

Projective technique. Defence mechanisms may prevent the open expression of feelings. Family photographs of close relatives may be used to facilitate the release of strong emotions (e.g. Gosciewski, 1975).

Diagnostic technique. Therapists infer a variety of emotional, dysfunctional or pathological states from individual photographs and collections belonging to clients. For example, the client may be said to reveal depression through facial expression (Graham, 1967), or their poor capacity for personal relationships through the choice of inanimate subject matter for their photographs (Ziller and Smith, 1977).

Exploring family systems. In a similar way, family dynamics, power relations and affectional bonds are inferred from photographs. Proximity and distance between family members, degree of physical contact, pairings of family members, inclusion and exclusion and location within the group are all used as indices of structure and process within the client family (e.g. Akeret, 1973; Reid, 1985).

Facts or constructions?

Several, though by no means all, of the uses of photographs summarized above (particularly towards the end of the continuum we have described) are based on the assumption that photographs represent an objective and external reality. Such

an assumption presupposes both the existence of an objective reality and the possibility of its faithful and direct pictorial translation. In many ways, the power and seductiveness of photographs originates from their seeming potential to "capture what's there". Furthermore, the extent to which photographs are treated as signs rather than symbols varies depending on the theoretical orientation and training of the therapist.

However, all therapeutic practice which employs photographs could benefit from being informed by theoretical perspectives such as symbolic interactionism (e.g. Burr et al., 1979), which suggest that individuals interpret events through their own symbolic structures and that therefore reality is always constructed by the individual. Similarly, reality as depicted in photographs is a joint construction of the photographer, the viewer, and the "archivist" who has selected the photograph for retention, all of whom have different concerns which influence the resulting photographic message.

For example, we are rarely told on what basis individual clients or family members actually select the photographs they bring to therapy. Similarly, the photographer, in choosing to take a photograph, and in posing subjects or selecting a particular angle, is imposing certain expectations, constructs and beliefs upon the visual field. Cloniger (1975), for example, has demonstrated that the gender of professional photographers can be inferred from photographs, and Messaris (1992) showed that observers' ratings of the power and attractiveness of the subject of a photograph are influenced by the angle and the proximity of the camera.

These biases are subtle, and have only been elucidated by painstaking analysis of large numbers of photographs. They indicate the caution with which photographs should be treated, particularly when using them as anything other than one possible representation of family life, but also give rise to questions which may be fruitfully asked of photographs, for example "What function does this particular representation serve in the family?" or "What was the photographer trying to convey with this photograph, and why?"

Hodge and Kress (1988) point out that family photographs are communications which convey a message about the family which is interpreted by the observer. Barthes (1984) emphasizes that a photograph on its own is an uncoded message. Therefore, in order for a photograph to be inter-

preted, there must be a sender and a receiver. For this reason, the individual and cultural biases influencing the photographer, the curator of the family album and the orientation of the observer need to be made explicit.

Furthermore, Boerdam and Martinius (1980), among others, suggest that family photographic collections are biased towards portraying an idealized vision of family life, a life which is care-free and unclouded by troubles; family photographs are heavily biased towards the positive, and therefore should be interpreted cautiously. To consider photographs as being an objective source of "information" is problematic; rather, they should be treated as interpretations of the client's reality—and not even necessarily the client's own interpretation. There is no guarantee that other members of the client's family would agree with either the client or the therapist about meaning. Photographs are anything but neutral and therefore a therapist should be wary of introducing them to the therapeutic setting without having a clear idea of how they may be used, and the impact they may have on the therapeutic process.

A version of phototherapy which embraces these concerns (and which also brings new dimensions—gender and sexuality—to the meaning of domestic photographs) is that of Martin and Spence (e.g. 1991). Spence (1991) describes a weekend co-counselling workshop to which participants were invited to bring a snapshot which was significant for them. The workshop entailed using the photographs as a springboard from which to narrate and work through childhood memories. Martin and Spence (1991) also describe their more intensive co-counselling using photographs, which involves using the family album as a starting point from which to embark on a process of self-discovery, using photographs as keys to repressed feelings. Drawing on the techniques of Gestalt therapy, visualization and psychodrama, by re-enacting significant photographs, the "sitter" and the "co-therapist" challenge the social construction of their identities, and in particular, challenge the rigid and stereotyped representation of those identities in family photograph collections.

This work, unlike many of the practices which are embraced by the term "photography", explicitly acknowledges and makes use of the constructed, social nature of photographs and challenges the conventions which govern the representation of

gender and sexuality, many of which permeate the private, domestic domain of photography as well as the public domain of the media.

Other work in this vein, which could also be considered "therapeutic", though not avowedly so, is the work of authors such as Boffin and Fraser (1991), or Holland et al. (1986), where the representation of issues which have been problematized in society, such as homosexuality and lesbianism, is challenged and subverted, with the goals of creating positive images, of deconstructing narrow stereotypes which do not encompass the diversity of experience of those groups which are represented, and finally, as a form of political activism where individuals and groups which have hitherto been marginalized seek to become visible both to each other and society at large.

The first author is currently exploring, through interviews with professional and domestic photographers, Q-sort, taxonomic analysis of family collections, and observations of family discussions around photographs, what photographs mean to individual family members and what implicit psychological factors lie behind the taking, storage, display and interpretation of family photographs. There are few empirical studies of the nature of family collections, the occasions on which photographs are taken, who appears in photographs and how they are depicted, and how photographs are used in "ordinary" family life. Much of the previous work has lacked a theoretical base, but a number of theories about identity, family interaction and process may be deployed to make sense of the data and to formulate hypotheses.

Undoubtedly, photographs will continue to be used in therapy, with the criteria for usefulness ultimately formulated on the basis of both the instincts of the therapist, and the extent to which the client's use of photographs is a positive and illuminating one, but until we have a systematic body of research available on which to base therapeutic practice, the power of photographs, both to enhance and to derail the therapeutic process, should not be underestimated.

Acknowledgements

Órla Cronin is in receipt of a postgraduate research studentship from the Economic and Social Research Council and the Committee for Advanced Studies, University of Southampton. The authors wish to thank Michael Daniels and Crawford Hollingworth for their assistance at the early stages of this work.

References

- AKERET, R. U. (1973) *Photoanalysis: How to interpret the hidden meaning of personal and public photographs*. New York: Wyden
- ANDERSON, C. M., and MALLOY, E. S. (1976) Family photographs: in treatment and therapy. *Family Process*, 15, 259-64
- BARTHES, R. (1984) *Camera Lucida: Reflections on photography*. London: Fontana (Originally published in 1980 as *La Chambre Claire*, trans. R. Howard)
- BERMAN, L. (1993) *Beyond the Smile: The therapeutic use of the photograph*. London: Routledge
- BOERDAM, J., and MARTINIUS, W. D. (1980) Family photographs: a sociological approach. *Netherlands Journal of Sociology*, 16, 2, 95-119
- BOFFIN, T., and FRASER, J. (1991) (Eds) *Stolen Glances: Lesbians take photographs*. London: Pandora Press
- BURNS, S. B. (1980) Early medical photography in America (1839-1883). V. Beginnings of psychiatric photography. *New York State Journal of Medicine*, February, 270-82
- BURR, W. R., LEIGH, G. F., DAY, R. D., and CONSTANTINE, J. (1979) Symbolic interaction in the family. In W. R. Burr, R. Hill, F. I. Nye and I. L. Reiss (Eds) *Contemporary Theories about the Family: Vol. 2. General Theories/Theoretical Orientations*. New York: Free Press
- CLONIGER, S. J. (1975) The sexually dimorphic image: An empirical analysis of the influences of gender differences on photographic content. Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975, 35, 8-a. (University Microfilms no. 5527)
- DIAMOND, H. (1856) On the application of photography to the physiognomic and mental phenomena of insanity. In S. L. Gilman (Ed.) (1976) *The Face of Madness*. New York: Brunner Mazel
- ENTIN, A. D. (1983) The family photo album as icon: photographs in family therapy. In D. A. Krauss and J. L. Fryrear (Eds) *Photography in Mental Health*. Illinois: Thomas
- FRYREAR, J. L. (1980) A selective, non-evaluative review of research on phototherapy. *Phototherapy Quarterly*, 2, 7-9
- GERACE, L. M. (1989) Using family photographs to explore life cycle changes. *Nursing and Health Care*, 10, 245-9
- GOSCIEWSKI, F. (1975) Photo counseling. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 53, 600-4
- GRAHAM, J. R. (1967) The use of photographs in psychiatry. *Canadian Psychiatric Journal*, 12, 425
- HODGE, R., AND KRESS, G. (1988) *Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- HOLLAND, P., SPENCE, J., and WATNEY, S. (Eds) (1986) *Photography/Politics: Two*. London: Comedia
- HUNSBERGER, P. (1984) Uses of instant print photography in psychotherapy. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 15, 884-90
- MARTIN, R., and SPENCE, J. (1987) Double exposure: The minefield of memory. Exhibition commentary, Photographers Gallery Touring Exhibition

CRONIN and GALE

- MARTIN, R., and SPENCE, J. (1991) Unwind the ties that bind. In J. Spence and P. Holland (Eds) *Family Snaps: The meanings of domestic photography*. London: Virago
- MELOCHE, M. (1973) Utilisation de l'album de photos dans l'évaluation clinique. *La Vie Médicale au Canada Français*, 2, 865-70
- MESSARIS, P. (1992) Visual "manipulation": Visual means of affecting responses to images. *Communications*, 13, 181-95
- PHILLIPS, D. (1987) Photography's use as a metaphor of self with stabilised schizophrenic patients. *Phototherapy*, 6, 2, 15-19
- REID, M. T. (1985) My use of photographs in therapy. *Phototherapy*, 4, 3, 10-1
- SEDGWICK, R. (1979) The use of photoanalysis and family memorabilia in the study of family interaction. *Corrective and Social Psychiatry and Journal of Behaviour Technology*, 25, 137-41
- SPENCE, J. (1991) Soap, family album work. In J. Spence and P. Holland (Eds) *Family Snaps: The meanings of domestic photography*. London: Virago
- WEISER, J. (1984) Phototherapy: Becoming visually literate about oneself, or "phototherapy? what's phototherapy?". *Phototherapy*, 4, 2-7
- WEISER, J. (1985) Phototherapy: using snapshots and photo-interactions in therapy with youth. In C. E. Schaefer (Ed.) *Innovative Interventions in Child and Adolescent Therapy*. New York: Wiley
- WESSELS, D. T. (1985) Using family photographs in the treatment of eating disorders. *Psychotherapy in Private Practice*, 3, 4, 95-105
- ZILLER, R. C., and SMITH, D. E. (1977) A phenomenological utilization of photographs. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 7, 172-85

Address

Department of Psychology, University of Southampton,
Highfield, Southampton SO17 3BJ

Phototherapie Ein kritischer Überblick*

O.S. Cronin, A. Gale, Southampton

Einführung

„Phototherapie“ bezeichnet die Arbeit mit Photographien als therapeutischem Medium. Befürworter der Phototherapie sehen darin eine Unterstützung des therapeutischen Prozesses. Dieser Aufsatz will einen kritischen Überblick über die Möglichkeiten der Phototherapie geben. Weiser (1985) hat darauf hingewiesen, daß der Begriff „Phototherapie“ keine homogene Praktik und Methodik bezeichnet, aber dennoch weisen Anwendung und therapeutische Ziele einige gemeinsame Elemente auf. Die unterschiedlichen Ansätze der Phototherapie sind darüber hinaus auch durch implizite Annahmen über den Charakter von Photographien und ihre Funktionen im Alltag miteinander verbunden. Wir wollen die verschiedenen Ansätze vorstellen, Beispiele aus der klinischen Praxis und der Forschung anführen, eine kritische Analyse anbieten, die theoretischen Voraussetzungen untersuchen und schließlich, als Psychologen, auch zukünftige Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten skizzieren.

Was ist Phototherapie?

Die unterschiedlichen therapeutischen Nutzungsmöglichkeiten von Photos liegen in einem Kontinuum von der Informationssammlung über die Förderung und Entwicklung klar definierten Verhaltens bis zur Aufdeckung vermuteter psychodynamischer Prozesse und emotionaler Reaktionen. Fryrear (1980) hat 11 Kategorien definiert, die wir vertieft haben:

(1) *Informationen über den Hintergrund der Klienten:* Von Photos läßt sich auf den sozio-ökonomischen Status und die häusliche Umgebung der Klienten schließen, z.B. Wohngegend, äußerer Zustand des Hauses und die Darstellung privaten Besitzes. Zu weiteren sachlichen Informationen zählt z.B. die Topographie der Familie, d.h. verwandtschaftliche Netzwerke und generationenübergreifende Verbindungen (Meloche 1973; Sedgwick 1979).

* Vortrag auf der 3. Internationalen Konferenz für Integrative und Eklektische Psychotherapie, Lyon, Juni 1994.

(2) *Herstellung von Rapport*: Photos werden im Anfangsstadium der Therapie als „Eisbrecher“ genutzt, als nicht bedrohliches Gesprächsthema. In diesem Fall sind sie nicht so sehr Medium der Therapie, sondern bieten einen Einstieg in den therapeutischen Prozeß (Gerace 1989; Gosciowski 1975; Weiser 1984).

(3) *Auslöser für verbales Verhalten*: Photoalben oder einzelne Bilder werden dazu genutzt, ein Gespräch über das Familienleben der Klienten in Gang zu bringen (Entin 1983; Fryrear 1980).

(4) *Kreative Exploration der Identität*: Das erneute Anschauen persönlicher Photos hilft einem dabei, unterschiedliche Perspektiven seiner selbst und seiner Vergangenheit zu gewinnen. Der Therapeut (oder bei Martin, Spence der Co-Berater, z.B. 1987) diskutiert die Auswahl der abgebildeten Motive mit den Klienten, um darüber ihre Persönlichkeit zu explorieren (Weiser 1985).

(5) *Erwerb von Fertigkeiten als Therapie*: Photographieren bietet Klienten die Möglichkeit, sich mit anderen zu beschäftigen, eine Aufgabe von Anfang bis Ende durchzuführen, ihre Aktivitäten zu strukturieren und ein eigenes Produkt vorzulegen (Aronson, Graziano 1976; Cosden, Reynolds 1982; Fryrear 1980; Weiser 1985). Photographieren ist dann aber nur eine von vielen Aktivitäten mit positiven Auswirkungen; man könnte die Klienten genauso gut ermutigen, z.B. eine Mahlzeit zuzubereiten.

(6) *Dokumentation von Veränderungen*: Die äußere Erscheinung der Klienten auf Photos, die im Verlauf der Therapie gemacht werden, soll Veränderungen des psychischen Zustands erkennbar machen; hier werden Photos also als abhängige Variable oder als Gradmesser für therapeutische Fortschritte benutzt (Akeret 1973; Graham 1967).

(7) *Förderung von Veränderung durch Feedback und Selbstkonfrontation*: Jugendliche mit geringem Selbstwertgefühl, schlechtem Körperbild und mit psychischen Problemen bekommen Feedback durch Photos und photographieren sich gelegentlich gegenseitig in Gruppen. In manchen Fällen wird ein psychotisches Verhalten durch Selbstkonfrontation reduziert (Amerikaner, Shauble, Ziller 1980; Ammerman, Fryrear 1975; Aronson, Graziano 1975; Combs, Ziller 1977; Cornelison, Arsenian 1960; Diamond 1856; Hunsberger 1984; Miller 1962; Spire 1973; Zwick 1978).

(8) *Auslöser für Erinnerungen*: Photos können dazu benutzt werden, Erinnerungen an die Vergangenheit zu stimulieren (Weiser 1984), Erinnerungen an familiäre Ereignisse oder an deren Eigenschaften auf ihre Richtigkeit zu überprüfen (Meloche 1973) und Kontinuitäten zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart aufzuspüren (Anderson, Malloy 1976).

(9) *Als projektive Technik*: Abwehrmechanismen verhindern oft den offenen Ausdruck von Gefühlen. Photos von Familienangehörigen

können als Hilfsmittel benutzt werden, um starke Gefühle freizusetzen (Gosciewski 1975; Weiser 1984; Wolf 1976).

(10) *Als diagnostische Technik*: Psychotherapeuten ziehen aus einzelnen Photos oder Photoalben der Klienten Rückschlüsse über verschiedene psychische, dysfunktionale oder pathologische Zustände. Aus dem Gesichtsausdruck z.B. soll Depression erkennbar sein (Diamond 1856; Graham 1967), Photos mit unbelebten Gegenständen gelten als Hinweis auf schlechte Beziehungsfähigkeit (Ziller, Smith 1977).

