Interrogating the spaces of personal photography: women, identity, and the cultural formation of photographic practice

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Recommended Citation
INTERROGATING THE SPACES OF PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHY:
WOMEN, IDENTITY, AND THE CULTURAL FORMATION
OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

By

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A DISSERTATION
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Rhetoric and Technical Communication)

MICHIGAN TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY

2012

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This dissertation, “Interrogating the Spaces of Personal Photography: Women, Identity, and the Cultural Formation of Photographic Practice,” is hereby approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN RHETORIC AND TECHNICAL COMMUNICATION.

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To my grandmothers, for stepping in, steadfastly, in the place of my parents. And to their grandmothers, and their grandmothers before them, for creating my place in the world.
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Acknowledgements

Without a community of family, friends, and colleagues, this journey would have been impossible to complete. The development of the main thesis for this dissertation was the result of tireless and unconditional support of my committee chair Dr. Diane Shoos and the generous patience of the committee members comprised of Dr. Ann Brady, Dr. Dieter Adolphs, Dr. Linda Nagel, and Professor Mary Ann Beckwith. My dissertation chair Dr. Diane Shoos was especially helpful in crafting the interdisciplinary questions, arguments, and critical structure that supported the project as it began to build momentum over the past three years. Her encouragement to look closer at the work of Deborah Willis, bell hooks, and Coco Fusco to support my arguments about raced, ethnic, and cultural identities will remain a strong focus in the scholarship I will carry forward in my new career as an Assistant Professor of Photography at Northwest College in Wyoming. Dr. Ann Brady, professor of the first class I took at Michigan Technological University in 2005, listened carefully and provided valuable resources to enrich my theoretical understanding of the critical approaches taken by Hannah Arendt and Carolyn Miller. I will always treasure Dr. Dieter Adolph’s Communication in Cultural Context course for introducing me to critical theory as a liberating power in adult learning and teaching. And, thank you Dr. Linda Nagel and Professor Mary Ann Beckwith for serving on my committee as readers and supporters.

Other members of the Humanities Department at Michigan Technological University deserve special mention for their contribution to my success in this program. A special thanks goes to Dr. Karla Kitalong for allowing me to shadow her for four years during the Water’s Journey Through the Everglades project supported by a National Science Foundation Grant. I am especially grateful for the trips we were required to take to Florida for research meetings and evaluations during the middle of Michigan winter. Thanks goes to my new friend Sylvia Matthews for mentoring me tirelessly back into academic life when I first arrived at Michigan Technological University in 2005. Erin Smith the director of
the Humanities Digital Media Zone, thank you for facilitating the extraordinary 
opportunity to conceptualize and implement the digital photography course for 
the department in 2010-2011. Additionally, Dr. Elizabeth Flynn, Dr. Marilyn 
Cooper, and Dr. Patty Sotrin, deserve special thanks for providing me with the 
foundations of academic knowledge without which I could not have carried this 
through to the end.

Of course, I need to acknowledge family members who have been 
remarkably supportive during my efforts to complete my doctoral studies. My 
husband Phillip’s extraordinary patience and ability to “carry-on” is truly 
priceless, as I hopped from managing our portrait studio to teaching photography 
classes at Northern Michigan University, and then on to working at Michigan 
Technological University as a Graduate Research and Teaching Assistant. Our 
son Peter deserved more of my time and I will always treasure the lunches we 
shared on my bi-weekly commute from Marquette to Houghton for classes, even 
in winter.

I want to extend gratitude to friends who allowed me to include their 
private lives in my research project. Thank you Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and 
Katie Knight for giving me access to your photographs and words for the main 
argument of this dissertation. Thank you also to Julie Fine and Colleen Taugher 
for granting permission to snoop around in your Facebook, Flickr, and Photoblog 
accounts. Christine Saari, in particular, thank you for the unwavering daily 
depth of our friendship and support you provided. Thank you also to Polly Wasilewski, 
Suzanne Bowers, and Rehema Clarken for your patience reading the early drafts 
of my arguments. Particularly, I would like to thank Rehema Clarken who from 
time to time provided me with a warm and supportive place to stay as I prepared 
for comprehensive exams.

And finally, thank you to David Pulver for planting the doctoral seed in my 
consciousness. Your monthly check-in phone calls to assess my progress before 
your untimely passing are greatly missed.
Abstract

Personal photographs permeate our lives from the moment we are born as they define who we are within our familial group and local communities. Archived in family albums or framed on living room walls, they continue on after our death as mnemonic artifacts referencing our gendered, raced, and ethnic identities. This dissertation examines salient instances of what women “do” with personal photographs, not only as authors and subjects but also as collectors, archivists, and family and cultural historians. This project seeks to contribute to more productive, complex discourse about how women form relationships and engage with the conventions and practices of personal photography.

In the first part of this dissertation I revisit developments in the history of personal photography, including the advertising campaigns of the Kodak and Agfa Girls and the development of albums such as the Stammbuch and its predecessor, the carte-de-visite, that demonstrate how personal photography has functioned as a gendered activity that references family unity, sentimentalism for the past, and self-representation within normative familial and dominant cultural groups, thus suggesting its importance as a cultural practice of identity formation. The second and primary section of the dissertation expands on the critical analyses of Gillian Rose, Patricia Holland, and Nancy Martha West, who propose that personal photography, marketed to and taken on by women, double-exposes their gendered identities. Drawing on work by critics such as Deborah Willis, bell hooks, and Abigail Solomon-Godeau, I examine how the reconfiguration, recontextualization, and relocation of personal photographs in the respective work of Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight interrogates and complicates gendered, raced, and ethnic identities and cultural attitudes about them. In the final section of the dissertation I briefly examine select examples of how emerging digital spaces on the Internet function as a site for personal photography, one that both reinscribes traditional cultural formations.
while offering new opportunities for women for the display and audiencing of identities outside the family.
Chapter 1: Photography: Women, Identity, and the Cultural Formation of Photographic Practice