(11) *Exploration von Familiensystemen*: Ähnlich werden auch Familiendynamik, Machtbeziehungen und affektive Bindungen aus Photos abgeleitet. Nähe und Distanz zwischen Familienmitgliedern, Ausmaß des Körperkontakts, Einteilung der Gruppen, Ein- und Ausschluß und die Position in der Gruppe gelten als Anzeichen für die Struktur und den Prozeß in der Familie des Klienten (Akeret 1973; Entin 1983).

Diese Kategorien schließen sich gegenseitig nicht aus, und verschiedene Ansätze überlappen sich. Allerdings läßt sich feststellen, daß beim Gang durch dieses Kontinuum Deutung und Weiterentwicklung des Inhalts zunehmen, etwa die Deutung der psychischen Wichtigkeit und verborgener Bedeutungen.

Gemeinsame Annahmen der Phototherapie

Der Konstruktionscharakter von Photographien

Die Mehrheit der Autoren geht offenbar davon aus, daß Photos eine äußere, objektive Realität repräsentieren. Diese Annahme basiert auf der Voraussetzung, daß es sowohl eine objektive Realität als auch die Möglichkeit zu ihrer getreuen und unmittelbaren bildlichen Umsetzung gibt. Die Einsicht, daß sowohl die Realität als auch die Photos konstruiert sein können, ist nur bei wenigen zu finden. Der Psychotherapeut wird als jemand beschrieben, der in den Photos die objektive Realität erkennen und die Klienten dann zu einem einsichtsreichen Verständnis ihrer wahren Eigenschaften führen könne. Die Reflexion über Aspekte der Photos, auf die der Therapeut hingewiesen hat, soll dem Klienten z.B. zu einem Verständnis seiner Familiendynamik verhelfen. Ein Vertreter des symbolischen Interaktionismus würde vermuten, daß jedes Familienmitglied, das an einem gemeinsamen Austausch in der Familie beteiligt ist, die Vorgänge durch seine eigenen symbolischen Strukturen interpretieren würde, so daß es keine gemeinsame „objektive“ Realität gebe (Burr et al. 1979). Wir erfahren nur selten, auf welcher Basis die Klienten oder Familienmitglieder die Photos auswählen, die sie mit in die Therapie bringen.

Entsprechend drücken die Bilder auch die Erwartungen, Konstrukte und Überzeugungen der Photographierenden aus, die diese dem Bild durch ihren Entschluß zu diesem Photo, durch die Positionierung der Bildgegenstände und durch die Wahl eines bestimmten Blickwinkels überstülpen. *Cloninger* (1975) hat z.B. gezeigt, daß man von professionellen Photos auf das Geschlecht der Photographen schließen kann, und *Messaris* (1992) hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Perspektive und die Entfernung der Kamera mit dafür verantwortlich sind, wie die Betrachter die Kraft und Attraktivität der Photographierten beurteilen. Allzu oft werden solche Aspekte ignoriert; Photos werden als Abbildung von „Fakten“ betrachtet, obwohl viel dafür spricht, daß sie nicht mehr objektive Stabilität besitzen als impressionistische Gemälde.

Nach *Hodge* und *Kress* (1988) sind Familienphotos Mitteilungen, die eine Botschaft über eine Familie enthalten, die vom Betrachter gedeutet wird. *Barthes* (1977) betont, daß ein Photo für sich genommen eine nichtkodierte Botschaft ist, die zu ihrer Interpretation einen Sender und einen Empfänger braucht. Aus diesem Grund müssen die individuellen und gesellschaftlichen Vorannahmen deutlich gemacht werden, die den Photographen, den Verwalter des Familienalbums und die Orientierung des Betrachtenden beeinflussen. Außerdem haben unter anderem *Boerdam* und *Martinius* (1980) festgestellt, daß Sammlungen von Familienphotos meist einseitig darauf abzielen, eine idealisierte Vision von einem sorgenfreien, nicht mit Problemen belasteten Familienleben vorzuführen, das heißt, sie konzentrieren sich hauptsächlich auf das Positive, weshalb man bei ihrer Deutung sehr vorsichtig sein muß.

Vorannahmen des Therapeuten

Wenn Familienmitglieder und der Photograph ihre eigene spezielle Sicht der Ereignisse haben, wie steht es dann mit den Therapeuten? Wahrscheinlich beeinflussen ihre theoretischen Orientierungen und ihre Vermutungen über den Hintergrund der jeweiligen Klienten auch ihre Deutung des Inhalts des Photos. Mehrere Autoren (z.B. *Akeret* 1973; *Hirsch* 1981) meinen, aus Photographien „Realität“ ableiten zu können. *Akeret* z.B. behauptet, man könne durch einen Vergleich des rechten und linken Profils auf Photos von Präsident Nixon seine positiven und negativen Eigenschaften erkennen. Für die Annahme, Therapeuten seien neutral, gibt es keine stichhaltigen Gründe. Und selbst in den Fällen, in denen ein Photo die Behauptungen eines Therapeuten zu bestätigen scheint, muß u.E. gewährleistet sein, daß es nicht unter vielen anderen ausgewählt wurde, die es widerlegen oder eine völlig andere Deutung stützen würden. Wir sagen nicht, eine zutreffende Deutung sei unmöglich, sondern nur, daß

diese von mehreren unabhängigen Urteilen bestätigt werden müßte. Übereinstimmung bei unabhängigen Urteilen bietet eine gewisse Gewähr für Reliabilität (Zuverlässigkeit), die zu den Grundvoraussetzungen der psychometrischen Testtheorie zählt.

Die Unterscheidung zwischen Reliabilität und Validität

Selbst wenn sich eine Gruppe unabhängiger Betrachter über den Inhalt eines bestimmten Photos einig ist, bestätigt das nur die Reliabilität. Zur Bestimmung von Validität ist eine externe Bestätigung aus anderen Quellen erforderlich. Wenn die Betrachter z.B. übereinstimmend feststellen, daß ein Familienmitglied auf den Photos in einer gewissen Distanz zu den Eltern zu sehen ist und auf keinem Bild neben ihnen steht oder sie berührt, ist das noch keine Garantie dafür, daß die Beziehungen tatsächlich belastet sind oder Nähe abgelehnt wird. Für diese Schlußfolgerung ist eine Bestätigung aus anderen Quellen erforderlich. Unabhängige Urteile sind selten, und die Notwendigkeit einer externen Validierung wird nicht anerkannt (Akeret 1973).

Implizite und explizite Theorie

Einer der Vorteile einer gutstrukturierten Theorie besteht darin, daß sie zeigt, welche Variablen gemessen oder beeinflußt werden sollten. Es gibt zwar eine Reihe psychologischer Theorien über non-verbales Verhalten und über Familienbeziehungen, aber nur wenige Fachleute auf dem Feld der Familienphotographie nehmen darauf Bezug. Ohne solche theoretische Einbindung bleibt die Forschung über die Bedeutung von Photos allerdings rein pragmatisch, und ein pragmatischer Ansatz ist weder ausreichend, um die Forschungsergebnisse aus den verschiedenen Studien zu strukturieren und zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen, noch kann er die Richtung für künftige Forschungen aufzeigen. Die Forschung läuft damit Gefahr, eine Anzahl einmaliger Untersuchungen zu produzieren statt einer Abfolge von Untersuchungen, die progressiv aufeinander aufbauen. Eine zuverlässige wissenschaftliche Basis ist die Voraussetzung für einen verantwortlichen Umgang mit Methoden in psychotherapeutischen Kontexten. Die Phototherapie kann leicht in den Ruch von Spielerei und Scharlatanerie geraten, wie wir es bei der Graphologie erlebt haben, die Persönlichkeitsmerkmale aus der individuellen Handschrift ableiten wollte (*British Psychological Society* 1993). Nach der folgenden Beschreibung der empirischen Forschung werden wir einige theoretische Ansätze näher betrachten, die ein systematisches Verständnis der Bedeutung von Photos ermöglichen.

Empirische Forschung

In diesem Abschnitt beschränken wir uns auf solche Untersuchungen, die zumindest ansatzweise angeben, welche Methoden angewandt wurden, und ihre Ergebnisse systematisch beschreiben. Individuelle Fallstudien oder anekdotisches Material können zwar durchaus Anstöße für die weitere Entwicklung der Forschung geben, sind aber für sich genommen noch kein systematisches Material und unterliegen darüber hinaus den oben beschriebenen Einwänden, was Selektivität und Vorurteile angeht.

Die empirischen Forschungen, die wir beschreiben, lassen sich in drei Gruppen einteilen: Untersuchungen des Informationsgehalts von Photos, Ergebnisforschung über den therapeutischen Nutzen der Arbeit mit Photos und Untersuchungen über die Funktion von Photographien im Alltag.

Informationsgehalt von Photos

Soziale Identität der Familie: Blinn (1988) hat sich mit der Frage beschäftigt, ob aus der Photosammlung einer Familie auf ihre soziale Identität geschlossen werden kann. Die soziale Identität von zehn Familien wurde mit drei unabhängigen Verfahren eingeschätzt: Einschätzung anhand der Familienphotos durch unabhängige Beurteiler, Selbsteinschätzung der Familie und die Werte der Familie auf der „Family Environment Scale“ (Moos 1974). Die Korrelation zwischen den unabhängigen Bewertungen der Photos und der Selbsteinschätzung der Familien reichte für die Feststellung aus, daß eine mäßige Kongruenz zwischen der Wahrnehmung der sozialen Identität durch unabhängige Betrachter von Photos und der Selbsteinschätzung der Familien existiert. Die Untersuchung entspricht den Kriterien zur Reliabilität und Validität und bemüht sich, mögliche Vorurteile zu reduzieren. Sie ergab allerdings keine Korrelation zwischen den Einschätzungen der Beurteiler und den Ergebnissen auf der „Family Environment Scale“, d.h., sie schloß eine mögliche Quelle externer Validierung aus.

Soziale Repräsentationen von Veränderungen im Lebenszyklus: Brown (1981) hat historische und familiäre Veränderungen im Lebenszyklus in Bildern des Familienlebens aus Anzeigen in Illustrierten analysiert. Er wollte die Präsenz, Stärke und Signifikanz von Beziehungen zwischen den unabhängigen Variablen a) historischer Zeitraum, b) Phase des familiären Lebenszyklus und c) Anzahl der Kinder jedes Geschlechts einerseits und zwischen abhängigen Variablen wie Rollen, Gemeinschaft und Intimität der Familie andererseits bestimmen. Zwei ausgebildete Beurteiler beurteilten ein großes Photosample

nach den Rollen, die den einzelnen Familienmitgliedern zugeschrieben werden, und untersuchten Gemeinschaft und Intimität anhand des „Interpersonal Grid“ von *Levinger* und *Gunner* (1967).

Brown hat festgestellt, daß das gesamte Photomaterial in bezug auf die dargestellten Rollen kaum Anhaltspunkte für Veränderungen im Hinblick auf stärker egalitäre Familienstrukturen bot. Vor allem die Frauen wurden bei stereotypen Aktivitäten portraitiert. Die Bedeutung der Familiengemeinschaft nahm mit der Zeit zu. Für die Intimität der Ehepartner ergab sich im Lebenszyklus eine Kurve, deren Höhepunkte in den vor- und nachelterlichen Phasen lag.

Brown verweist auf die wichtige Kontroverse, ob Werbung gesellschaftliche Werte *beeinflusst* oder sich nur auf sie bezieht und sie damit *spiegelt*. Solange diese Kontroverse nicht geklärt ist, können wir aus *Browns* Untersuchung keine Schlußfolgerungen über das Verhalten in realen Familien ziehen. Sie illustriert aber sehr gut, daß die Darstellung von Familien auf Photos durch klare kulturelle Normen beeinflusst wird, und sie weist darauf hin, daß der Einfluß kultureller Normen auf die visuelle Repräsentation, ob von der Familie selbst oder durch Berufsfotografen, die bei der Unterstützung der sozialen Repräsentationen des Familienlebens eine Funktion haben, die „Realität“ von Familien möglicherweise systematisch transformiert. *Browns* Untersuchung hat viele bemerkenswerte Aspekte, z.B. die unabhängige Beurteilung und die behutsame Interpretation der Ergebnisse.

Aufdeckung von Selbstkonzepten durch selbst aufgenommene Photos: *Combs* und *Ziller* (1977) haben die Selbstkonzepte anhand von Photos untersucht, die von den Probanden selbst aufgenommen wurden. Sie gingen davon aus, daß Photographien die phänomenologische Weltenerfahrung der Photographierenden festhalten. Demnach müßten sich Photos, die Beratungsklienten aufnehmen, von Photos unterscheiden, deren Photographen nicht in Beratung waren. Dazu haben sie eine Gruppe von elf Probanden, die an einer psychologischen Beratung teilnahmen, mit einer Gruppe von Psychologiestudenten verglichen. Alle Probanden sollten 12 Photos machen, die zeigten, „wer sie sind“. *Combs* und *Ziller* stellten fest, daß die Gruppe der Klienten häufiger Motive aus ihren Familien und der Vergangenheit photographierten und seltener Bilder von sich selbst, von ihren Aktivitäten oder Büchern machten.

Die Autoren lieferten mehrere spekulative Deutungen, etwa daß die Klienten ihre äußere Erscheinung nicht akzeptierten, Probleme hätten, ein Selbstgefühl außerhalb der Familie zu entwickeln, ein Bedürfnis nach Rückkehr in die Vergangenheit hätten und sich von den Aktivitäten anderer Studenten distanzieren. Positiv ist zu sagen, daß die Untersuchung mit einer Kontrollgruppe arbeitet und sich auf

objektive Merkmale der Photos stützt, die nicht übertrieben stark vom Urteil des Beurteilenden abhängen.

Zeigen die ausgewählten Motive Aspekte der Persönlichkeit? Ziller (1990) hat die Beziehung zwischen Persönlichkeitsmerkmalen und den Motiven der je 12 Photos untersucht, die von den Teilnehmern zum Thema „Wer bin ich?“ gemacht werden sollten. Dabei hat Ziller verschiedene Korrelationen zwischen den externen Beurteilungen der Photos und anderen Tests für verschiedene Merkmale festgestellt: Bei „Bücherorientierung“ z.B. ergab sich eine mäßige Korrelation mit dem Notendurchschnitt, „ästhetische Orientierung“ korrelierte mit den Ergebnissen bei den „ästhetischen Werten“ in Wertetest von Vernon, Allport und Lindsey (Allport, G., Vernon, P., Lindsey, G. 1951: Study of Values. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; zit.n. Ziller 1990, S. 44), „Selbstorientierung“ mit den Werten für Zufriedenheit im Fragebogen von Piers-Harris (zit.n. Ziller 1990, S. 45) und Selbstachtung im Fragebogen von Coopersmith (1959, 1967), „soziale Orientierung“ korrelierte mit dem gesellschaftlichen Interesse in Zillers „Social Schemas Tasks“ (Ziller 1973). Allerdings waren die Korrelationen jeweils gering und nur für einen sehr bescheidenen Anteil der Varianz verantwortlich. Der Vergleich der Reliabilität der Beurteiler wurde mit .83 angegeben; es bleibt aber unklar, wie diese Zahl errechnet wurde.

Information über das Familiensystem: Gardner (1983, 1990, 1991) hat mit einem familiensystemischen Ansatz untersucht, ob und wie Familien ihre Grenzen und Geschlechtsrollen über die Photos definieren, die sie aufnehmen und aufbewahren, und ob der Inhalt dieser Photos sich nach Geschlecht, demographischen Variablen und Lebenszyklus unterscheidet. Obwohl Gardners Ergebnisse statistisch nicht signifikant sind, zeigen sie doch, daß die Photos in den Photoalben meist Mitglieder der Kern- oder erweiterten Familie abbilden, Ereignisse der Kernfamilie beleuchten, eher lokal als kosmopolitisch orientiert sind und auch gestellte, geschlechtsneutrale und Landschaftsbilder enthalten. Photographiert wird in der Kernfamilie tendenziell am häufigsten in den Sommermonaten und der Weihnachtszeit.

Bei vielfältigen sozialen Prozessen, die mit der Zusammenstellung des Familienalbums verbunden sind, ergab sich ein deutlicher Bezug zum Geschlecht. In den meisten Familien wurden die Photos hauptsächlich von der Ehefrau aufgenommen (das widerspricht den Ergebnissen von Musello [1979], nach denen die Rolle des Familienfotografen geschlechtsneutral war). Außerdem war es in der Regel auch die Ehefrau, die für die Auswahl der Photos und die Einrichtung und Aktualisierung der Fotoalben verantwortlich war. Die visuelle Repräsentation des Familienlebens fiel damit überwiegend in die Domäne

der Ehefrau. Aus *Gardners* Ergebnissen läßt sich auch schließen, daß die Phasen im Lebenszyklus der Familie und die Schichtzugehörigkeit einen Einfluß auf die Art der Photos in Familienalben haben.

Gardners Fragen decken sich mit unserem eigenen Ansatz. Manche ihrer Variablen sind objektiv definiert, aber bei anderen greift sie auf Deutungen zurück.

Rollenlernen: Titus (1976) ist davon ausgegangen, daß die Photosammlungen einer Familie das Rollenverhalten der Eltern beim ersten Übergang zur Elternschaft stärker spiegelt als bei allen folgenden Übergängen, weil Elternverhalten erlernt wird. Nach der Geburt des ersten Kindes werden die Elternrollen assimiliert und müssen deshalb nach der Geburt der folgenden Kinder nicht noch einmal erlernt werden. *Titus* hat ihre Hypothese nach der Anzahl der Photos operationalisiert, die das Elternverhalten in den ersten drei Monaten nach der Geburt jedes Kindes illustrieren. Ihrer Hypothese zufolge müßte es vom ersten Kind mehr Photos geben als von weiteren Kindern. Sie hat festgestellt, daß es signifikant mehr Photos vom ersten Kind gab als vom zweiten sowie mehr Photos, die die Eltern bei der Versorgung des ersten Kindes oder das Kind allein zeigten, während es vom zweiten Kind mehr Photos gab, auf denen es mit wichtigen Anderen zu sehen war. *Titus* hat aber nicht klar definiert, was sie unter „Elternverhalten“ versteht, und obwohl sie untersuchen wollte, welches Elternverhalten für die Eltern bei jedem Übergang signifikant war, hat sie die Abnahme von Verhaltensweisen, die mit der Versorgung von Säuglingen assoziiert sind, als Abnahme von Elternverhalten generell formuliert. Diese Annahme ist nicht zulässig.

Ergebnisforschung über den therapeutischen Nutzen der Arbeit mit Photos

Selbstkonfrontation und die Wiederherstellung des Selbst: Miller (1962) hat untersucht, ob chronisch psychotische Patienten, zu deren Symptomen ja häufig ein Verlust des Selbstgefühls zählt, von der Selbstkonfrontation mittels Photographien profitieren können. 42 Patienten und Patientinnen in einer psychiatrischen Klinik wurden fotografiert. Anschließend zeigte man ihnen die Bilder und fragte sie: „Wen zeigt das Bild?“ 38 Probanden erkannten sich sofort, bei den verbleibenden vier war die offensichtliche Unfähigkeit, sich zu erkennen, nicht mit anderen klinischen Symptomen korreliert. Eine deutliche Verbesserung, die sich spezifisch auf die Selbstkonfrontation mit dem Photo zurückführen ließ, war bei keinem Patienten zu erkennen; offenbar lag der Hauptnutzen der Arbeit mit den Photos im Zuwachs an sozialen Kontakten. Die Studie wirft zwar potentiell interessante Fragen auf, aber ihr Ergebnis hat die Erwartungen nicht erfüllt.

Selbstwertgefühl und soziale Beziehungen: Fryrear, Nuell und White (1976) sehen in negativen oder schlechten sozialen Selbstkonzepten ein Anzeichen für unbefriedigende soziale Beziehungen. Sie haben untersucht, ob sich die Selbstachtung bei jugendlichen Straftätern mit einem geringen sozialen Selbstwertgefühl steigern läßt, wenn man ihnen Photos zeigt, auf denen sie in erfolgreichen sozialen Interaktionen zu sehen sind. 30 männliche jugendliche Straftäter sollten sich in einem Zeitraum von fünf Wochen in unterschiedlichen Posen gegenseitig photographieren. Die Teilnehmer der Experimentgruppe wurden in jeder Woche zwölfmal bei erfolgreichen Interaktionen photographiert, während die Kontrollgruppe dieses visuelle Feedback nicht erhielt. Bei der Experimentgruppe wurden Verbesserungen im Selbstkonzept auf der physischen, moralisch-ethischen und sozialen Ebene sowie im Bereich Identität, Selbstzufriedenheit und Verhalten festgestellt.

Nach Meinung von *Fryrear, Nuell und Ridley* (1974) könnte das schlechte Körperbild bei jugendlichen Straftätern auf fehlerhafte Informationen über ihr physisches Erscheinungsbild zurückgehen. Wenn man ihnen die Möglichkeit gibt, sich so zu sehen, wie andere sie sehen, und damit ihr Selbstkonzept erweitert, müßten sie entsprechend zu einem gesellschaftlich akzeptableren Verhalten finden. Die Autoren haben ihre These in einer gut kontrollierten Studie überprüft, bei der jugendliche Straftäter sich gegenseitig photographierten. Die Versuchsleiter diskutierten die Photos mit den Probanden und halfen ihnen bei der Zusammenstellung von Photoalben. Die Ergebnisse der vor und nach dem Experiment durchgeführten Tests („Tennessee Self-Concept Scale“, zit.n. *Fryrear et al.* 1974; „Coopersmith Behaviour Rating Form“ 1959, 1967) zeigten generelle Verbesserungen im gesamten Selbstkonzept, Selbstzufriedenheit und Selbstwertgefühl bei der Experimentgruppe, der man das photographische Feedback über ihre äußere Erscheinung ermöglicht hatte.

Ammerman und Fryrear (1975) haben versucht, photographisches Feedback präventiv statt korrektiv einzusetzen. Sie wollten bei Kindern, deren Selbstwertgefühl sowohl subjektiv und als auch auf der Verhaltensebene gering war, eine oder beide Persönlichkeitsdimensionen verbessern. Zwölf Schulkinder mit geringen Werten bei Tests zum Selbstwertgefühl photographierten sich über einen Zeitraum von fünf Wochen gegenseitig in unterschiedlichen Posen und stellten Fotoalben zusammen. Die vor und nach dem Experiment angestellten Messungen („Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory“ und „Behavior Rating Form“ 1959, 1967) ergaben Veränderungen im Selbstwertgefühl, die sich allerdings auf der Verhaltensebene und nicht auf der Ebene subjektiver Wahrnehmung niederschlugen.

Diese Untersuchungen ragen aus der Literatur zur Phototherapie heraus, weil mehrere verwandte Fragestellungen exploriert wurden,

mit angemessenen Kontrollmethoden gearbeitet wurde und unabhängige Messungen durchgeführt wurden, so daß sie unterschiedliche Mittel zur externen Validierung liefern. Untersuchungsziel und -design sind kohärent und liefern so einen systematischen Wissensbeitrag.

Selbstkonfrontation von psychotischen Patienten: Spire (1973) hat untersucht, ob instabile Menschen, die unter Selbstzweifeln leiden und tendenziell schlechte Körperbilder haben, von einer photographischen Selbstkonfrontation profitieren können. Über einen Zeitraum von sechs Wochen wurden zwölf Patientinnen, die an chronischer Schizophrenie litten, zweimal wöchentlich zwölfmal photographiert. Anschließend zeigte man ihnen die Bilder und fragte: „Wer ist auf dem Bild zu sehen?“ Bei verschiedenen Tests („Adjective Check List“, Gough, Heilbrun 1965; „Draw a Person“, Francis 1966; „Hospital Adjustment Scale“, McReynolds, Ferguson 1946) zeigten die Patientinnen signifikante Verbesserungen. Allerdings sind solche Studien, die keine Kontrollgruppen benutzen, insofern problematisch, weil alle positiven Veränderungen der teilnehmenden Klientenpopulation nicht unbedingt auf den spezifischen Einfluß der Behandlung per se zurückzuführen sind, sondern genauso gut dem Zuwachs an Aufmerksamkeit und Interesse geschuldet sein können.

Funktion von Photographien

Persönliche Bedeutung von Photographien: Vial (1988) hat zwölf Personen zur Bedeutung ihrer Photos befragt. Aus der Analyse der verschriftlichten Interviews hat sie folgende Grundmotive herausgearbeitet: (a) Das Photo beweist, daß etwas geschehen ist; es bezieht seine Kraft aus der Tatsache, daß es die Grenzen von Zeit und Raum transzendiert und sein Referenzobjekt unmittelbar erkennbar ist. (b) Für den Betrachter ergibt sich aber daraus die Gefahr, die Repräsentation mit dem Referenzobjekt gleichzusetzen, z.B.: „Auf diesem Photo sehe ich häßlich aus, deshalb bin ich häßlich.“ (c) Photos sind Anker für Erinnerungen. Allerdings sind sie nicht neutral, da sie die Erinnerung auch einschränken und letztlich diktieren, welche Formen sie annehmen kann. Vial geht hier auch implizit davon aus, daß ein Photo die Betrachtenden zur *Wahrheit* zwingt, daß die Gegenwart keine Kompromisse mit der Vergangenheit schließen darf und die Beweise nicht neu geordnet werden können.

Laieninterpretationen der Bedeutung von Photos: Cronin und Gale (1993) haben wissenschaftliche Theorien über die Bedeutung von Photographien, die ihren gesellschaftlich konstruierten Charakter hervorheben, mit „Laientheorien“ verglichen. Halbstrukturierte Inter-

views mit 15 Teilnehmern wurden qualitativ analysiert, um die Bedeutung und Funktion privater Photos im alltäglichen Familienleben zu untersuchen. Die Autoren haben festgestellt, daß Laientheorien entgegen ihren Erwartungen Photos keine Beweiskraft zuschreiben. Sie gelten eher als Symbole, die der Kohärenz und Kontinuität der Familie dienen. Die Teilnehmer waren sich des Unterschieds zwischen spontanen und gestellten Aufnahmen bewußt, identifizierten die Situationen, in denen Photographieren angemessen war, und gaben Aufschluß über die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten zum Aufbewahren von Photos und zur Auswahl für die Augen der Öffentlichkeit.

Stärken und Schwächen der empirischen Forschung

An dieser kurzen Zusammenfassung lassen sich mehrere wichtige Stärken aufzeigen:

- (1) Triangulierung von Methoden, die zumindest eine gut validierte Messung enthalten (*Ammerman, Fryrear 1975; Blinn 1988; Fryrear et al. 1974; Fryrear et al. 1976; Spire 1973; Ziller 1990*).
- (2) Nutzung zuverlässiger Kodierungsmaßnahmen mit unabhängigen Beurteilern (*Blinn 1988; Brown 1981; Cronin, Gale 1993; Combs, Ziller 1988; Ziller 1990*).
- (3) Sorgfältige Operationalisierung der benutzten Konzepte (*Brown 1981; Combs, Ziller 1988; Cronin, Gale 1993; Gardner, z.B. 1983*).
- (4) Angemessene Nutzung von Statistik (*Brown 1981; Cronin, Gale 1993*).
- (5) Arbeit mit Kontrollgruppen (*Ammerman, Fryrear 1975; Combs, Ziller 1988; Fryrear et al. 1976; Fryrear et al. 1974*).

Aber nicht alle Untersuchungen sind unproblematisch; die Stärken werden durch verschiedene Schwächen aufgewogen:

- (1) Überinterpretation der Korrelationen zwischen den Beurteilern; die Familie mag versuchen, ein positives Bild zu vermitteln, und in diesem Fall beleuchten Photos nicht unbedingt die Familiendynamik, sondern eine kollektive Selbstdarstellung, die reflektiert, wie es sein *sollte* (*Blinn 1988*).
- (2) Keine Information darüber, wer die Photos gemacht und das Album geführt hat (*Blinn 1988*).
- (3) Übertriebene Verallgemeinerung auf der Basis kleiner Stichproben (*Blinn 1988; Gardner, z.B. 1983*).
- (4) Unangemessener Umgang mit Statistik (*Blinn 1988; Titus 1976*).
- (5) Keine unabhängige Bestätigung der Schlußfolgerungen, die aus den Photos abgeleitet werden (*Combs, Ziller 1988; Gardner, z.B. 1983*).
- (6) Unzureichende Operationalisierung der Konzepte (*Titus 1976, Vial 1988*).

- (7) Fehlende Kontrollgruppen (Miller 1962; Spire 1973).
- (8) Keine Erwähnung von Follow-up-Untersuchungen, die zeigen, ob die Wirksamkeit anhält (Fryrear et al. 1974).
- (9) Keine exakten Angaben über Kodierungsmaßnahmen (Vial 1988).

Dieser Überblick von einigen Beispielen empirischer Forschung über Photographien läßt erkennen, daß viele dieser Studien methodologisch nicht exakt sind. Weitere Kritikpunkte sind Verworrenheit der Konzepte und unklare Hypothesen. Mehrere Studien basieren auf spezifischen theoretischen Ansätzen wie Symbolischer Interaktionismus (Blinn), Familiensystemtheorie (Gardner) und Rollentheorie (Titus).

Die Anbindung an theoretische Ansätze ist in der empirischen Forschung zwar wünschenswert, aber dazu gehört wesentlich, daß die zentralen Konstrukte der Theorie klar beschrieben werden und wechselseitig unabhängig sind, daß Kategorien existieren, mit denen die Konstrukte in Relation gesetzt werden können, daß die Operationalisierung der Konstrukte zuverlässig ist, die Theorie interne Kohärenz besitzt und prinzipiell falsifizierbar ist (Vetere, Gale 1989). Diese Bedingungen müssen erfüllt sein, damit andere Forscher ihre Arbeit auf die publizierten Ergebnisse beziehen oder ein konsistentes Muster empirischer Daten aufbauen können, das mit der Theorie verbunden ist. Die Autoren beziehen sich in der Regel auf die Theorie, versäumen aber, spezifisch zu zeigen, (a) wie ihre Hypothese sich durch die Theorie vorhersagen läßt und (b) unter welchen Bedingungen die Theorie falsifiziert werden könnte. Deshalb besteht die Gefahr, daß sich von *jedem* Ergebnis behaupten läßt, es sei mit der Theorie konsistent.

Theoretische Ansätze

Die theoretischen Ansätze, die einen fruchtbaren Rahmen für die Untersuchung von Photos und Phototherapie bieten können und die beschriebenen Voraussetzungen erfüllen, sind: Strukturtheorie, Theorien zum Lebenszyklus, symbolischer Interaktionismus, Theorie der Distanzregulierung, Theorie der persönlichen Konstrukte sowie Körpersprache und Gleichgewicht.

Strukturtheorie: Minuchins Strukturtheorie (z.B. 1974) basiert auf den strukturellen Merkmalen der Familie, ihren Subsystemen und den Regeln für die Interaktionsmuster der Familienmitglieder. Eine Psychotherapie, die auf diesem Ansatz basiert, zielt auf eine Veränderung der strukturellen Muster, vor allem in den Bereichen, in denen

die Kommunikationsstile als dysfunktional betrachtet werden. *Minuchin* behauptet, daß die Familie ein System ist, das zu seiner effektiven Funktion eine klare Hierarchie und klar abgegrenzte Subsysteme mit einem angemessenen Grad an Flexibilität benötigt. Entsprechend würde man auf Photos Hinweise auf affektive und Machtbeziehungen erwarten, auf generationsübergreifende Verbindungen, Ablösung und andere Formen, in denen das Verhalten der Familie die „Regeln“ reflektiert, welche die Familienbeziehungen steuern. *Minuchin* hat diese Beziehung visuell kartiert, und diese „Karten“ lassen sich wiederum zur Entwicklung von Hypothesen über ihre Portraittierung auf einzelnen Familienphotos und in der Geschichte eines einzelnen Familien-Photoalbums nutzen (*Ruben* 1978).

Theorien zum Lebenszyklus: Die Theorien zum Lebenszyklus (z.B. *Erikson* 1950) gehen davon aus, daß Familien eine Entwicklungskurve mit einer Reihe von Phasen durchlaufen. *Duvall* (1977) z.B. geht von sechs Phasen aus: Werbung, Hochzeit, Kinder, Adoleszenz, Verlassen des Elternhauses, Alter und Konfrontation mit dem Tod. Jede Phase bringt ihre eigenen Herausforderungen mit sich. Damit stellen die einzelnen Phasen unterschiedliche Anforderungen an die Familienmitglieder und bestimmen in gewissem Rahmen die Art ihrer Beziehungen. Fertigkeiten, die in einer Entwicklungsphase sinnvoll sind, können in der folgenden oder in späteren nicht nur unangemessen, sondern schädlich und fehlangepaßt sein. *Brown* (1981) hat Unterschiede in der Darstellung des Familienlebens in verschiedenen Phasen des Lebenszyklus untersucht, und auch *Gardners* Forschungen (1983) über familiäre Photosammlungen basierten auf der Theorie des Lebenszyklus. *Gerace* (1989) hält es für sinnvoll, anhand von Photos in der Therapie festzustellen, wie ein Klient den Lebenszyklus erlebt und verstanden hat. Allerdings kennen wir bislang keine systematische Untersuchung vollständiger Photosammlungen von Familien mit einer methodischen, systematischen Analyse, die eine statistische Evaluation des Vorhandenseins bzw. Fehlens verschiedener Familienmotive über Zeit und Phasen des Lebenszyklus hinweg ermöglichen würde (*Cronin, Gale*, in Vorber.).