....But their content is only part of what defines them as family photographs. Equally important is what is done with them. Family photos are particular sorts of images embedded in specific practices, and it is the specificity of those practices that define a photograph as a family photo as much as, if not more than what it pictures.¹

Gillian Rose

Looking at the images that have filled my head since childhood, that is the socially constructed images of the good life, good family and the good, or at least good enough mother, allows me to learn more about how I happened to make the images I have, and to shed light on the power some of my photographs have held for others.²

Joanne Leonard

“Doing Things” with Personal Photography

This dissertation examines salient instances of what women “do” with personal photographs, not only as authors and subjects but also as collectors, archivists, and family and cultural historians. By personal photography, I mean images that have been produced and collected in the context of one’s personal life and are preserved in albums or displayed in frames in one’s home, workplace,³ or Internet space. These images are also referred to as snapshots, or domestic,

³ Rose, p 5.
vernacular, family, or amateur photographs, terms that have marked their
devaluation, marginalization, or at the very least separation from other
“professional” photographic genres such as landscape, portrait, or commercial
photography.

In the first section of this dissertation, I revisit developments in the history
of personal photography, including the advertising campaigns of the Kodak and
Agfa Girls and the development of albums such as the Stammbuch and its
predecessor the carte-de-visite, that demonstrate how personal photography has
functioned as a gendered activity that references family unity, sentimentalism for
the past, and self-representation within normative, familial, and dominant
cultural groups, thus suggesting its importance as a cultural practice of identity
formation. The second and primary section of the dissertation focuses on the
respective hybrid photographs of Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight,
who reconfigure and recontextualize personal images with fine art techniques
such as pastiche, drawing, and painting, or by adding words and three-
dimensionality to the surfaces and, thereby, generate new meaning that reveal,
complicate, and interrogate gendered, raced, and ethnic identities and cultural
attitudes about them. I argue that by exhibiting these photographs in museums
and galleries, these women resist the segregation and devaluation that have
historically confined the practice of personal photography in private spaces such
as the home. In the final section of the dissertation, I briefly examine select
examples of how emerging digital spaces on the Internet function as a site for
personal photography, one that both reinscribes the traditional cultural
formation of photographic practices while it offers new opportunities for the
display and audiencing of complex gendered, raced, and classed identities.

This dissertation expands on the critical analyses of Gillian Rose, Liz
Wells, Patricia Holland, Nancy Martha West, and Naomi Rosenblum, who
propose that personal photography, marketed to, and taken on by women,
double-expose their gendered identities. First, snapshots picturing women in the
home, with their children and spouses visually support the claim that gender is
culturally constructed based on the historical contexts and domestic spaces in
which, as Judith Butler points out, “sexual difference takes place.” Second, the act of taking, collecting, curating, and audiencing snapshots marks women as active agents participating in the process of domesticating the home. The work of these theorists and critics demonstrates that gender is a fundamental component of personal photography in terms of the individuals who mobilize the practices as well as the contexts, circumstances, and spaces in which they occur and circulate, or, in Rose’s words, “who took it; who it shows; where and how it was kept; who made copies of it and sent them to other people; who those other people are; and how it gets looked at by all those people.” This body of research further suggests that personal photographs made by women often work to identify their bodies and their relationships as fully integrated into the social fabric of the home. In the following section, I examine more fully the work of these and other critics and theorists as background for my analysis.

**Research on Personal Photography, 1970-2011**

Quantitative, qualitative, and interpretive academic research of personal photography has been conducted by scholars from a variety of disciplines including sociology, communication, history, women’s studies, and media studies. Richard Chalfen devoted ten years between 1977 and 1987 examining over two-hundred collections of personal photographs and albums dating from 1940 to 1980. He additionally used questionnaires and research papers from graduate and undergraduate students in his classes in the Department of Anthropology at Temple University, to gather data on how individuals produced and used personal photographs. Chalfen’s study, *Snapshot Versions of Life*, examines what individuals did with personal photographs, such as how personal photographs were arranged in family albums, who was pictured in the images, what people were pictured doing in the photographs, where the photographs were kept, and how it gets looked at by all those people.

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5 Gillian Rose, p 14.
were taken, and who took the original photographs. Through this quantitative analysis, he found that eighty-five percent of all the photos in family albums in his study were taken by mothers. Seventy percent of the snapshots were taken in an outdoor setting, and of these, eighty percent were made around or in the family home. Ninety percent of all the personal photographs show full-body framing of the individuals and families posed in the photographs.\(^6\) As a result of his research, Chalfen posits that the practice of producing personal photographs, archiving, and sharing them at home forms a model of interpersonal communication that was directly related to “Kodak culture.”\(^7\)

Chalfen’s study was motivated by research done a decade earlier by Brian Coe and Paul Gates.\(^8\) *The Snapshot Photography: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888-1939*, which analyzed the formation of snapshot culture and what ordinary people did with the photographs produced with the new “picture making devices”\(^9\) introduced by Eastman Kodak in 1900. From their survey of family snapshots and illustrations used in Kodak advertisements, including an extensive discussion of the Kodak Girl illustrations used from 1910 to 1925, Coe and Gates conclude that the casual way people were posed in snapshot photos “taken in familiar surroundings and in familiar company, could relax the subject and elicit a more natural pose and expression”\(^10\) than previously possible using larger format professional cameras. A notable exclusion from Coe and Gate’s analysis is information regarding the gender of the “ordinary people”\(^11\) who used Kodak cameras to generate family snapshots.