Symbolischer Interaktionismus: Die Grundthese des Symbolischen Interaktionismus besagt, daß die Welt gleichermaßen symbolisch wie physisch ist. Durch die Interaktion mit der sozialen Umwelt werden nicht nur Symbole und ihre Bedeutungen erworben, sondern auch das eigene Wesen und die eigene Natur verändert (*Mead* 1934). Es handelt sich weniger um eine integrierte Theorie als um einen theoretischen Ansatz, der nach *Titus* (1976) einen geeigneten Rahmen für die Untersuchung familiärer Photosammlungen liefern könnte. Rollen, die mit gesellschaftlichem Status und gesellschaftlicher Verant-

wortung assoziiert sind, werden ebenfalls durch symbolische Strukturen vermittelt (Sarbin 1954), und Photos ihrerseits können solche Rollen abbilden und damit Aufschlüsse über die soziale Identität der Photographierten geben.

Distanzregulierung: Distanzregulierung (Kantor, Lehr 1975) ist eine systematische Theorie, derzufolge eine Familie komplex, offen und adaptiv ist und permanent Informationen verarbeitet. Bei diesen Informationen handelt es sich vor allem um solche zur Regulierung der Distanz; in anderen Worten, ein Großteil der Kommunikation in der Familie wird darauf verwandt, durch die Weitergabe von Information über die angemessene oder optimale Distanz zwischen den Mitgliedern Ziele der Subsysteme zu erreichen. Der Begriff „Distanz“ wird hier im buchstäblichen wie im übertragenen Sinne verwandt und kann sich entsprechend sowohl auf sehr deutliche Distanzierungsmethoden (z.B. verschlossene Türen) wie auf sehr viel einfachere Mittel beziehen, mit denen Familien zusammengehalten oder getrennt werden. Kantor und Lehr haben sechs Dimensionen des Familienverhaltens benannt, die in dem sozialen Raum, in dem sich jedes Familienverhalten bewegt, ständig wirksam sind. Die wichtigsten Ziele oder Motive der Familie, die „Zieldimensionen“, sind Affekt (positive Unterstützung und Zuwendung), Macht (Status, Verantwortung, Dominanz und Unterwerfung) und Bedeutung (Werte, persönliche Identität und Zielgerichtetheit). Diese Ziele können im sozialen Raum der Familie mit drei anderen Dimensionen, den sogenannten Zugangsdimensionen, erreicht werden: Raum (Grenzen, Distanz und Nähe), Zeit (wahrgenommene Bedeutung von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft, Gleichzeitigkeit und Ungleichzeitigkeit) und Energie (generelle Intensität der Familienerfahrung, Eß- und andere Aktivitätsmuster). Diese Dimensionen werden mit einer Familientypologie kombiniert: Die Sozialstruktur der Familie kann chaotisch oder aber stark reguliert und prognostizierbar sein. Kantor und Lehr operationalisieren die Bereiche mittels eines Sets von Mechanismen, die ihrerseits in beobachtbare Merkmale des Familienlebens übersetzt werden können, etwa Verhaltenssynchronizität, individuelle Grenzen und räumlicher Besitz, persönlicher Besitz und Werte. Zweifellos könnte sich diese Theorie zu Vorhersagen über den Inhalt von Familienphotos heranziehen lassen; es ließe sich erwarten, daß die verschiedenen Familientypen sehr unterschiedliche Familiendarstellungen hervorbringen.

Diese Theorie ist zwar eine der umfassendsten spezifischen Theorien zur Beschreibung des Familienlebens (Vetere, Gale 1989), wurde aber unseres Wissens bislang noch nicht als Grundlage für die Phototherapie benutzt.

Theorie der persönlichen Konstrukte: Hier haben wir es eher mit einem sinnvollen methodologischen Beitrag zur Phototherapieforschung als mit einer Theorie an sich zu tun. *Kelly* (1955) hat einen phänomenologischen Ansatz zur individuellen Konstruktion der Welt und der persönlichen Beziehungen entwickelt, der sich für eine Darstellung der Familienbeziehungen eignet (*Gale, Barker* 1987) und offen für statistische Evaluation ist. Persönliche Konstrukte des Familienlebens können als externe Validierung von Familienstrukturen dienen, wie sie auf Familienphotos zu sehen sind. Damit lassen sich die Ansichten der individuellen Familienmitglieder sowohl über die Bedeutung der Photos als auch über die Familienbeziehungen vergleichen.

Körpersprache und Gleichgewicht in sozialen Situationen: *Argyle* (1975) hat eine Theorie des nonverbalen zwischenmenschlichen Verhaltens entwickelt, in der die soziale Distanz durch Mediatoren wie Blick, Nähe und sprachliche Hinweise aufrechterhalten wird. Körperliche Erregung wird in sozialen Begegnungen durch Mediatoren im Gleichgewicht gehalten, welche die Erregung steigern oder verringern. Entsprechend ließe sich erwarten, daß Personen, die miteinander in Konflikt liegen, Nähe vermeiden. Von daher könnten Aspekte des Familienlebens durch die Exploration von Blickkontakt und Nähe gedeutet werden, die in Photosammlungen zu beobachten sind. Ähnliche Faktoren könnten auch die Auswahl der Photos beeinflussen, die Außenstehenden gezeigt werden.

Schlußfolgerung

Nur wenige Fachleute halten Inhalt und Bedeutung von Photographien für neutral. Die Schwierigkeit liegt in der Frage nach den Möglichkeiten einer zuverlässigen und validen Ableitung der Bedeutung. Viele der Fallbeschreibungen und klinischen Berichte enthalten faszinierende Hinweise darauf, was sich durch einen systematischen Ansatz mit effektiven Beschreibungen oder Experimenten erreichen ließe. Die Identifizierung von Fehlerquellen in der Literatur und der bisherigen Forschung ermöglicht es, positive Richtungen für die Zukunft aufzuzeigen.

Demnach ist zur Ausschöpfung des Potentials von Familienphotos als Hilfsmittel für Forschung und Praxis ein psychometrischer Ansatz angezeigt, der folgende Elemente enthält:

- (1) Operationalisierung von Theorien über photographische Repräsentation und Familiensysteme;
- (2) Überprüfung dieser Theorien mit Hilfe von zuverlässigen und validen Forschungsmethoden;

- (3) systematische Untersuchung der normativen Bedeutung und Funktionen von Photos sowie taxonomischer Inhaltsanalysen von Familienphotos.

Übersetzung aus dem Amerikanischen von Irmgard Hölscher, Frankfurt/M.

Zusammenfassung

Der Einsatz von Photographien als Hilfsmittel für die Psychotherapie wird als „Phototherapie“ bezeichnet. Der Aufsatz gibt einen Überblick über die Literatur und eine kritische Würdigung der konzeptuellen Basis, bei der Themen wie der konstruierte Charakter von Photographien, Vorannahmen der Psychotherapeuten, die Unterscheidung zwischen Reliabilität und Validität sowie zwischen impliziter und expliziter Theorie angesprochen werden. Vorgestellt werden Untersuchungen über den Informationsgehalt von Photos und Ergebnisuntersuchungen über die therapeutische Arbeit mit Photos. Wir haben aus unserer Kritik den Schluß gezogen, daß die Möglichkeiten für den Einsatz der Photographie in der Therapie noch keineswegs ausgeschöpft sind.

Abstract: Phototherapy: A critical review

„Phototherapy“ is the generic name given to the use of photographs as an adjunct to psychotherapy. This paper reviews the literature on the use of phototherapy and critically assesses its conceptual basis, highlighting issues such as the constructed nature of photographs, therapist bias, the distinction between reliability and validity, and the distinction between implicit and explicit theory. Research on the informative value of photographs and outcome research on the use of photographs in therapy is described. Our criticisms lead us to the conclusion that the real potential for the use of photographs in therapy has not been fully exploited.

Key words: Phototherapy; integrative psychotherapy; therapeutic media; empirical evaluation.

Literatur

- Akeret, R.U. (1973): Photoanalysis: How to interpret the hidden meaning of personal and public photographs. New York: Wynden.
- Amerikaner, M., Shable, P., Ziller, R. (1980): Images: The use of photographs in personal counselling. *Personnel & Guidance Journal* 59, 68-73.
- Ammerman, M., Fryrear, J.L. (1975): Photographic enhancement of children's self-esteem. *Psychology in Schools* 12, 319-325.
- Anderson, C.M., Malloy, E.S. (1976): Family Photographs: In treatment and therapy. *Family Process* 15, 259-264.
- Argyle, M. (1975): Bodily Communication. London: Methuen; dt.: Körpersprache und Kommunikation. Paderborn: Junfermann, 1979.
- Aronson, D.W., Graziano, A.M. (1976): Improving elderly clients' attitudes through photography. *The Gerontologist* 16, 363-476.
- Barthes, R. (1977): Image-Music-Text. London: Fontana.
- Blinn, L. (1988): The family photo assessment process (FPAP): A method for validating cross-cultural comparisons of family social identities. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 19 (!), 117-135.

- Boerdam, J., Martinius, W.D. (1980): Family photographs – a sociological approach. *Netherlands Journal of Sociology* 16 (2), 95-119.
- Britisch Psychological Society (1993): Graphology in personnel assessment. Leicester.
- Brown, B.W. (1981): Images of family life in magazine advertising 1920-1978. New York: Praeger.
- Burr, W.R., Leigh, G.F., Day, R.D., Constantine, J. (1979): Symbolic interaction in the family. In: Burr, W.R. et al. (Hg.): *Contemporary Theories About the Family*. Vol. 2: General Theories/Theoretical Orientations. New York: Free Press.
- Cloniger, S.J. (1975): The sexually dimorphic image: An empirical analysis of the influences of gender differences on photographic content. (Dissertation, Ohio State University 1975). *Dissertation Abstracts Internationals* 35, 8-a (University Microfilms no. 5527).
- Combs, J.M., Ziller, R.C. (1977): Photographic self-concept of counselees. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 24, 452-455.
- Coopersmith, S. (1959): A method for determining types of self-esteem. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 59, 87-94.
- (1967): *The antecedents of self-esteem*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- Cornelison, F.S., Arsenian, J. (1960): A study of the response of psychotic patients to photographic self-image experience. *Psychiatric Quarterly* 34, 1-8.
- Cosden, C., Reynolds, D. (1982): Photography as therapy. *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 9, 19-23.
- Cronin, O., Gale, M.A. (1993): Mirrors or prisms? Lay theories of photographic meaning. Paper presented at the Britisch Psychological Society London Conference, Dec. 1993.
- (in Vorber.): A taxonomic analysis of family photographic collections. Department of Psychology, University of Southampton.
- Diamond, H. (1856): On the application of photography to the physiognomic and mental phenomena of insanity. In: Gilman, S.L. (Hg.): *The face of madness*. New York, Brunner Mazel 1976.
- Duvall, E.M. (1977): *Marriage and family development* (5. Aufl.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Entin, A.D. (1980): Phototherapy: Family albums and multigenerational portraits. *Camera Lucida* 1, 39-51.
- (1983): The family photo album as icon: Photographs in family therapy. In: Kraus, D.A., Fryrerer, J.L. (Hg.): *Phototherapy in mental health*. Illinois: Thomas.
- Erikson, E.H. (1950): *Childhood and society*. New York: W. W. Norton. Dt.: *Kindheit und Gesellschaft*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1991.
- Francis, R.W. (1966): Rationale and scoring criteria for human figure drawings. Unveröffentl. Mskr., Gowanda, New York.
- Fryrear, J.L. (1980): A selective, non-evaluative review on research on phototherapy. *Phototherapy Quarterly* 2, 7-9.
- , Nuell, R.N., Ridley, S.D. (1974): Photographic self-concept enhancement of male juvenile delinquents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 42, 915.
- , Nuell, R.N., White, P. (1976): Enhancement of juvenile delinquent's self concepts through photographed social interactions. *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 33, 833-838.
- Gale, M.A., Barker, M. (1987): Repertory grid approach to analysing family member's perception of self and others: a repertory grid study. *Journal of Family Therapy* 9, 355-366.
- Gardner, S. (1990): Images of family life over the family life cycle. *Sociological Quarterly* 13 (1), 77-92.
- (1991): Exploring the family album: Social class differences in images of family life. *Sociological Inquiry* 61, 242-252.
- Gardner, S.L. (1983): *Family systems through family photographic albums* (Diss., University of New Hampshire). *University Microfilms International*.
- Gerace, L.M. (1989): Using family photographs to explore life cycle changes. *Nursing and Health Care* 10, 245-249.
- Gosciewski, F. (1975): Photo counseling. *Personnel and Guidance Journal* 53, 600-604.

- Gough, H.G., Heilbrun, A.B. (1965): The Adjective Check List Manual. Palo Alto, Cal.: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Graham, J.R. (1967): The use of photographs in psychiatry. *Canadian Psychiatric Journal* 12, 425.
- Hirsch, J. (1981): Family photographs – content, meaning and effect. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hodge, R., Kress, G. (1988): Family photographs and familial texts. In: Hodge, R., Kress, G.: Social semiotics, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hunsberger, P. (1984): Uses of instant print photography in psychotherapy. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 15, 884-890.
- Kantor, D., Lehr, W. (1975): Inside the Family. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kelly, G.A. (1955) The Psychology of Personal Constructs, vol 1. New York: Norton; Dt.: Die Psychologie der persönlichen Konstrukte. Paderborn: Junfermann, 1986.
- Levinger, G., Gunner, J. (1967): The interpersonal grid: Felt and tape techniques for the measurement of social relationships. *Psychonomic Science* 8 (4), 173-174.
- Martin, R., Spence, J. (1987): Double Exposure: The minefield of memory. Exhibition commentary, Photographers Gallery Touring Exhibition.
- McReynolds, P., Ferguson, J.T. (1946): Clinical Manual for the Hospital Adjustment Scale. Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Mead, G.H. (1934): Mind, Self and Society. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Dt.: Geist, Identität und Gesellschaft. 6. Aufl. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1985.
- Meloche, M. (1973): Utilisation de l'album de photos dans l'évaluation clinique. *La vie Médicale au Canada Français* 2, 865-870.
- Messaris, P. (1992): Visual „manipulation“: Visual means of affecting responses to images. *Communication* 13, 181-195.
- Miller, M.F. (1962): Responses of Psychiatric Patients to their Photographs. *Diseases of the Nervous System* 23, 296-298.
- Minuchin, S. (1974): Families and Family Therapy. London: Tavistock. Dt.: Familien und Familientherapie. 7. Aufl. Freiburg: Lambertus 1987.
- Moos, R.H. (1974): Family environment scale form R. Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Musello, C. (1979): Family Photography. In: Wagner, J. (Hg.): Images of Information. London: Sage, S. 101-118.
- Ruben, A.G. (1978): The Family Picture. *Journal of Marriage and Family Counselling* 4, 25-27
- Sarbin, T.R. (1954): Role theory. In: Lindzey, G. (Hg.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley.
- Sedgwick, R. (1979): The use of photoanalysis and family memorabilia in the study of family interaction. *Corrective and Social Psychiatry and Journal of Behaviour Technology* 25, 137-141.
- Spire, R.H. (1973): Photographic Self-Image Confrontation. *American Journal of Nursing* 73, 1207-1210.
- Titus, S.L. (1976): Family Photographs and Transition to Parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 38, 525-530.
- Vetere, A., Gale, M.A. (1989): Ecological Studies of Family Life. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Vial, C. (1988): Memoire et photographie. *Bulletin de Psychologie* 42, 375-378.
- Weiser, J. (1984): Phototherapy – Becoming visually literate about oneself or „Phototherapy? What's Phototherapy?“ *Phototherapy* 4, 2-7.
- (1985): Phototherapy: Using snapshots and photo-interactions in therapy with youth. In: Schaefer, C.E. (Ed.): Innovative Interventions in Child and Adolescent Therapy. New York: Wiley.
- Wolf, R. (1976): The Polaroid Technique: Spontaneous dialogues from the unconscious. *Art Psychotherapy* 3, 197-214.
- Ziller, R. C. (1973): The Social Self. New York: Pergamon.
- (1990): Photographing the Self: Methods for Observing Personal Orientations. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage.

- , Smith, D. E. (1977): A phenomenological utilization of photographs. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* 7, 172-185.
- Zwick, D. S. (1978): Photography as a tool toward increased awareness of the aging self. *Art Psychotherapy* 5, 135-141.

Anschrift der Verfasser:

O. Cronin, A. Gale
Department of Psychology
University of Southampton
Highfield
GB-Southampton SO9 5NH

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Process*a) Situations*

In your experience, how do people go about taking photos?

In what situations do people tend to take photos?

When do you take photos?

(Probe: holidays, weddings, other "rites of passage")

What makes these situations appropriate for photo-taking?

When would you not take photos?

b) Administration

Who decides when to take them?

Who takes them?

How many cameras are in the house?

Who arranges to have the film developed?

2. Outcome

Describe what happens when the photos arrive back.

(Probe: Viewing alone? Sharing with family? Posting to others? Compiling album/display? Storage, e.g. drawer/shoebox? Placing in wallet? Displayed in workplace, e.g. on desk?)

What happens from then on?

When do you look at them?

What would you say your photos mean to you?

Do they mean anything to other members of your family, do you think?

Would your photos tell a stranger looking at them anything about your family?

Why (not)?

3. Specific personal photographs (approximately 6)

Why did you select these photographs to show me?

What are your feelings about these photos?

What do they mean to you i.e. what do they say to you/about you?

Where do you normally keep these photos?

Are there any aspects of photos which we haven't yet discussed which you'd like to talk about?

4. Conclusion, thanking and de-briefing

APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE EXTRACT FROM A SCORED TRANSCRIPT

Órla: What sorts of occasions do you take photographs of?	
1. Interviewee: I suppose family get-togethers, like weddings or christenings, birthdays, Christmas, holidays...generally when people are happy...	Appropriate topic Rite of passage Positive affect recollect
Ó: Are there any family gatherings where you'd avoid taking photographs?	
2. I: I can't think of any...no, I can't think of any...we just take them at celebrations or when one of the children is in a particularly funny situation, you know...they're not planned but...	Appropriate topic Candid
3. I prefer the more spontaneous ones, really, because you get a truer picture and a more natural informal set up as well. I suppose at the family occasions and all of	Candid Composition
4. that you usually get the people to stand together and everyone's got to smile, or do their best at least (laughs). That's nice too, especially when you look	Posed Appropriate topic
5. back over times, you know, if someone has died or something. But with the children, the more informal	Memory Positive affect evoke
6. ones are more true to life. And even at weddings...I'm	Reality Candid
7. just thinking of some photos that we had taken at our own wedding. We didn't hire a professional to do the photography, it was Jimmy's brother. He was good at it alright, but he wasn't a photographer by profession. He took a lot of ...inadvertent...ones like that, and it's amazing now, when we were looking through them, they were the ones that caught the spirit better, maybe, than the more formal ones, you know.	Candid Reality

APPENDIX 4: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA FROM STUDY 1.

In order to examine whether any relationships existed between themes, the interview data (i.e. the 'meaning units') were reduced by recoding instances of themes in the interview transcripts as 1 (theme present) or 0 (theme absent). This yielded binary, categorical data suitable for statistical analysis. Given that factor analysis is inappropriate for nominal data, another method of examining relationships between variables was sought.

Cluster analysis is a descriptive statistical technique which can be used to form groups of similar "objects" - the objects in this case being themes, with the goal being to identify homogeneous groups or clusters. The procedure yields a dendrogram (fig. A4.1), which provides a visual description of steps in a hierarchical cluster, identifying the clusters being combined at each step and also demonstrating the dissimilarities between the clusters on a scale of 0 to 25. Cluster analysis is one of a family of techniques suitable for analysing nominal data, which also includes multidimensional scaling and discriminant analysis. It is particularly suitable for the representation of relationships between categories, while other multivariate techniques are more suitable for identifying discrete categories in the data. Given that the goal of the analysis was to examine the relationships between themes identified in the interviews, cluster analysis was selected as being the most appropriate analytic method.

The clustering technique used was agglomerative hierarchical clustering, whereby the analysis commences with each case in a "cluster" of its own. At the first step, two of the cases are combined into a single cluster. (In fig. A4.1, Appropriate occasion and Communication with family, for example). At the second step, either a third case is added to the cluster already containing two cases (e.g. Memory, in A4.1) or two other cases are merged into a new cluster. Once a cluster is formed, it cannot be split; it can only be combined with other clusters. Thus, the agglomerative hierarchical clustering technique does not allow cases to separate from clusters to which they have been assigned.

Binary Squared Euclidean distance was the distance measure used (see Everitt, 1993) , and Complete Linkage (between groups) was the criterion for combining clusters. The Complete Linkage criterion was chosen to avoid the problem of chaining which is inherent in other clustering methods such as the single linkage method and the median method (Everitt, 1993). Chaining refers to the tendency of a method to cluster elements together by means of chains of intermediaries, and results in optimally connected clusters which are not necessarily homogeneous. Methods which have a tendency to chain can

therefore fail to resolve relatively distinct clusters if a small number of intermediate points are present between the cluster.

A nine-cluster solution was chosen, on the basis of the relatively large dissimilarity between groups formed by 10.5 on the dissimilarity scale (table A4.1) and those formed beyond 10.5.

Stage	Clusters Combined		Coefficient	Stage Cluster 1st Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	3	7	1.00	0	0	6
2	34	37	3.00	0	0	12
3	32	36	3.00	0	0	16
4	8	31	4.00	0	0	7
5	18	30	4.00	0	0	7
6	3	40	5.00	1	0	20
7	8	18	5.00	4	5	20
8	17	38	6.00	0	0	16
9	10	27	6.00	0	0	25
10	13	21	6.00	0	0	26
11	4	39	7.00	0	0	30
12	14	34	7.00	0	2	32
13	5	33	7.00	0	0	33
14	1	26	7.00	0	0	21
15	29	42	8.00	0	0	17
16	17	32	8.00	8	3	22
17	19	29	8.00	0	15	28
18	12	23	8.00	0	0	30
19	11	16	8.00	0	0	31
20	3	8	8.00	6	7	24
21	1	28	9.00	14	0	29
22	17	20	9.00	16	0	29
23	2	35	10.00	0	0	32
24	3	22	10.00	20	0	36
25	10	25	11.00	9	0	34
26	13	24	11.00	10	0	33
27	15	41	12.00	0	0	37
28	9	19	12.00	0	17	38
29	1	17	12.00	21	22	34
30	4	12	12.00	11	18	35
31	6	11	12.00	0	19	36
32	2	14	13.00	23	12	39
33	5	13	13.00	13	26	37
34	1	10	14.00	29	25	35
35	1	4	14.00	34	30	40
36	3	6	15.00	24	31	38
37	5	15	16.00	33	27	39
38	3	9	17.00	36	28	40
39	2	5	19.00	32	37	41
40	1	3	21.00	35	38	41
41	1	2	26.00	40	39	0

Table A4.1: Agglomeration matrix demonstrating the sequence in which themes 'join' clusters

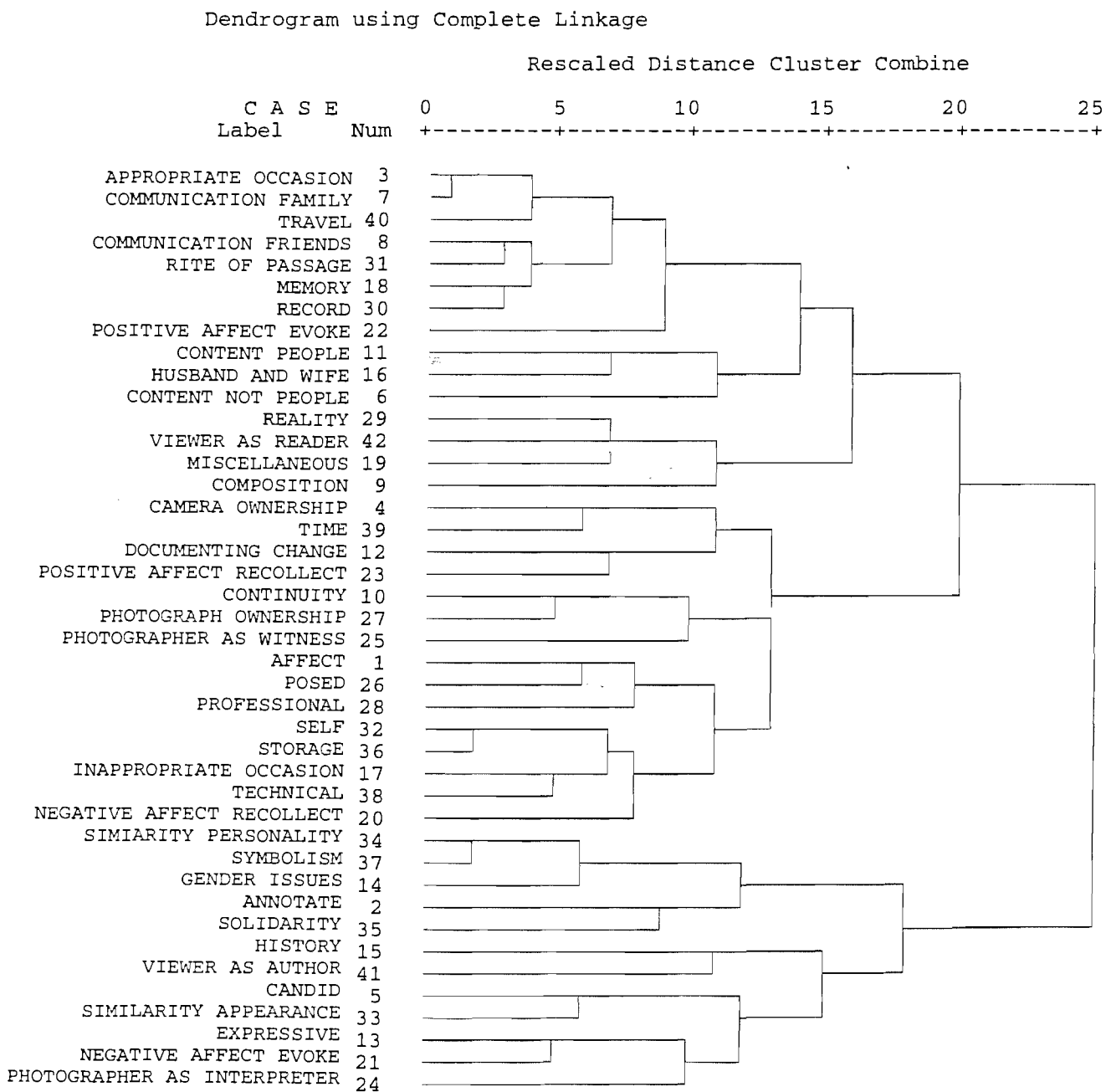


Fig. A4.1: Dendrogram illustrating clusters

The clusters identified, with the number of interviews in which each cluster occurred in the third column, and "homogeneity" of the clusters (calculated as total number of co-occurrences of themes comprising a cluster divided by the total possible number of co-occurrences of themes comprising a cluster) in the fourth column, are listed in Table A4.2.

	Cluster	No. of interviews	Homogeneity	Provisional title
1.	Appropriate topic Communication with family Travel Communication with friends Rite of passage Memory Record Positive Affect Evoked	13	.78	Content and use
2.	Content people Husband/wife Content not people	9	.66	Presence or absence of people
3.	Affect Posed Professional/Amateur Self Storage and retrieval Inappropriate topic Technical issues Negative Affect Recollect	7	.66	Negative aspects of photographs
4.	Camera ownership Time Documenting change Positive affect recollect	8	.63	Photographs and time
5.	Candid Similarity of appearance Expressive Negative affect evoked Photographer as interpreter.	2	.59	Relationship between photographer and subject
6.	History Viewer as author	9	.55	The nature of history
7.	Similarity of personality Symbolism Gender issues Annotate Solidarity	4	.51	Solidarity
8.	Reality Viewer as reader Composition	5	.49	Photographs and truth
9.	Continuity Ownership of photographs Photographer as witness	5	.49	Continuity?

Table A4.2: Clusters of themes identified in the transcripts

Interpretation of clusters

Cluster 1: Content and use

This cluster is by far the most homogeneous of the clusters, and appears in 13 of the interviews. It comprises issues which have a bearing on decisions regarding what photographs should be taken, what should be done with the photos, and what the goals of the photographs are.

Appropriate topics include: anything which evokes positive affect, and depicts travel or rites of passage. The function of these photographs is to record, to capture the moment. However, rather than the moments being captured in order to be locked up, they are being captured and used - in this case, the photographs are used to communicate with family and friends, in order to share memories.

Examples of Cluster 1:

Travel, Appropriate topic, Communication with family

Family gathering and holidays - I think that's when we take most photos - say of people we haven't seen for a while; definitely holidays, we always take photos on our holidays. I suppose they're the two things that come to mind.....

Memory, Positive Affect Evoked

I think it's just the memory as much as anything. It's not that you forget people, but it's nice to have something more concrete than a memory.

Communication with family, Positive Affect Evoked

I remember when we were small my father used to have a lot of photographs and my father used to develop them into slides and we'd have this religious occasion, it nearly was, every summer, when there were at least six of us who went home every summer with our children, after we got married, and the screen came out and the projector and the slides, and" here we go now, M.'s doing her bit of ballet dancing and H. is doing some Irish dancing" and you'd get sick and tired of it. But it's nicer to flick, rather than sitting with these still pictures and the room is in darkness - it's much nicer to be able to look through them and have a chat.

Memory, Record

There was a time when I wanted to record everything, and memorise it through recording it, making my own personal record. And now, I'm kind of memorising more in my mental, internal.....(p4)

Memory, Communication with family, Record.

I think always when I show photographs to anyone who's interested, I'm telling a story..."oh, yes, that's at so-and-so" and "that's where this was taken" and "oh, yes, I remember something else", and it's like telling a story. And certainly a lot of my photographs, especially with Lisa, are sort of like, as she got older, so they're like memories for her, when I tell her the story. They bring back my own memories as well.

Appropriate topic, Rite of Passage

I suppose family get-togethers, like weddings or christenings, birthdays, Christmas time, holidays. Generally when people are happy....

Cluster 2: Presence or absence of people

Cluster 2, which was present in 9 interviews, relates to the kind of photographs taken by each partner. There seems to be a tendency for the husband of the couple to take more photographs of scenery and other kinds of subject, without people, with the wife taking photographs primarily of people. This may well relate to the tendency of the husband in the family to command a better camera which is considered more suitable for "artistic" types of photos. However, this division of labour is not invariably gender specific. All that can be said is that generally one person seems to take responsibility for people centred photography, and the other for non people centred.

Examples of Cluster 2:

Content people, Content not people, Husband and wife.

We tend to take two different types of photographs in the family. If I was taking photographs I'd take them of the children, of people. My husband would tend to focus on the background. It would be kind of incidental if there were people in them!

Content people, Content not people, Husband and wife.

I think he wouldn't take so many of the children. He'd be more likely to find a bumble bee on a flower somewhere and try to take that. It's not that he wouldn't want to take photos of the children, but it would be me who'd say "go and get the camera - look at them, they're smashing" He takes people, I think, he's a people man, and I'm inclined to take as well, you know, scenes.

Cluster 3: Negative aspects of photographs

In this cluster, which was present in 5 interviews, we get a flavour of the interaction surrounding photographs, and also a glimpse of the less benign side of photography. The technical aspect of photography, and also its appropriation by professionals create feelings of tension and self doubt, both in terms of individuals' technical competence, and their self image. Posed photographs (which appear to be a particular domain of professionals) are perceived by the interviewees as being particularly trying.

Inappropriate topic and storage are less interpretable components of this cluster. Inappropriate topics are primarily those which would cause sadness to be recollected. Photographs of inappropriate topics are seldom kept, or if so, it is in the spirit of defiance of a perceived taboo. With regard to other aspects of storage: photographs taken by professionals are more likely to be displayed around the house than those taken by non-professionals.

Examples of Cluster 3:

Professional/amateur, posed, negative affect recollect, technical, self

Yes, you should have seen them, they were terrible. I mean from the word go my mother was sitting there holding me as a baby, and that's number one, and you get the various stages up through - my with my sister, in our best dresses. Mmm, yes, a terrible ordeal! We used have to stand there and sort of freeze, because it used to take ages for the photos to be taken. It wasn't anything like today when.....The man used to disappear behind a black cloth. It was ridiculous, yes.