More recent studies, *Family Photographs and Domestic Spacing: A Case Study*, and *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and the Politics of Sentiment*, published in 2001 and 2011 by Gillian Rose, analyze the things that were “done” to personal photographs in two separate groups of

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\(^7\) Ibid., 43.
\(^9\) Ibid.,8.
\(^10\) Ibid.,11.
\(^11\) Ibid.,8.
women. Rose’s 2001 study analyzes the production, archiving, and sharing of personal images in the homes of fourteen mothers. All of the women were white, middle-class, and married with small children, and lived in two small towns in Southeast England in homes with at least three bedrooms. The women worked outside the home before having children and nine of the mothers did not return to work afterward. In the study, Rose initially focuses on the photograph as an object that resides in the home and also helps to construct it as a domestic space. Rose follows Roland Barthes’ theoretical analysis of the photographs as something that “has been” there only once before to develop her main argument that the importance of what actually happens in the photograph at the moment of generation depends upon the unique interpretive perspective of the viewer.

The second argument in Rose’s research is premised on the physicality of photographs as objects. From the qualitative research generated by her study, Rose concludes that personal photographs must have something done to them by women to activate the domestic integration of family members as a cohesive unit within the confined space of the home. Rose argues that it is the act of doing or looking—putting the album together or showing it to someone at the kitchen table, for example, that composes a house into a home. Rose further argues that it is the relationship the women in her study have with the physicality of their personal photographs that co-produces gendered subject positions for the women within the integrative space of the home as well as the families. Personal photographs in themselves were simply objects until the women in her study deployed the images as representations of the domestic unity they documented. She concludes that personal images are grouped together and displayed by the women inside their homes in the same way members of their families might be

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14 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 11.
arranged while relaxing or watching television. She relays her encounters with the women and their photographs during the study in the following passage:

All the women I spoke with talked me through their photos in a very similar way, giving me information about who was in the photo, where it was taken and who had taken it, skipping some photos, talking at length about and with others. I responded with questions along the same line. In that sharing, we were making that space domestic by looking at the photographs in a particular way: as family snaps. We were in a domestic space that both invited that kind of looking and which, through our looking, was reproduced as domestic.15

Similarly, Rose found that placing words with personal photographs in family albums allowed the women to communicate important information about family members when the opportunity for physical proximity to facilitate personal story telling was not available. Rose concludes that to be a personal photograph an image must not only “look like a family photo but also ha[s] to be treated like one;”16 this includes filing the negatives or digital files, pasting the photos in albums, sending them in the mail, or posting them on Internet spaces for other family members to view. It is the action of “doing” something to the images that constitutes personal photography as a cultural practice.

She bases her conclusions on the way photographic practice is connected to other practices women perform in the home.17 From qualitative data from interviewees, Rose’s study reveals that doing personal photography at home is women’s work because: 1) decorating the home is overwhelmingly women’s work and displaying photographs is a part of decorating the house; 2) decorating the home is part of women’s historic responsibility for domestic order; and finally 3) because the acts the women perform while practicing the conventions of personal photography at home constitute them as good mothers.18 Rose comments, family photos “are often taken at moments seen as cementing family success: having

15 Ibid., 23.
16 Ibid., 23.
17 Ibid., 19.
18 Ibid., 57
children, for example.” Described thus, family photos appear to be part of a closed and limited understanding of domestic space which conflates the domestic with the familial. Personal photographs, collected and sequenced in organized collections by the women in her study, were “the visual medium most active in gendering women by picturing their bodies in certain ways and in certain places.” Commenting on the subject positions constructed in the homes of women who produce family snapshots and share them, Rose made the following claim.

I want to make explicit what has so far been implicit: that on the basis of my study and other, anecdotal evidence, it is women, and only women, who undertake this family photography work. While both mums and dads take photographs, it is rare for a man to frame one and unheard of for him to sort, display, or send them.

Rose made an important discovery during the course of studying what women do with photographs when she observed that the process of doing family photography, “especially touching and holding photographs,” constitutes a social practice for the participants that “emphasized the importance of emotion and feelings in relation to the practice of family snaps.” According to Rose, a practice is a “fairly consistent way of doing something, deploying certain objects, knowledges, bodily gestures and emotions. It is through practices that social relations and institutions happen, and through practices that subject positions and identities are performed.” In other words, the practice of reconfiguration, only possible by changing the physicality of an image’s shape or its meaning through, for example, the addition of narrative text, places the women in particular positions of power that can only occur in the domestic space of an integrated familial home.

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19 Ibid., 6.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., 8.
23 Ibid., 19.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
Rose notes that her studies aim to fill the void for the “lack of critical attention being paid to family snaps.” She argues that personal photographs made at home by women are dismissed and little critical discussion or research is being done to understand their importance. To support her claim she cites the 1990 work of Griselda Pollock who states, “the association of women with the domestic is a major cause for their exclusion from making ‘art’ objects; ‘art’ is not made in homes, it is made in studios where lone geniuses can rely on someone else to do the cooking, washing, and parenting.” As Rose analyzes how digital technologies have changed some of the ways personal images are generated, archived, and shared, she hypothesizes there is too much at stake for any kind of radical change to occur rapidly. Her approach explains why, as I will discuss in Chapter Four, new digital technology is currently being designed to assimilate to the established conventions and practices for personal photography that already exist.

Though Rose theorizes personal photographs as gendered because they are made by women at home as a way to visually demonstrate the integration of the family, others, such as Naomi Rosenblum, demonstrate how feminism triggered a new consciousness for the positions and roles played by women photographers in society and in the arts. Rosenblum’s groundbreaking survey of the work of women photographers from 1840 to the present, *A History of Women’s Photography*, takes the form of a revisionist history and highlights the photographic work of women by organizing their images and accomplishments in relationship to key historical movements or in comparison to individuals, notably men, currently recognized in the accepted versions of photographic history. Rosenblum’s re-examination of the photographic canon thus focuses on how the contributions women made to the history of photographic practice were marginalized or, in most cases, ignored.

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26 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 5.  
28 Ibid., 58.
Rosenblum remarks in the introduction to her historical survey, “Research suggests that until fairly recent times women’s work in photography did not receive its due consideration...because the selection of what shall be remembered had been done throughout most of photographic history by male scholars, women tended to be dismissed or slighted.”

She presents situation after situation that questions the foundations that underpin the accepted stories regarding the invention of photography. One example interrogates the assumption that William Henry Fox Talbot was the sole inventor of the calotype process.