Posed, affect

I find frequently when Lisa takes photographs or Richard, my partner takes photographs, they take too long, you know, by then my smile which was natural is totally gone and I'm really pissed off with them and then they've still got to try and take a decent photograph. I find that really irritating.

Professional/amateur, self

I don't really like them at all, I mean, I like them - that's not fair, but a professional photographer took them, and I don't think they were very good. She was wearing too much makeup on her eyes, and he should have advised her that you shouldn't do that because you can't really see.....she's got nice eyes.

Inappropriate topic/negative affect recollect

...I did once take a photograph and I regretted it, of flowers at the death of someone, and I was asked to send a photograph to the next of kin, and I did, but I wish that I hadn't been asked. I think that was a sad remembrance. I think you don't want to remember too much of the sad times.

Inappropriate topic/Storage

And my granddaughter.....she was born with a harelip. And, I didn't see her - I was just so upset.....and I didn't see her ever with her harelip.....they've just got pages and pages of when she was first born, with this great big hole, and I thought "should they have them in there for her to see?...." I hadn't seen her myself, but I saw these photos and I don't know if you've ever seen a baby with harelip, it is really upsetting. It leaves a great big hole there, you know, and you can't see anything else, you just see that. And no doubt she will be looking through, thinking she's a normal girl and everything, and she will be reminded of when she was born she had this....those photographs. I mean, why are they there?

Professional/amateur, Storage and display

Ones that we'd take a lot more care of are actual family portraits, maybe. We got a professional photographer to take a photograph of each of the kids, when they were smaller than they are now, and we would have taken care of those. We'd put them up on the wall and that.

Cluster 4: Photographs and time

Cluster 4 was present in 8 interviews. Here, the relationship of photographs to time comes to the fore. Photographs can be used to triumph over time, to freeze it, to slow it down, to sustain happy memories, thus cheating time which implicitly corrupts memories.

Examples of Cluster 4:

Time

Well, I suppose I haven't really given it much thought but my immediate answer is that it crystallises that moment in time in a way that your memory can never do for you, so you have it captured (P1)

Time. Documenting change

You see, children change so rapidly. They don't stay the same. With adults the change is so gradual but I think you feel with children that you've got to take a photograph of them today because in 3 months time they won't look the same. So there's a much greater incentive.

Time. Positive affect recollect

I keep photos to remember the time, because I can't always keep them in my head. I can remember what was happening, but I can't remember exactly what it looked like. So I like to look back at them and remember "oh this was when.....". Good times.

Time. Positive affect recollected

In a way it's a sad photo, because it was a time when I was happily married, and I had no thought that anything would go wrong with the birth, but I look and think if only I had known then what I know now. It was almost a time of innocence for me.

Time

And the photographs I treasure. There's something about linking the past and the present.

Time. Positive affect recollected

I must say I take great pleasure in photographs of things that I've enjoyed. Of course, the older you get, the more you live in the past.!

It is difficult to account for the presence of camera ownership in this cluster. The only aspect this theme seems to have is the notion of control of events. Whereas photographs can be used to control memory, to prevent memories deteriorating, and to regulate the flow of time, ownership of a camera enables one to influence the content of those memories, to determine what is significant and worth recording, and how it should be done.

Camera ownership

I did have a camera, or my husband did at one stage, where you had to set it and you had to do quite a lot of arranging the camera before you could take them and with family photos that was very difficult, whereas with the instant focusing that you now have, it was a great advantage.

Camera ownership

Well, he'd be in charge of things. He bought the ciné camera, and he sort of used to take moving film of the children.

Cluster 5: Relationship between photographer and subject

This cluster, which is only represented in two interviews, seems to point to the existence of conflict between the photographer's and the subject's intentions.

Candid photographs are perceived as being "better", and more aesthetically pleasing.

Examples of Cluster 5:

Candid. Expressive

When I take photographs, I'm very quick, I like people not to know that I'm taking the photograph, I like to just catch people. I find it more natural - I don't like them to be all smiling and artificial rubbish, you know, I like them just as they are.

but people don't particularly like candid photographs being taken of themselves:

Candid. Negative affect evoke. photographer as interpreter

So yes, it does interrupt a bit, especially when my son didn't like having his photograph taken when he was young - he would always....I'd catch him doing something particularly appealing and I would try and take a photo of it, at which he would promptly freeze, and go rigid - he couldn't deal with it. It does change the situation a bit.

Negative affect evoke. Photographer as interpreter.

You know, I was very concerned about them looking nice, and presenting them...and perhaps forgetting about the deeper things...but...you know I do sometimes say to people "you know, when the boys were like that" which they were - dressed up like that - and there was a spell in my life, well you can imagine, having three like that, so...and they look so cute, and I sometimes wish I could step into the photo and be there and do it a second time. I don't like to look too long at these photos because I just can't believe that they're...they're like somebody else.

Cluster 6: The nature of history

Cluster 6 was present in 9 interviews, and embodies several issues. The first is the subjectivity of history: history can be interpreted (authored) by the viewer of a photograph. There is also the sentiment of using photographs to place a family in an historical context, i.e. it allows the family to participate in public time. History can be created: what is considered of historical value in the future may be something that is "only" of personal value now: we do not know what aspects of our personal lives will in the future constitute history, but nevertheless, it is hoped that *something* of our lives has a wider importance: i.e. "I'm leaving more than I came with". This movement from personal value to public value can also happen in the other direction - photographs which have historic value can assume a personal value: in this way, photographs are used by the individual to appropriate history.

Examples of Cluster 6:

History. viewer as author

But obviously the ones we take ourselves have got the social context and the historical context and everything with them. There's so much more you can read into them (P14)

History, viewer as author

That used to be kept in a photographer's studio. He's got a huge one of me, in that same pose, as part of his studio advertising. So that has those sorts of memories associated. And it was taken in India, where I was born, so there's quite a lot of history to that photograph. (P17)

History, viewer as author

those photos will adorn periodicals in the future in 50 or a hundred years, and they'll be treasured again. It goes on and on. And I think a photograph has a lot of value down the line, and sometimes we can't even see the sum total of it at the time. As I say, that priest who took all those photos, and they've been sifted through, and they've now become one of the most valuable pieces of visual evidence of what Ireland looked like in that period, 60 or 70 years ago. P19)

History, viewer as author

So, tremendous pleasure from photographs, they're a wonderful souvenir, and family heirloom, I think. And I would be thinking at least I'm leaving more than I came with - sure it's the age of photography, nowadays, I suppose. P19)

History, viewer as author

This is a snapshot. We're now going on holiday between the two world wars. And this is the same grandfather, with my mother. I think - you ask why do we take pictures, well, when you've been around a long time and they've got a historic aspect, one can laugh at the clothes, and they're not only a family picture but they're a social picture. (P4)

Cluster 7: Solidarity

This cluster was represented in 4 interviews. The code Gender Issues is linked with Annotation, in that even when the task of taking photographs is shared equally, the task of archiving them, if it is done at all, seems to be done by women.

Examples of Cluster 7:Gender issues, annotation

Yes, I think, and almost inevitably it's the woman who puts them into the photo album and it's the woman who is sentimental, if you can call it that, really, towards the photographs

The use of photographs to track familial personality traits requires a symbolic interpretation of the photograph:

Symbol, similarity of personality

Because it's the only glimpse of my sister. It's a peculiar thing with my character, and there's a connection with my thinking, of having some affinity with my sister, because I have clearly two opposite sides, one very active and so on, and the other one is very sensitive and meek and other-worldly, in a way.

Now, this is one I've got hanging up in the lounge, because that's my father's mother, who is dead, and I'm supposed to be like her, not to look at perhaps there, but I'm supposed to be very much like her. Everything I do, and because she's dead, I do look at it sometimes and think "oh, I wish I'd taken more note...she lived in Denmark...I wish I had gone out of my way more, you know, to see her and whatnot, you know. It's quite sad. I feel sometimes I'd like to talk to her.

This similarity of personality helps to give expression to family solidarity:

Solidarity, similarity of personality

I think to try and bridge the generations, they're absolutely fabulous. I mean, they're the only thing we have, really. And as well as that to see family resemblances, and it isn't really until you get older that you would appreciate that you have these things, and you know, so often people say, well I had a photograph of their mother or father at that age and they were the very same, you know, it gives people that sense of continuity and that sense of belonging that would be missing if you didn't have something to prove the point.. I think they're very very essential, actually, and whereas at the time it may be an effort, I think it's very well worth it in the long run

Cluster 8: Photographs and truth

Composition, reality and viewer as reader are the themes which comprise cluster 8. The essence of this cluster seems to be that attention to the composition of photographs helps to codify reality in them, so that "reality" or "the truth" can be read off by the viewer without any further interpretative effort. There is, however, an acknowledgement that reality can also be distorted using tricks or techniques of composition.

Examples of Cluster 8:

Reality, Viewer as reader, Composition

Yes.....I mean look at that old boy down there. Such an old rascal! And that one there, he looks a right old rake - look at the head of that - obviously done well for himself. Tells you something about the person - I don't know who he is or anything about them, but it tells you that obviously he's head of some firm or a lawyer. In fact it was a compositor he was. He's wearing a nice expensive coat and that, and his new hat which he's got on specially for the occasion. I love looking at these old photographs - it tells you something about the people, you see.

They would also get a difference of light and colour and clothing and costume, because the lifestyle in South Africa is somewhat different to the lifestyle in England. So you would see pictures with different foliage in the background, and I mean like, this has got very strong shadows, which you don't normally get in England, with totally blue sky. It's sort of more typical of that, and that is a South African picture. So that is something else that will show up.

Then you get the kind of people who can take these spontaneous photographs, who capture an amusing moment or a sad moment or what have you. And I think they then universalise an experience, they help you experience something that you can't yourself.

Sometimes I've deliberately taken unflattering pictures of people didn't like, and I got a great deal of satisfaction in capturing the person that way. I've got one at home, it's terribly unflattering of my mother. One she'd never like people to see, it's a devastating picture, actually. It's looking like a terribly bitter woman, and I knew that actually expressed a certain truth about her

I do know that the angle which you photograph somebody at, whether you look down on them or look up to them can start giving different psychological...you know, emotional impressions of people. So I personally know enough that if I want to play a little bit, I can.

Cluster 9: Continuity?

This cluster is one of the least homogeneous and is correspondingly one of the most difficult to interpret. Continuity and ownership of photographs are the themes most closely related according to the dendrogram in fig. A4.1. There appears to be a sense in this cluster that, if someone doesn't assume responsibility for taking, and more importantly, keeping the photographs, the continuity of the albums, and, by implication, the continuity of the family, will be fractured.

Examples of Cluster 9:

Continuity, Ownership of photographs.

.....because there are photos where no one knows who's in them and it's a shame because there are some beautiful photos going back generations, my mother's grandparents and way back and then there can be a big gap and other grandparents wouldn't be there at all you know, but they seemed to make it their business to take photographs about 80 years ago or something like that.

One plausible, but nonetheless tenuous explanation for the inclusion of the theme Photographer as witness in this cluster is that, if the "curator" of the collection is attempting to faithfully maintain continuity, then there should be no censoring of the content of photographs. An implicit extension of this is that the photographs should be "accurate" in the first place - what is the point of having an archive which contains spurious 'data'? This statement is merely conjecture - it is not supported by quotes.

The reason the above analysis has not been included in the main body of Study 1 is that the themes which were clustered were raised by most of the interviewees, and the coding of these themes was not 'directional', i.e. people's statements were neither rated for strength, nor coded as 'positive' or 'negative'. If participants volunteered a statement, such as "of course, my photographs don't make me feel anything" then this would have been coded as affect. The reason for this coding of what might be called 'negative instances' of a theme is that, if one adopts a discourse analytic approach, then in order to understand

the nature and function of any version of events, we need to consider whatever real or potential alternative version it may be designed to counter (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Therefore, the statement above is treated as an argumentative statement which is the counter-position to the suggestion that photographs can evoke feeling. As I was interested in the range of meanings attributed to photographs, a statement such as the one above is treated as an acknowledgement that it may be possible for photographs to evoke affect.

Cluster analysis *always* produces clusters, and therefore can have the effect of imposing relationships which are to some extent, arbitrary. I felt that this had occurred in the above analysis, and therefore felt that it did not add anything to the qualitative account of the interview data.

APPENDIX 5: STATEMENTS USED IN STUDY 2

Bold type indicates the theme from Study 1 from which each statement was derived

Professional/amateur

1. Studio photographs tend to be of much better quality than those taken by amateurs.
2. Photographs taken by professionals are much more posed than amateur photographers.
3. People tend to value photographs taken by professionals more than those taken by amateurs.
4. Professionals have a better eye for photogenic subjects than amateurs.
5. Photos taken by professionals tend to be more artificial than photos taken by amateurs.
6. Professional photographers can capture "the spirit of the moment" better than amateurs can.

Technical

7. Photographs are better than slides or video recordings because they're more accessible to the family.
8. A camera is less intrusive than a "camcorder".
9. The technology of photography is off-putting to amateur photographers.
10. You need a lot of technical skill to take a good family snap.
11. Developments in the technology of photography (e.g. auto focusing) have narrowed the gap between amateur and professional photographers.
12. There are no gender differences in the attitudes to the technology of photography.
13. The best camera in a household tends to be owned by a man.
14. The choice of subject matter for a photo is influenced by the quality of the photographer's camera.
15. It is generally women who are responsible for family photography
16. It is generally women who seek the services of professional photographers
17. Most people display professionally taken photos around but keep snapshots in a pile/box/album

Photo ownership

18. It is generally the mother in a family who is responsible for the photographic collection
19. People should put captions on their photos - e.g. date, place, people in photo.

20. A photograph needs a caption before it can be understood by an "outsider"

Reality

21. Photographs do not necessarily represent reality.

22. Photographs only represent selected aspects of people's lives

23. Photographs are records of "what really happened"

Symbolism

24. Photographs can symbolise something, i.e. whether they are "true" or "false" is irrelevant, it's the *interpretation* that counts.

Viewer as author

25. Everyone has a different idea about what constitutes a good photograph.

26. A photograph can mean different things to different people.

27. A stranger looking at a family's photographs wouldn't be able to learn anything about the family from them.

Photographer as witness

28. Photographers are passive witnesses of the events they photograph

Communication with family

29. Family photographs are usually only of interest to the immediate family.

30. Family photographs are taken in order to pass on to the children.

Communication with friends

31. The main function of family photographs is to keep in touch with extended family and friends

Inappropriate occasions

32. Photographs shouldn't be taken at times of anger or sadness

33. Photographs shouldn't be taken of distressing scenes

34. Photographs shouldn't be taken when people are scarred or have a physical deformity

35. Photographs shouldn't be taken of the deceased at a funeral

Similarity of appearances

36. Photographs can be used to track physical resemblances among family members

37. Any important event in that person's life is worth recording, whether it's a good or even a bad moment, because it's all part of the experience of living

38. Photos can be used to track personality traits across family members.

Composition

- 39. A good photograph is one in which features of composition such as light, camera angle etc are taken into consideration when taking the photograph.
- 40. The composition of a photograph affects its message
- 41. The composition of a photograph is irrelevant to its message
- 42. Professional photographers pay more attention to the composition of their photographs than amateurs do

Posed & candid

- 43. The nicest photographs are candid ones
- 44. The truest photographs are candid ones
- 45. Most people hate people taking candid photographs of them
- 46. Most people hate posed photographs of themselves

Affect

- 47. The most important aspect of photos is the emotion they evoke
- 48. The same photograph can evoke different emotions in a person at different points in time
- 49. A photograph is a way of sharing the emotion of an event with people who weren't there.

Memory

- 50. The most important aspect of family photographs is the memories they evoke.

History

- 51. The most important aspect of photographs is that they provide historical information about families.

Self

- 52. Photographs can tell people something about themselves
- 53. Many people who like photographs dislike appearing in them themselves

Documenting change

- 54. Photograph can show the changes in people over time e.g. growing up

Continuity

- 55. Photographs help to link the past and the present

Time

- 56. Photographs can be used to "freeze" time.

Solidarity

57. Family photographs help to unify the family

Postive affect recollect

58. Most photographs are taken during happy times

Positive affect evoke

59. Looking at photographs can evoke positive emotions (e.g. happiness) in people

Negative affect evoke

60. Looking at photographs can evoke negative emotions (e.g. sadness) in people

61. The gender of professional photographers can influence the kind of photograph they take

62. The gender of amateur photographers can influence the kind of photographs they take

APPENDIX 6: MICRO-CODING OF 'EVENT' CATEGORY

anniversary	feeding baby	on toilet
asleep	festival	outing
bathing baby	First Communion	party
birth	first day at new school	passport photo
birthday	graduation	performance
bonfire	group photo	pet
breastfeeding	Hallowe'en	photography session
celebrity	hobby	picking flowers
changing nappy	holiday**	picnic
charity event	honeymoon	playing
christening	house***	pregnant
Christmas	in bath	presents
competition	in bed	prizegiving
confirmation	in garden	reading
decorating	injury	school
developmental milestone*	investiture	school photo
dinner party	kissing	snow
domestic work	landscape/nature	soon after birth
dressed up	making faces	sport
drinking	memento mori	sunbathing
Easter	messy!	Valentine's day
eating	Mothers' day	visit
engagement party	new haircut	watching t.v.
evening function	new teeth	wedding
fancy dress	new year	work
Father's day	nude	

APPENDIX 7: WHO APPEARS IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS?

Combination	Frequency	% of overall photos	Mean*	S.D.
child1 alone	1521	16.97	152.10	147.47
child1 child2	811	9.05	90.11	169.34
child1 child2 child3	39	0.44	13.00	5.29
child1 child2 child3 child4	3	0.03	3.00	0.00
child1 child2 child3 child4 sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child2 child3 child4 father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child2 child3 child4 mother father sig.other	2	0.02	2.00	0.00
child1 child2 child3 child4 mother sig.other	3	0.03	3.00	0.00
child1 child2 child3 father	20	0.22	6.67	4.16
child1 child2 child3 father sig.other	1	0.01	0.33	0.58
child1 child2 child3 mother	15	0.17	5.00	1.73
child1 child2 child3 mother father	6	0.07	2.00	1.73
child1 child2 child3 mother father sig.other	5	0.06	1.67	0.58
child1 child2 child3 mother sig.other	7	0.08	2.33	2.31
child1 child2 child3 sig.other	22	0.25	7.33	7.02
child1 child2 father	216	2.41	24.00	52.64
child1 child2 father sig.other	91	1.02	10.11	17.40
child1 child2 mother	104	1.16	11.56	17.13
child1 child2 mother father	43	0.48	4.78	7.17
child1 child2 mother father sig.other	24	0.27	2.67	2.60
child1 child2 mother sig.other	44	0.49	4.89	4.20
child1 child2 sig.other	483	5.39	53.67	83.62
child1 child3	7	0.08	2.33	0.58
child1 child3 child4 mother father sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child3 sig.other	6	0.06	2.00	1.50
child1 child3 father	1	0.01	0.33	0.58
child1 child3 mother	3	0.03	1.00	1.00
child1 child4	6	0.07	6.00	0.00
child1 child4 father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child4 father sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child4 mother father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 child4 mother sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child1 father	368	4.11	36.80	43.08
child1 father sig.other	91	1.02	9.10	10.22
child1 mother	301	3.36	30.10	28.31
child1 mother father	61	0.68	6.10	5.61
child1 mother father sig.other	44	0.49	4.40	5.02
child1 mother sig.other	92	1.03	9.20	11.90
child1 sig.other	574	6.41	57.40	51.31
child2 alone	697	7.78	77.44	116.44
child2 child3	60	0.67	20.00	22.61
child2 child3 child4	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child2 child3 child4 sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 child3 child4 mother	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 child3 child4 mother father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 child3 child4 mother sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 child3 father	9	0.10	3.00	2.00
child2 child3 father sig.other	3	0.03	1.00	1.73
child2 child3 mother	10	0.11	3.33	2.52
child2 child3 mother father	3	0.03	1.00	1.73
child2 child3 mother father sig.other	2	0.02	0.67	1.15
child2 child3 sig.other	12	0.13	4.00	3.46
child2 child4	4	0.04	4.00	0.00

Combination	Frequency	% of overall photos	Mean*	S.D.
child2 child4 sig.other	4	0.04	4.00	0.00
child2 child4 father sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 child4 mother sig.other	3	0.03	3.00	0.00
child2 child4 mother father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child2 father	134	1.50	14.89	26.39
child2 father sig.other	19	0.21	2.11	2.71
child2 mother	89	0.99	9.89	12.69
child2 mother father	14	0.16	1.56	2.13
child2 mother father sig.other	6	0.07	0.67	0.87
child2 mother sig.other	22	0.25	2.44	1.94
child2 sig.other	229	2.56	25.44	41.02
child3 alone	99	1.10	33.00	31.19
child3 child4	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child3 child4 mother	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child3 child4 mother father sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child3 child4 mother sig.other	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child3 child4 sig.other	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child3 father	5	0.06	1.67	1.15
child3 father sig.other	1	0.01	0.33	0.58
child3 mother	8	0.09	2.67	1.53
child3 mother father sig.other	1	0.01	0.33	0.58
child3 sig.other	19	0.21	6.33	3.79
child4 alone	29	0.32	29.00	0.00
child4 father	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child4 father sig.other	2	0.02	2.00	0.00
child4 mother	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child4 mother father	1	0.01	1.00	0.00
child4 mother father sig.other	2	0.02	2.00	0.00
child4 mother sig.other	5	0.06	5.00	0.00
child4 sig.other	39	0.44	39.00	0.00
father alone	280	3.12	28.00	30.09
father sig.other	181	2.02	18.10	20.26
mother alone	337	3.76	33.70	26.53
mother father	187	2.09	18.70	25.83
mother father sig.other	77	0.86	7.70	7.47
mother sig.other	213	2.38	21.30	20.02
sig.other	1100	12.28	110.00	119.67
TOTAL	8961	100.00		

* This is calculated as the mean number of photographs in this category for all families which possess that category. For example, only 1 family has 4 children, so the frequency of child 1 with child 4 photographs is 6, as is the mean.

APPENDIX 8: FREQUENCY OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN EACH EVENT CATEGORY

Event category	Cronin	Ryan	Dean	Lynch	Danne nberg	Bates	Rees- Burke	Richards	Powell	Johnson
anniversary	1			11	1	7	4	1	12	
asleep		5	1	21	3	2	3	16	7	1
bathing baby					18					
birth					43					
birthday	14	39	8	370	37	56	35	102	45	19
bonfire				7			1			
breastfeeding								2		
celebrity	1						5			
changing nappy				1	1			1	4	
charity event	1	1		13						
christening	12	14		15				19	75	10
Christmas	28	10		154	71	38	35	30	25	20
competition									3	
confirmation	16									
decorating	1								5	
developmental milestone*	1			30	8				19	
dinner party								1		
domestic work	1			7		5	1	14		
dressed up				32		4		15	7	2
drinking				3					3	
Easter	1			3					1	
eating	7	2	2	47	17	6	17	12	3	
engagement party									2	
evening function	13			7				2	2	7
fancy dress	3	5		35			13			
Father's day				12					4	
feeding baby	1			6	16		2		6	
festival				14						
First Communion	6	1						1		
first day at new school	1	2		10			4	2		7
graduation	26			11	24	5		8	11	6
group photo				3						3
Hallowe'en				7			4			3
hobby	33	1		29		18	89	6		11
holiday**	72	30	79	511	3	12	11	216	211	19
honeymoon	14									
house***	1			11			14	14		6
in bath		4		54			6	19	23	2
in bed		6	2	30	5	2	4	11	8	
in garden			26							
injury				9						
investiture	3						1			2
kissing				13	1	1				

APPENDIX 8 (CONTINUED): NUMBER OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN EACH EVENT

CATEGORY FOR EACH FAMILY

Event category	Cronin	Ryan	Dean	Lynch	Danne nberg	Bates	Rees- Burke	Richards	Powell	Johnson
landscape/ nature	3			3						
making faces				3				1		
memento mori	1				5					
messy!				2	15	1				
Mothers' day				7						
new haircut				2						
new teeth								4		
new year				2	7				5	
nude				12				7		1
on toilet				5				1	12	
outing	70	32	22	311	25	24	167	22	30	28
party	14		3	1	1	1	6		9	7
passport photo			1							
performance	38			90		6	6	16		5
pet	1	3	2	1			1	2	9	
Photography session	19		8		11		2		1	
picking flowers							1			
picnic	3	2		4	1	17	25	1	8	4
playing	24	51	21	170	82	11	94	93	43	12
pregnant			4		3			10		
presents				59						
prizegiving	25	1		15		25	5	5		
reading			1	7	18			15		
school	25			39		10				
school photo	5	1	31	2				2		15
snow	3	3		5	1	6	12	3		5
soon after birth	6	16		48	5	6	4	34	80	11
sport	14	7		53		31	2	57		
sunbathing				8			3	5		
Valentine's day				8						
visit	44	1	71	38	51	6	19	8	198	7
watching t.v.		1		5				2		
wedding	61	8	29	102	1	7		103	36	20
work	16	9	11	2	2		10	2	6	2
unknown event	239	9	10	20	11		12	6		2
Total	849	283	324	2508	476	318	617	904	900	238

APPENDIX 9: CORRESPONDENCE ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL AND TOUCHING DATA

Table A8.1 is the contingency table containing the 6 pairs of family members for whom data were analysed (mother & father (MF), mother & child 1 (MC1), mother and child 2 (MC2), father and child 1 (FC1), father and child 2 (FC2) and child 1 & child 2 (C1C2), and the 4 kinds of touching for which data were analysed: a touching b, b touching a, a and b touching reciprocally, and a and b close enough to touch but not touching.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	MF	MC1	MC2	FC1	FC2	C1C2	Margin
1: a->b	22	295	167	303	207	116	1110
2: b-> a	41	14	9	23	19	32	138
3: a<->b	99	43	32	47	25	45	291
4: a//b	42	71	24	108	47	303	595
Margin	204	423	232	481	298	496	2134

Note: a->b : 1st member of pair touching 2nd member of pair
 b->a : 2nd member of pair touching 1st member of pair
 a<->b: Reciprocal touching between members of pair
 a//b: Members of pair close enough to touch, but not touching.

Table A8.1: Contingency table of spatial arrangements by family member pair.

In order to analyse the contingency table, the rows and columns must be reduced to the same base. Therefore, the rows and column entries are converted to proportions of the row and column totals. These sets of proportions or 'profiles' of the rows (table A8.2) and columns (table A8.3) are calculated by summing each row or column, and dividing them by the total of that row or column.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	MF	MC1	MC2	FC1	FC2	C1C2	Margin
1	.020	.266	.150	.273	.186	.105	1.000
2	.297	.101	.065	.167	.138	.232	1.000
3	.340	.148	.110	.162	.086	.155	1.000
4	.071	.119	.040	.182	.079	.509	1.000
Margin	.096	.198	.109	.225	.140	.232	

Table A8.2: Row profiles

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	MF	MC1	MC2	FC1	FC2	C1C2	Margin
1	.108	.697	.720	.630	.695	.234	.520
2	.201	.033	.039	.048	.064	.065	.065
3	.485	.102	.138	.098	.084	.091	.136
4	.206	.168	.103	.225	.158	.611	.279
Margin	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	

Table A8.3: Column profiles

Table A8.4 illustrates the outcome of the analysis, including the inertia of each dimension. Inertia refers to contribution which the squared distance of each profile point from the average of each profile makes to the total inertia. The higher the inertia, the more closely each row is associated with one particular column. In this analysis, dimensions 1 and two have reasonably high inertia, and therefore demonstrate that there is an association between rows and columns. Dimension 3 has extremely low inertia, and also explains a very small proportion of the variance, and therefore a 2 dimensional solution is accepted.

Dimension	Singular Value	Inertia	Proportion Explained	Cumulative Proportion
1	.46038	.21195	.598	.598
2	.37499	.14061	.397	.995
3	.04249	.00181	.005	1.000
Total	.35437	1.000	1.000	

Table A8.4: Outcome of Correspondence Analysis

REFERENCES

- Adams, J.S. (1965). Inequality in social exchange. in L. Berkowitz (Ed.) Advances in experimental social psychology, Vol. 2. New York: Academic Press.
- Akeret, R.U. (1973). Photoanalysis: How to interpret the hidden meaning of personal and public photographs. New York: Wynden.
- Bahr, H. (1976). The kinship role. In F.I. Nye Role structure and role analysis of the family. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage. pp. 61-79.
- Ball, M.S. and Smith, G.W.H. (1992). Analysing visual data. Sage Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol.24.
- Barnes, M.L. and Sternberg, R.J. (1989). Social intelligence and decoding of nonverbal cues. Intelligence, 13, 263-287.
- Barthes, R. (1980). Camera lucida: Reflections on photography. Paris: Editions du Seuil. (Translated R. Howard (1988). London: Jonathan Cape Ltd).
- Bartlett, F.C. (1932). Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Bateson, G., Jackson, D.D., Haley, J. and Weakland, J.H. (1956). Toward a theory of schizophrenia. Behavioural Science, 1, 251-264
- Bazin, A. (1967). The ontology of the photographic image. In A. Bazin (Ed.), What is cinema? Vol.I. University of California Press, p. 9-16.
- Belenky, M.F., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N. and Tarule, J. (1986). Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind. New York: Basic Books.
- Beloff, H. (1985). Camera culture. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Beloff, H. (1993). Les femmes de Cameron: Rhétorique visuelle de l'identité sexuelle. Bulletin de Psychologie, 49 (411), 580-588.
- Berelson, B. (1952). Content analysis in communication research. New York: Free Press.
- Berger, C.R. (1980). Self-consciousness and the study of interpersonal interaction: Approaches and issues. In H. Giles, W.P. Robinson and P.

- Smith (Eds) Language: Social psychological perspectives. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Billig, M. (1994). Repopulating the depopulated pages of social psychology. Theory and Psychology, 4(3), 307-337.
- Blau, P.M. (1964). Exchange and power in social life. New York: John Wiley.
- Blinn, L. M. (1988). The family photo assessment process (FPAP): A method for validating cross-cultural comparisons of family social identities. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 19(1), 117-135.
- Boerdam, J. and Martinius, W.D. (1980). Family photographs: A sociological approach. Netherlands Journal of Sociology, 16(2), 95-119.
- Bohm, D. (1987). Hidden variables and the implicate order. In B.J. Hiley and F.D. Peat (Eds). Quantum implications: Essays in honour of David Bohm. London: Routledge. Chap. 2.
- Bossard, J.H. and Boll, E.S. (1950). Ritual in family living. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1965). Un art moyen: Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. (Translated Whiteside, S. (1990). Photography: A middle-brow art. Cambridge: Polity Press).
- British Institute of Professional Photography Directory (1994). British Institute of Professional Photography, Fox Talbot House, Amwell End, Ware, Herts SG12 9HN.
- Brown, B.W. (1981). Images of family life in magazine advertising 1920-1978. New York: Praeger.
- Brown, S.R. (1980). Political Subjectivity: Applications of Q-methodology in political science. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bryman, A. (1992). Quantitative and qualitative research: further reflections on their integration. In J. Brannen (Ed.). Mixing methods: Qualitative and quantitative research. Aldershot: Avebury. Chap.3.
- Bugental, J.F.T. and Zelen, S.L. (1950). Investigations into the self concept. Journal of Personality, 18, 483-398.
- Burgess, E.W. (1926). The family as a unity of interacting personalities. Family, Z, 3-9.