In England, several of the women who took an active interest in the new paper-negative process, or calotype, were Welsh friends and relations to its inventor, William Henry Fox Talbot. His wife, Constance Talbot, participated with her spouse in picture taking and on occasion made her own exposures and prints as well. Her participation was little noted in a culture where men were expected to take active roles and women to be quietly supportive...it may no longer be possible to determine whether the camera images that have survived from Talbot’s group were done in tandem or were exclusively the work of the women or men. From its earliest days the finished photograph has resulted from cooperative efforts more often than is generally recognized.

In other words, while the official history of photography tells the story of the men who invented or improved the technologies that generate photographic images, it rarely acknowledges the culturally accepted traditions that excluded the women who also may have contributed or been responsible for important discoveries of their own. Invention was the provenance of men who were unconditionally supported by women. A modern interpretation of this exclusion can be seen in the Sandra Goldbacher’s 1998 film The Governess, where Charles Cavendish claims Rosina da Silva’s invention of the photographic chemical fixer for

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30 Ibid., 40.
himself. Women were involved with the invention and practice of photography from the beginning, yet we may never know to what extent without further research.

Rosenblum also examines how the advent of the “feminist vision” from 1970-1995 encouraged some women photographers to challenge the conventional relationships inherent in the photographic practices of image production, archiving, dissemination, and spectatorship—particularly how feminism encouraged esthetic experimentation and personal discovery. Rosenblum discusses how the photographs of Tina Barney, Clarissa Sligh, Carrie Mae Weems, Elizabeth Sunday, Lorie Novak, and Marianna Cook, began to “approximate the lowly family snapshot” as a tactic for interrogating the real yet unacknowledged relationships women photographers have with their bodies, children, family members, and domestic possessions.

As aroused feminist consciousness made itself felt, what once might have been considered a purely personal or introspective gaze by a women into her own feelings and expectations developed political and social dimensions. Straight portraits, narratives, landscapes, composites, montages, and serial works all began to reflect the new concern for making apparent women’s sensibilities and the issues they deemed significant.

In her survey, Rosenblum reveals how personal photography became gendered and political in the hands of women like Clarissa Sligh who used a snapshot from her childhood picturing a group of African American children in front of a car and by reconfiguring its meaning as a commentary of restaged memories of childhood by writing under it the text: “He was her husband when they played ‘House.’” Sligh makes use here of the African American tradition of storytelling by

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., 24, 250-255.
36 Ibid., 250.
inscribing her childhood memories onto a family snapshot. Considering that at age fifteen Sligh made national history as the lead plaintiff in a Virginia school desegregation case in 1955, the personal nature of her story directs spectators to try to comprehend her reconfigurations connection to race, identity, history, and memory.

My own informal research based on personal observation of the Kodak advertisements in the Duke University Archives in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library37 and the The Kodak Girl Collection38 website concurred with Chalfen’s, Rose’s, and Rosenblum’s assessment that snapshot conventions and Kodak advertising had a direct influence on the relationships women formed with cameras and image-making practices. During the summer of 2010, I analyzed six hundred twelve images over six collections from the Duke University Libraries archives and two hundred and sixty three images from the The Kodak Girl Collection website and found that the images on both sites overwhelmingly picture women holding cameras or photographing a domestic scene [Figure A.1]. In the Duke University Libraries archive for example, of the six hundred twelve advertisements, two hundred fifty six, the largest category, were photographs or illustrations for film, chemicals, or darkroom accessories. The next largest group, one hundred seventy eight images, pictured women holding Kodak cameras, taking pictures of children, looking at family albums, or processing film at home [Figure A.2]. In the next group, one hundred and two images, men were illustrated with Kodak cameras doing (in order of priority of numbers), 1) photographing men doing outdoor activities such as hunting, fishing, and racing horses or cars, 2) photographing women who were alone and

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smiling back at the man behind the camera, or 3) photographing children playing or sitting with their mothers.

My analysis of two hundred and sixty three documents posted online at *The Kodak Girl Collection*, www.kodakgirl.com, of advertisements administrated by Martha Cooper elicited similar results. Many of the images appeared on both websites, but *The Kodak Girl Collection* featured more categories of advertising, including covers of educational pocket pamphlets, negative and print processing envelopes and commercial black and white postcard advertisements. The opening page of the website states:

KodakGirl.com is dedicated to unrecognized and anonymous women photographers worldwide, past, present, and future. We thank them for recording and thereby preserving images of ordinary people and their everyday lives over the past 150 years. Their pictures will be treasured by generations to come. Keep on clicking!

Additionally, Cooper’s collection included advertisements from a number of countries around the world, including France, Belgium, Italy, Ireland, Australia, Ceylon, Spain, Germany, Latvia, and England. In a recent email, Cooper relayed to me that a new book, to be released in of February 2012 by John P. Jacob from Steidl publishers in Germany will feature three hundred and thirty six illustrations and photographs from her Kodak Girl collection, including an image from India with a Kodak Girl wearing the iconic blue and white striped dress. All of the images in Cooper’s collection showed women holding or standing near a Kodak camera. The fact that all the women in my informal observation are pictured showing interest in the practice of personal photography demonstrates the effectiveness of Kodak advertising, but the question of what specific institutional strategies have kept the work of women photographers from being fully recognized for their contribution to the broader history of photography will be addressed further as a part of my examination in Chapters Two and Three.

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40 Ibid.
Patricia Holland’s work on the unique relationship women have with personal photography confirms that the introduction of the Box Brownie camera by the Eastman Kodak Company in 1900 was the beginning of an era when the amateur photographer was most likely to be a woman recording images of family members as well as the world she explored while traveling outside the home [Figure A.3]. According to Holland, Eastman Kodak’s advertisements targeted women and encouraged them to document the important events their family members participated in at home, in school, or as members of clubs or civic organizations.

Looking inwards towards the domestic and creating an exclusive record of your family was an increasingly important message, directed largely at women of the middle classes. This new technology was gendered. Its simplicity of operation indicated that the woman of the house could use it, while the chemicals and other technical paraphernalia could be left to the men. And, what activity could be more suitable for a woman than to photograph her children?

Put another way, the Box Brownie arrived on the market at the same time that advances in other technologies gave middle class women more leisure time away from the domestic drudgery they experienced in the home. Having a box camera allowed women to participate in the public sphere as long as they domesticated it by taking pictures of their children or family members [Figure A.4]. With a box camera and children in tow, women were relatively free to explore the world on their own.

There is ample evidence that personal photographs produced by some women signify domestic integration by the way the images document individuals as they travel in familial groups on vacations, gather for family celebrations, ceremonies, and community performances. When displayed and

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43 Ibid., 117.
44 Ibid., 140.
audied by mothers, personal photographs provide evidence that family members have been integrated into the group through their subject’s willingness to be photographed in these situations. The recognition that women photographers contribute a primary role in facilitating the integration of the family as a domestic group is recognized by the studies of Chalfen, Rose, and others such as Risto Sarvas and David Frohlich, in the way mothers are allowed to intimately pose, share, and display photographs of their children and husbands for the purpose of forming family unity. Posing and photographing friends and family members grouped close together, argues Pierre Bourdieu, reaffirms “its unity.” Women with picture taking devices integrate easily into family and group activities because their performance as authentic first-person authors produces snapshot documenting familial moments that can be indexed and shared later as a way to visualize the integration of the group in action.

The fact remains that the “storing, displaying, and circulating of family photographs is such a strongly gendered activity it is rarely mentioned in the literature of family snaps.” Additionally Rose argues, “snaps allow us to see that ‘togetherness’ is not just pictured by the family photo image; it is also enacted by family members as various things are done with the snaps.” In other words, while some women take on the responsibility of picturing members of their family or close friends in ways that show togetherness, they reinforce the integration of the family further when they “do” things to personal photographs such as paste them in family albums, archive them in boxes, label them with names and dates, display them in the home, or distribute them in greeting cards, letters, and emails, or as gifts on special occasions.

Nancy Martha West’s analysis in *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, examines the evolution of Kodak advertising, starting with the introduction of the

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49 Ibid., 41.
box camera and the Kodak Girl as an icon who came to represent it. According to West, the Kodak Girl “represented the new purchasing power of the female consumer, reminding female viewers, no matter what their background and class status, that by consuming goods one could produce a better self.” The Kodak camera she carried was a symbol of nostalgic remembrance of the past that could be pictured, annotated, and kept forever in the treasured family album. Kodak’s advertising relied on antiquing reality which Susan Sontag described as “the eighteenth-century literati’s discovery of the beauty of ruins into a genuinely popular taste.” Making photographs generated instant antiques, whereas, snapping images of happy family members generated living memories able to transcend the loss of time. Kodak advertisements, states West, taught women for the first time how to arrange and narrate the history of their families in photo albums in such a way as to leave out painful memories such as death or separation. The Kodak Girl’s appeal to women photographers was her connection to the emerging concept of modernism, and through consumerism “women could participate in the shaping of modernity, their status as consumers giving them an intimate familiarity with the rapidly changing fashions and lifestyles that were an important part of the felt experience of being modern.”

Rose’s work establishes that the integration of the geographic location of the domestic space into the photographic frame of the image, and likewise, the integration of the photographic frame into the geography of a domestic dwelling, constitutes the space as a home. Evidence of the snapshot aesthetic can further be recognized by the integration of the photographer and the group into the geographic space of the home due to the spatial proximity that individuals have to other members of the group during the photographic moment. Mothers are allowed a spatial intimacy to their children never afforded to individuals excluded...

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51 Ibid., 13-14.
53 Ibid., 1.
54 West, 121.
55 Rose, A Case Study, 7.
from the familial group. Therefore, personal photographs produced and shared by mothers often reference a privileged space not available outside the protected space of the home. From my own observations working for three years at a local one-hour photo processing lab while I was an undergraduate student, I observed that although mothers regularly exposed films of their children taking baths and brought them in for developing and processing, father’s or non-family members rarely brought such images to the shop for processing.

Interestingly, Rose notes that personal photography was responsible for the “emergence of the smile as the dominant icon of portrait photography.” 56 The absence or erasure of imagery depicting the loss of loved ones, the pain and suffering of illness, or the labor involved with doing housework 57 fostered a nostalgic longing for the good life of yesterday. The smile became the metaphor for the good life embodied in the American dream of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” 58 A personal photograph depicting a happy family was the result of a mother’s job done well. 59 As I will discuss in Chapter Three, for African American photographers like Fern Logan, family snapshots filled with the smiling faces of family members also omit or edit out the disturbing events and political turmoil present in the segregated lives they lived.

Posing in Gendered Spaces

“Space” notes Marsha Meskimmon, “is a central organizing metaphor for all forms of social discourse and gains its meaning through the placement of objects (especially people) in relation to each other.” 60 Meskimmon conceptualizes the photographic spaces photographers work in to be significant in the following

56 Ibid.
57 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 8.
59 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 8, 42.
ways:

Space is therefore doubly constructed in relation to subjects; people's orientation in space both reflects their identities and forms them. Where you are placed, literally and figuratively, tells you who you are. It is determined by and determines your identity as a social being with all the attendant variations of, for example, class, race, age and, of course, gender.\textsuperscript{61}

Meskimmon’s analysis of gendered spaces suggests that personal photographs picture the cultural positions individuals maintain when experiencing each other in three-dimensional space. The term “space” she explains in “Engendering the City: Women Artists and the Urban Space,” has multiple connotations. First, it can be conceptualized by the relationships or, subject positions some women photographers have to the individual whose identity they construct in the photographs they produce—positions that may be based on race, ethnicity, and gender. Second, it can be defined by the proximity individuals have to each other and the positions they are posed in during the image-making encounter. In other words, posing as photographers or as subjects, while practicing the conventions of personal photography, constructs a space in which gendered bodies are produced and maintained through the process of mutual and cultural cooperation.