- Burgin, V. (1982). Thinking photography. London: Macmillan.
- Burr, W.R., Leigh, G.K., Day, R.D. and Constantine, J. (1979). Symbolic interaction and the family. In W.R. Burr, R. Hill, F.I. Nye, and I.L. Reiss (Eds) Contemporary theories about the family: General theories/theoretical orientations. Vol. 2. New York: Free Press.
- Burt, C.D., Mitchell, D.A., Raggatt, P.T, Jones, C.A. and Cowan, T.M. (1995). A snapshot of autobiographical memory retrieval characteristics. Applied Cognitive Psychology, 9(1), 61-74.
- Cannell, C. and Kahn, R. (1953). The collection of data by interviewing. In L. Festinger and D. Katz (Eds.). Research methods in the behavioural sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Chapter 8.
- Carter, B. and McGoldrick, M. (1989). Overview: the changing family life cycle: A framework for family therapy. In B. Carter and M. McGoldrick (Eds.) The Changing Family Life Cycle (2nd Ed.) London: Allyn & Bacon.
- Chalfen, R. (1974). Film as visual communication: A sociovidistic study in filmmaking. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Chalfen, R. (1987). Snapshot versions of life. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green Popular Press.
- Child, N. (1993). Making their Day. Context: Magazine of the Association for Family Therapy, 16, Autumn, 1993, p. 3-4.
- Cloniger, S.J. (1975). The sexually dimorphic image: An empirical analysis of the influences of gender differences on photographic content. Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1975. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1975, 35, 8-a. (University Microfilms no. 5527)
- Code, L. (1991). What Can She Know? Feminist Theory and the construction of Knowledge. Ithaca: CUP.
- Colson, D.B. (1979). Photography as an extension of the ego. International Review of Psychoanalysis, 6, 273-282.
- Cooley, C.H. (1902). Human nature and the social order. New York: Scribner's.
- Cooper, D. (1971). The death of the family. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Cronin, Ó. and Gale, A. (1995). Phototherapie: Ein kritischer Überblick.
[Phototherapy: A critical review]. Integrative Therapy, 3-4, p. 245-264
- Cronin, Ó. and Gale, A. (1996). Photographs and the therapeutic process.
Clinical Psychology Forum, 89, 22-24.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981). The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Denzin, N.K. (1969) Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology: a proposed synthesis. American Sociological Review, 34, 922-34.
- Dittmar, H. (1992) The social psychology of material possessions: to have is to be. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Durkheim, E. (1961). The elementary forms of religious life. (trans. J.W. Swain) New York: Collier Books.
- Durkheim, E. (1970). Suicide. Translated J. Spalding and G. Simpson. London: Routledge.
- Duvall, E. (1971). Family development. Chicago: Lippincott.
- Edwards, D. and Middleton, D. (1988). Conversational remembering and family relationships: How children learn to remember. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 5, 3-25.
- Edwards, D. and Potter, J. (1992). Discursive psychology. London: Sage.
- Emler, N. and Ohana, J. (1993). Studying social representations in children: Just new wine in old bottles? in G. Breakwell and D. Canter (Eds). Empirical approaches to social representations. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 63-86.
- Erikson, E.H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle. New York: International Universities Press.
- Everitt, B. (1992). The analysis of contingency tables (2nd Edition). London: Chapman and Hall.
- Everitt, B. (1993). Cluster analysis. 3rd Edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fabrega, H. (1976). The biological significance of taxonomies of disease. Journal of theoretical biology, 63, 191-216.

- Ferreira, A.J. (1963). Family myth and homeostasis. Archives of general psychiatry, 13, 214-223.
- Finch, J. (1984). 'It's great to have someone to talk to': Ethics and politics of interviewing women. In C. Bell and H. Roberts (Eds.), Social researching: Politics, problems, practice. London: Routledge.
- Firth, R., Hubert, J. and Forge, A. (1969). Families and their relatives. Kinship in middle class sector of London: An anthropological study. London: Routledge.
- Foa, U. and Foa, E. (1980). Resource theory: Interpersonal behaviour as exchange. In K. Gergen, M. Greenberg and R. Willis (Eds.), Social exchange: Advances in research. p. 77-94. New York: Plenum.
- Foddy, W. (1996). An empirical evaluation of probes used for the in-depth testing of survey questions. Paper presented at the Fourth International Social Science Conference, Essex, U.K., July 1996.
- Fransella, F. and Bannister, D. (1977). A manual for repertory grid technique. London: Academic Press.
- Fryer, D.M. and Payne, R.L. (1984). Proactive behaviour in the unemployed: Findings and implications. Leisure Studies, 3, 273-95.
- Gale, A. and Hollingworth, C.A. (1984). Family photographs as a family Freudian slip: Review of the use of photographic albums as descriptions of family life. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Social Psychology Section of the the British Psychological Society, Oxford, September 1984.
- Gardner, S.L. (1983). Family systems through family photographic albums. University of New Hampshire PhD. Thesis. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
- Gardner, S.L. (1990). Images of family life over the family lifecycle. Sociological Quarterly, 13(1), 77-92.
- Gardner, S.L. (1991). Exploring the family album: Social class differences in images of family life. Sociological Inquiry, 61, 242-251.
- General Household Survey 1992 (1994). Central Statistical Office: Social Trends, No. 24. HMSO.

- Gergen, K.J. (1991). Emerging challenges for theory and psychology. Theory and Psychology, 1,(1), 13-35.
- Gergen, K.J. and Davis, K.E. (1985). The social construction of the person. New York: Springer Verlag.
- Gittens, D. (1985). The family in question: Changing households and familiar ideologies. London: Macmillan.
- Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction rituals: Essays in face-to-face behaviour. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1971). The presentation of self in everyday life. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 2nd Edition.
- Goffman, E. (1975) . Frame analysis: An essay on the organisation of experience. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1976). Gender Advertisements. Studies in the anthropology of visual communication, 3(2).
- Halbwachs, M. (1950). La memoire collective. Paris: Presses Universitaires. (Translated F.J. Ditter and V.Y. Ditter, 1980. The Collective Memory. London: Harper & Row)
- Haley, J. (1973). Uncommon therapy. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Haley, J. (1976). Problem-solving therapy: New strategies for effective family therapy. San Francisco: Jossey Bass
- Halle, D. (1991). Displaying the dream: The visual presentation of family and self in the modern American household. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 22, 217-229.
- Heath, S.B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. Language in Society, 11, 49-76.
- Hempel, C. (1965). Aspects of scientific explanation. New York: The Free Press.
- Hirsch, J. (1981). Family photographs: Content, meaning and effect. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hodge, R., and Kress, G. (1988). Family photographs and familial texts. In R. Hodge and G. Kress. Social semiotics, pp. 221-229. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Holland, P., Spence, J. and Watney, S. (Eds) (1986). Photography/Politics: Two. Comedia/Photography Workshop. London: Methuen.
- Homans, G. (1961). Social behaviour: Its elementary forms. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Hoppál, M. (1989). Family photography of the American-Hungarians. In E. Kunt (Ed). Bild-Kunde-Volks-Kunde. 3rd Internationale Tagung des Volkskundlichen Bildforschung Komitee Bei Sief / UNESCO, Miskolk, Hungary, April 1988.
- Irving, J.A. and Williams, D.I. (1995). Family systems theory and its limitations. Counselling Psychology Review, 10, 15-18.
- Jackson, D.D. (1965). The study of the family. Family Process, 4, 1-20.
- Jones, W.H. and Briggs, S.R. (1986). Manual for the Social Reticence Scale (SRS): A measure of shyness. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Jung, C. (1968). The archetypes and the collective unconscious. (2nd Edition). In Collected Works, Vol. 9, Part 1. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kamptner, M. (1989). Personal possessions and their meanings in old age. In S. Spacapan and S. Oskamp (Eds) The social psychology of aging. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kantor, D. and Lehr, W. (1975). Inside the family. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kay, P. (1971). Explorations in mathematical anthropology. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Kelly, G.A. (1955). The psychology of personal constructs. Vols. 1 and 2, New York: Norton.
- Kenyon, D. (1989). Snap Judgements: Towards a Phenomenology of the Vernacular Photographic Act. Unpublished M. Litt Thesis, Department of Film and Media Studies, University of Stirling.
- Klein, D.M. and White, J.M. (1996). Family theories: An introduction. London: Sage.
- Kobbe, A.M. (1993). Exhibition of family photos: Influence of photographic orientation, meaning of family photos and individual variables. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Tennessee.

- "Kodacolor Gold" Survey, April 1990, prepared by Audience Selection, London for Kodak Ltd.
- Kotkin, A. (1978). The family album as a form of folklore. Exposure, 16, 4-8.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: a phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. Journal of phenomenological psychology, 14, 171-196.
- Laing, R.D. and Esterson, A. (1964). Sanity, madness and the family. London: Tavistock.
- Langer, E.J., Blank, A. and Chanowitz, B. (1978). The mindlessness of ostensibly thoughtful action: The role of 'placebic' information in interpersonal interaction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36(6), 635-642.
- Langer, S. (1967). Mind: An essay on human feeling. Vol. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Langer, S.K. (1972). Mind: An essay on human feeling, Vol. 2. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Leon, W. (1981). Picturing the family: Photographs and paintings in the classroom. Journal of Family History, 6, 15-27.
- Lesy, M. (1980). Time frames: The meaning of family pictures. New York: Pantheon.
- Levinger, G., and Gunner, J. (1967). The interpersonal grid: Felt and tape techniques for the measurement of social relationships. Psychonomic Science, 8(4), 173-174.
- Lincoln, Y.S. and Guba, E.G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- Loftus, E.F. and Loftus, G.R. (1980). On the permanence of stored information in the human brain. American Psychologist, 35, 409-20.
- Loftus, E.F., Miller, D.G. and Burns, H.J. (1978). Semantic integration of verbal information into a visual memory. Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human learning and memory, 4, 19-31.

- Lyotard, J.F. (1984). La condition postmoderne. Translated G. Bennington and B. Massumi The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mandell, L.M. and Shaw, D.L. (1973). Judging people in the news - unconsciously: Effect of camera angle and bodily activity. Journal of Broadcasting, 17, 353-362.
- Mann, S. (1992). Immediate family. London: Phaidon Press.
- Markus, H. and Nurius, P. (1986). Possible Selves. American Psychologist, 41(9), p. 954-969.
- McCarthy, E.D. (1984). Toward a sociology of the physical world: George Herbert Mead on physical objects. Studies in symbolic interaction, 5, 105-121.
- McCracken, G. (1988). The long interview. Sage Qualitative Research Methods series Vol. 13. London: Sage.
- Mead, G.H. (1934). Mind, self and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mead, G.H. (1938). The philosophy of the act. in C. Morris (Ed). The philosophy of the act. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mehrabian, A. (1969). Significance of posture and position in the communication of attitude and status relationships. Psychological Bulletin, 71(5), 359-372.
- Mehrabian, A. (1972). Nonverbal communication. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton.
- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.B. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. London: Sage. 2nd Edition.
- Milgram, S. (1977). The image-freezing machine. Psychology Today, 10, 30-35.
- Miller, G.A. (1969). Psychology as a means of promoting human welfare. American Psychologist, 24, 1063-1075.
- Mills, J. (1984). Self-posed behaviours of females and males in photographs. Sex Roles, 10, 7-8.
- Minuchin, S. (1974). A family model. In Minuchin, S. (Ed). Families and Family therapy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Moore, S.F. and Myerhoff, B.G. (1977). Secular ritual. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

- Moos, R.H. (1974). The family environment scale Form R. Palo Alto, California: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Morgan, M. (1996). Qualitative research: A package deal? The Psychologist, 9(1), 31-32.
- Musello, C. (1977). Home mode photography: A study of visual interaction and communication in everyday life. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Pennsylvania Annenberg School of Communication.
- Musello, C. (1979). Family Photography. In J.Wagner (Ed.) Images of information. London: Sage. p. 101-118
- Musello, C. (1980). Studying the home mode: an exploration of family photography and visual communication. Studies in Visual Communication, 6(1), 23-42.
- Nye, F.I. (1979). Choice, exchange and the family. In W.R. Burr, R. Hill, F.I. Nye, and I.L. Reiss (Eds). (1979). Contemporary theories about the family: General theories/theoretical orientations. Vol. 2. New York: Free Press.
- Nye, F.I. (Ed.) (1982). Family relationships: Rewards and costs. Beverley Hills, CA.: Sage.
- O'Connell, B. Unpublished article. Cited Leon, W. (1981). Picturing the family: Photographs and paintings in the classroom. Journal of Family History, 6, 15-27.
- O'Connor, J., Beilin, H. and Kose, G. (1981). Children's belief in photographic fidelity. Developmental Psychology, 17, 859-865.
- Oxford English Dictionary (1989). Compact Edition. Oxford: O.E.D.
- Pallister, D. and Nowicka, H. (1995). Newsreader's fury over 'porn inquiry'. The Guardian, 4th November.
- Polkinghorne, D. (1983). Methodology for the human sciences: Systems of inquiry. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Polanyi, M. (1967). The tacit dimension. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Procter, H.G. (1978). Personal Construct Theory and the family: A theoretical and methodological perspective. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bristol.

- Proctor, H. G. (1981). Family construct psychology: An approach to understanding and treating families. In S. Walrond-Skinner (Ed.) Developments in Family Therapy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp 350-367.
- Proctor, H.G. (1978). Personal Construct Theory and the family: A theoretical and methodological perspective. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Bristol.
- Ragan, J.M. (1982). Gender display in portrait photographs. Sex Roles, 8, 33-43.
- Reiss, D. (1981). The family's construction of reality. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rollins, B. and Feldman, H. (1978). Marital satisfaction over the family life cycle. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 32, 20-27.
- Rosenthal, R. and dePaulo, B.M. (1979). Sex differences in eavesdropping on nonverbal cues. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37, 273-285.
- Ruby, J. (1982). Images of the family: The symbolic implications of animal photography. Phototherapy, 3, 2-7.
- Sabatelli, R. M. and Shehan, C.L. (1993). Exchange and resource theories. In P. Boss, W. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. Schumm and S. Steinmetz (Eds.), Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach, p. 385-411. New York: Plenum.
- Schwarz, D. (1992). To tell the truth: Codes of objectivity in photojournalism. Communication, 13, 95-109
- Sekula, A. (1975). On the invention of photographic meaning. Art Forum, 13, 37-45.
- Shostrom, E.L. (1974). Manual for the Personal Orientation Inventory. San Diego, CA: Edits/Educational Testing Service.
- Silber, M. (1973). The family album. Boston, Ma.: Godine.
- Sontag, S. (1977). On photography. London: Penguin.
- Spence, J. (1978). Facing up to myself. Spare Rib, 68, 6-9.

- Spence, J. and Holland, P. (eds) (1991). Family snaps: The meanings of domestic photography. London: Virago.
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993). Breaking out again: Feminist ontology and epistemology. London: Routledge.
- Statistical Office of the European Communities, 1992. Social Trends No. 22, p. 43.
- Steinglass, P. (1987) A systems view of family interaction and psychopathology. In R. Jacob (Ed). Family interaction and psychopathology: Theories, methods and findings. Chapter 2, p. 25-63. New York: Plenum
- Stone, G.P. (1962). Appearance and the self. In A.M. Rose (Ed.), Human behaviour and social processes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, p. 86-118.
- Stryker, A. (1968). Identity salience and role performance: The relevance of symbolic interactionism theory for family research. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 30, 558-564.
- Stryker, S. and Statham, A. (1985). Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory. in Lindzey, G. and Aronson, E. (eds). Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 1: Theory and Method. Chap. 6, p. 311-377. New York: Random House.
- Thibaut, J.W. and Kelley, H.H. (1959). The social psychology of groups. New York: Wiley and Son.
- Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F. (1918). The Polish peasant in Europe and America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Titus, S.L. (1976). Family Photographs and Transition to Parenthood. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 38, 525-530.
- Trivette, C.M., Dunst, C.J., Deal, A.G. and Hamer, A.W. (1990). Assessing family strengths and family functioning style. Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, 10(1), 16-35.
- Vetere, A. and Gale, A. (1987). Ecological Studies of Family Life. Chichester: Wiley and Sons.
- Vial, C. (1988). Memoire et photographie. Bulletin de Psychologie, 42, 375-378.
- Viscom: The electronic discussion group for visual communication.
Listserv@vm.temple.edu.

- von Bertalanffy, L. (1968). General systems theory. New York: George Braziller.
- Voss, J.F. (1988). Problem solving and reasoning in ill-structured domains. In C. Antaki (Ed.) Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods. London: Sage. p. 74-94.
- Walker, A.L. and Kimball Moulton, R. (1989). Photo albums: Images of time and reflections of self. Qualitative Sociology, 12, 155-182.
- Watzlawick, P., Beavin, J.H. and Jackson, D.D. (1967). Pragmatics of human communication. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Watzlawick, P., Weakland, J. and Fisch, R. (1974). Change: Principles of problem formation and problem resolution. New York: Bruner/Mazel.
- Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretive repertoires. In C. Antaki (Ed) Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of new methods. London: Sage.
- Williams, V. (1992). The naked truth. The Guardian, 22nd September.
- Williamson, J. (1984). Family, education and photography. Ten8, 14, 19-22.
- Wolfman Report (1993). New York: Hachette Filipacci Magazines Inc., 1633 Broadway, New York, NY 10019
- Wolin, S.J. and Bennett, L.A. (1984). Family Rituals. Family Process, 23 (3), 401-420
- Worth, S. and Gross, L. (1974). Symbolic strategies. Journal of Communication, 24, 27-39.
- Zettl, H. (1990). Sight sound motion: Applied media aesthetics. 2nd Ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Ziller, R.C. (1990). Photographing the self: Methods for observing personal orientations. Newbury Park, Ca, U.S.A.: Sage.