Noting the experience of self-transformation that occurs when he is about to be photographed, Barthes argues that the pose, “clearly only signifies because of the existence of a store of stereotyped attitudes which form ready-made elements of signification.”\textsuperscript{62} Barthes explains that he felt a “sensation of inauthenticity,”\textsuperscript{63} when he turned himself into a specter anticipating the capture of his image by the photographer. The time he spent posing himself, as he waited for the shutter to click, was a “self-encounter”\textsuperscript{64} that transformed him into an

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 13-14.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
As viewers and posers we share his experience of “self-encounter” and thus we interpret how other individuals and objects are arranged in personal photographs based on our past encounters with the apparatus. According to Barthes:

Special importance must be accorded to what could be called the posing of objects, where the meaning comes from the objects photographed (either because these objects have, if the photographer had the time, been artificially arranged in front of the camera or because the person responsible for lay-out chooses a photograph of this or that object).66

Barthes explains further that the act of looking at photographs after the fact inevitably requires him to return to the moment when “a real thing happened to be motionless in front of the eye.”67 His fascination with the pose emanates from its connection to the reference the photograph makes to his recognition “that-has been” there only once before.68 Personal photographs taken in the home not only signify family because of the way the individuals are posed in relationship to each other in the composition of the frame, but by the way the furniture, curtains, tablecloths, and decorative artwork on the wall have been placed or arranged in the physical space of the home. “The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent,” states Barthes. He goes on to explain:

From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here; the duration of the transmission is insignificant; the photograph of the missing being, as Sontag says, will touch me like the delayed rays of a star. A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze: light, though impalpable, is here a carnal medium, a skin I share with anyone who has been photographed.69

In other words, we recognize photographs as personal by our past encounters with the stereotypical or conventional spatiality that they produce between the

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 22.
67 Barthes, Camera Lucida, 78.
68 Ibid., 80.
69 Ibid., 80-81.
subjects and the photographers who author them and by the way the individuals, groups, and objects have been (com)posed within the frame, and by the practices and conventions employed to generate, archive, or display them. We remember what it felt like to pose for the camera with our arms wrapped around each other when we were photographed at home, for example, in the kitchen for a birthday or holiday celebration.

The types of spaces photographs are produced in, archived in, and audienced in, constitute them as a particular type of practice. By audiencing, I mean the particular way personal photographs get looked at depending on the spaces the looking occurs in, private verses public for example. Rose’s work is again particularly helpful. She insists that the analysis and criticism of photographs depend on the “power relations which saturate all ways of seeing: producers’, images’, and audiences’, including researchers like us.” An illustrative example of how a domestic space is caught up in the practice of audiencing personal photography can be seen in a section of Camera Lucida where Roland Barthes shares with readers a special moment when he sat under the reading lamp in his mother’s living room looking at the deceased women’s personal photographs. The scene he describes is a particular domestic space—his mother’s home. “There I was,” stated Barthes, “alone in the apartment where she had died, looking at these pictures of my mother, one by one, under the lamp, gradually moving back in time with her, looking for the truth of the face I had

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70 In Visual Methodologies Rose defines the contexts for analyzing the audiences and spaces photographs (visual texts) are produced and displayed in by asking: Who were the original audiences for this image? Where and how would the text have been displayed originally? How is it circulated? How is it redisplayed? Who are more recent audiences for this text? Where is the spectator positioned in relation to the components of the image? What relation does this produce between the image and its viewers? Is the image on of a series, and how do the preceding and subsequent images affect its meanings? Would the image have had a written text to guide its interpretation in its initial moment of display, for example, a caption or a catalogue entry? Is the image represented elsewhere in a way which invites a particular relation to it, in publicity materials, for example, or in reviews? And finally, have the technologies of circulation and display affected the audience’s interpretation of this image? Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2001, p 189. Print.

71 Barthes, Camera Lucida, 203.

72 Ibid.
loved. And I found it.”73 It was the act of looking at photographs in his mother’s home that constituted the space as domestic. Looking and “doing” domestic things with domestic photographs in particular spaces is what gives images and spaces significance in the lives of family members, according to Rose.74 She extends the notion of photographic domestication seen here by observing that “family photos, in houses, are looked at by a particular group of women, and through that looking, a certain kind of stretched, integrative domestic space is performed.”75 In other words, personal photographs are objects that become domesticated by the way they are looked at and used within a specific geographic location, in this case, the space of the home.

The conventions that discipline the spatial interaction audiences have with personal photographs is determined by the places in which images are audienced and displayed. The aesthetic conventions that regulate these encounters for spectators are based on rules, which are, as Wells notes in a reference to Walter Benjamin’s theory of hegemonic power, “extensive and difficult to breach.”76 Space defines the way images are received by viewers. Predictably, the viewing space of the home, where family albums are often viewed, and the layout of the exhibition hall, where fine art photographs are viewed, both insist on rules, or conventions that discipline spectators’ interactions with the images. In other words, the institutionalized conventions for the collecting, archiving, displaying, and audiencing of personal photographs constitutes practices that are contingent upon what is done with them and in what space the doing gets done.77 Looking at personal photographs in a family album, while sitting on the sofa next to one’s mother as she narrates her memories of the family members represented in the images, constitutes the space of the home as domestic.

In my research, I have found some women photographers who have audienced and displayed personal photographs of their children and family

73 Ibid., 67.
74 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 42-43.
75 Rose, Family Photographs and Domestic Spacings, 9.
76 Ibid., 10.
77 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 55.
members beyond the boundaries of domestic spaces when they recontextualize and share their images in public spaces such as galleries, museums, publications, and Internet galleries. And, there is emerging evidence that new technologies, including high quality wide-angle lenses on cell phones for example, now allow individuals to picture themselves in snapshots, alone, or with family and friends for immediate posting in Internet galleries. Special software programs, known as mobile applications, allow cell phone users with smart-phone technology to appropriate aesthetic conventions of traditional album keeping or scrapbooking techniques to alter the look of their digital images so they appear more authentic before posting them in online albums to share with friends and family.

Even as the process of integration described above assures a place for the snapshot aesthetic of personal photography within the domestic space of the home, I assert that the system of critical evaluation operating inside the academy functions as a disciplinary mechanism. As such, it reinforces and regulates the preconceptions which determine the status, value, and currency of personal photography which ultimately causes photographs referencing snapshots aesthetic to become separated from more dominant genres of photographic practice and image production. The disciplinary gaze enacted in the academic classroom fosters further devaluation of personal photography within the general public as students leaving the academy (re)enact these judgments as they secure careers in museums, galleries, and advertising agencies or as they became editors and managers for magazines or photography archives. Since personal photography has been and continues to be marginalized in the classroom, it goes without saying that it experiences a similar fate in the world of professional image-making. Understanding the conventions and contexts that regulate the practice and production of personal photography can provide a bridge for educators, scholars, and photographers to apprehend the complex relationship women have with cameras and the visual artifacts these technologies produce.

78 Sarvas and Frohlich, 171.
Throughout this analysis I will consider such questions as: How does the relocation of personal photographs from the domestic space of the home to the wall of galleries or museums or to the pages of exhibition catalogues or to digital spaces alter their meanings? Do the photographs continue to be personal even if they lack the support of some conventions which shape our understanding of personal photography as a practice—which I have previously discussed in this chapter? In what ways do the reconfiguration and exhibition of personal photographs in public spaces impact the meaning of the images?

Research Methodologies

For this dissertation I use interdisciplinary methods that incorporate archival, historical, and interpretive research including photography theory and criticism, media studies, cultural criticism, feminist theory and criticism, and critical black studies. The purpose of my dissertation is to interrogate specific instances of the relationship women have with personal photographs, the analog and electronic image-making technologies they deploy to generate and “do” things with them, the spaces these photographs inhabit, and the meanings they generate. My research examines this relationship by asking: What associations have women photographers had with the conventions and practices of personal photography and what are the implications for the formation of identities the images produce in particular spaces and historical periods of time? How has the introduction of new technologies impacted this association and what are the changes that have occurred to the subject positions they constitute for the women who mobilize them? In this dissertation, I not only draw on the studies of personal photography by Rose, Holland, West, and others discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, but I also draw broadly on the history of criticism of photography as well as interdisciplinary critical theories of cultural identity construction in terms of gender, ethnicity, and race.
The critical perspective of Liz Wells has been influential in situating personal photography within the historical and cultural spaces it takes place in. In my discussion, I follow Wells’ approach of considering photography as “a set of practices which take place in particular contexts,”80 to examine those which Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight mobilize in the production of personal photographs to reveal hidden or marginalized identities. I also draw on Wells’ critique of the culturally constructed spaces where practices of photography historically occur—especially her conclusion that the practice of personal photography, in particular, has been excluded from academic scholarship based on an “esoteric basis,”81 a situation she explains, “For instance, within photography the fascination of domestic or popular imagery, in its own right as well as within social history, was long overlooked, largely because such images do not necessarily accord with the aesthetic expectation of the medium.”82

In addition, work by Deborah Willis and bell hooks has been influential as I analyze various ways to interpret the meanings of personal images generated by women of color and others, premised on the “interpretation, subjectivity, and representation”83 of their cultural identities such as that generated by Saari, Logan, and Knight in Chapter Three. Willis notes that recently there has been an increased interest in the production of personal photography, “specifically in the ways one looks at and interprets photographs and how identity and representation are constructed in photographs of African Americans.”84 Addressing a similar concern regarding the construction and representation of people of color in the production of personal photographs as a cultural practice, hooks speaks about and the way picture-taking can be “more informed by the way the process was tied to patriarchy.”85 Together, the theories of Willis and hooks

81 Ibid., 24.
82 Ibid.
84 Ibid., x.
allow me to imagine the alternative or marginalized identities revealed in the recontextualizations done by Saari, Logan, and Knight.

This interdisciplinary study also draws on the visual, cultural, and political theories of Susan Sontag, Roland Barthes, Ariella Azoulay, Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin, Geoffrey Batchen, and John Tagg. Sontag, Barthes, and Azoulay for example, critique why societies and individuals make personal photographs as well as what is done in post-production with the images in private and public spaces. Barthes and Azoulay start their analysis from their own personal observation of how they and other individuals use and receive photographs in social and private contexts. Azoulay’s discussion regarding the civil contract of photography situates the relationship individuals have with each other during and after the photographic moment. Her work examines the complex and often invisible way photographs change owners, and therefore contexts of authorship and meaning as they circulate from one individual to the next in letters, media publications, or during globalized Internet exchanges.

Azoulay is joined by other theorists like Abigail Solomon-Godeau, Coco Fusco, bell hooks, and Deborah Wills, in my examination of culturally formed identities that address the representation of gender, race, and ethnicity. In general, these theorists posit that since the 1980s, women image-makers have contributed to a shift from a focus on representations of women in photographs by others, most often males, to that of self-representation. Willis’ descriptions of what it means to her as a woman of color making photographic images with a camera, provides a context from which I can analyze and critique the images in this research that also address issues of ethnicity and gender. Willis remarks in Picturing Us: African American Identity in Photography, that her search to uncover black photographers who lay hidden from history was “an attempt to respond to the proliferation of negative, derogatory images of black people.”

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88 Willis, p 13.
Willis’ approach provides a guide to contextualize the alternative relationship women of color have maintained over the years with collecting, archiving, and sharing personal photographs that corresponds to a need to rechoreograph, reimage, or take-back control over their cultural representation. This assumption is echoed by hooks’ observation that, “cameras gave to black folks, irrespective of class, a means by which we could participate fully in the production of images.”

The cultural and political stances of these critical theorists bring the ethnic, raced, and gendered questions of identity formation to the forefront of my argument as they activate questions regarding the contexts under which people of color and others use image-making devices to generate personal photography. Do women of color use personal photography to recontextualize their identities in ways that are similar or different from those of white women?

The personal photographs made by the women selected for my research, as well as the data I have collected to help analyze them, have come from a mixture of sources. During the months of June through December of 2010, I collected research material by attending numerous gallery openings, lectures, and investigating newspaper archives in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to gather information on exhibits for Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight. In May of 2011, I visited the Stadtarchiv in Wasserburg am Inn, Germany to research Kodak and Agfa advertising in Europe between 1900 and 1945. Also in May of 2011, I visited the Hayloft Gallery in Steinback an der Steyr, Austria to view Christine Saari’s permanent installation of the Family Album Project. In addition, my research is informed by my own experience as a professional photographer, educator, and researcher. These professional and personal experiences provide me with an insider perspective that comes from my own relationship to cameras, archiving, and the audiencing of my photographs in public spaces.

89 hooks, In Our Glory, 389.
Chapter Outline

While discussing the emergence of personal photography in the later part of the nineteenth century to the present, I will make use in successive chapters of the interdisciplinary theories of the critics listed above as they build upon each other to generate a better understanding of how the transformation of personal photography, once systematically and culturally inscribed as an artifact signifying domestic sentimentalism, has been able to overcome its segregation in the private sphere and thereby constitutes a new practice of visual discourse based on the need for counter hegemonic ways to articulate individual and cultural identity formation.

In Chapter Two, I trace the rise of personal photography as a social activity in the private sphere by investigating the beginnings of family album keeping, starting with carte-de-visite invented in the 1880s and then Stammbuch album making that followed shortly after. I then examine how the introduction of the Brownie box camera by Eastman Kodak Company in 1900 further changed the way women learned to become photographers in the home. I conclude Chapter Two with two personal narratives: that of bell hooks about her relationship to a photograph of her father coveted also by her sisters, and the narrative of my own relationship to personal photography and the formation of my cultural identity.

In Chapter Three, I examine the recontextualized, reconfigured, and relocated work generated from personal photographs by Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight. I assert that these women contribute to the reconfiguration of the conventions and practices that embody the production and audiencing of personal photography in private and public spaces. Their work simultaneously reinscribes and disrupts these practices and conventions for both personal and fine art photography, and through their nonconventional approaches to image production they relocate and display their work in public spaces such as galleries and museums.

In Chapter Four, I examine the relationship women have today with personal photography in light of the pervasive way they are allowed to extract, re-
appropriate, and redistribute electronic images without permission from the copyright holders to affirm or contest their identity in online social networks. Integral to understanding better how women acquired photographic knowledge about the conventions of unrestricted sharing are the theories of Azoulay. Her approaches to unraveling the unspoken authorization and agreements enacted by the civil contract of photography during the photographic moment are productive for understanding the sharing of photographs in Internet spaces. I examine how the unrestricted use of personal photography due to electronic image-making technology has changed the relationship women have to the production, archiving, and audiencing of photographs. I analyze the operating platforms of Facebook and Flickr and show how these are mobilized in the online accounts of Julie Fine and Colleen Taugher. I question the contexts of personal photography by asking: How have women recontextualized acts of authorship, collecting, archiving, and subject positions since the introduction of digital image-making technology? How much has changed since the Eastman Kodak Company introduced the Brownie camera one hundred and twelve years ago?

In this dissertation, I argue that the relationship women have to personal photography as photographers, authors, collectors, archivers, and pictured subjects represents a complex social practice that informs and constructs the way photographs are created and received by the individuals who make and use them. In the next chapter, I will begin to further examine the contexts and conditions that have converged to gender the practice of personal photography as we have come to know it today.
Chapter 2: Women, and Photographic Literacy and Practice

This important discovery, capable of innumerable applications will not only be a great interest to science, but it will also give a new impulse to the arts, and far from damaging those who practice them, it will find it a most attractive occupation, and although the result is obtained by chemical means, the little work it entails will greatly please the ladies.90
Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre

In this chapter I expand on the analysis of the relationship between women and personal photography undertaken by scholars such as Rose, Holland, and West. In particular, I examine the historical and cultural contexts that have informed the unique relationship women have with the practices of picture-taking and album-making. I briefly consider the way women were encouraged to engage or “do” things with photography from its first appearance, starting with carte-de-visite, Stammbücher, and sentiment albums. From there I move on to discuss how Kodak expanded on the normative relationship women developed over time with album making by encouraging them to purchase and use Kodak cameras to tell the story of their family history.

I conclude this chapter with two narratives that illustrate the importance of alternatives to the dominant practices surrounding personal photography by affluent, middle-class, white women. The first is bell hooks’ personal narrative of how African Americans used personal photography to resist and overcome the master narrative of slavery and white patriarchal dominance. The second is my personal narrative about how my grandmother hid her family album because of the way the personal portraits in it were indexes of her contested American

Indian heritage. Each story demonstrates how personal photography includes not only the taking, but also the archiving and displaying of photographs to interrogate, affirm, or contest official familial, gendered, and raced identities.

**Gender and the Formation of Personal Photography as a Cultural Practice**

The references to “the leisured class” and “ladies” in Daguerre’s announcement of the daguerreotype process to the French Academy of Sciences in 1830\(^{91}\) may be interpreted as a condescending but also hopeful projection of the possibilities he imagined for the fledgling photographic process he presented, not only to the French Academy of Science, but also to the world at large. To appreciate Daguerre’s remarks, we might consider them in the context of their social and political place in time.

The French government’s decision to purchase the patent for his daguerreotype process over the many other emerging photographic technologies appearing in France and Europe at the time and give it as a gift “Free to the World,”\(^{92}\) was based on Daguerre’s ‘all-in-one’ kit that guaranteed easy use of the camera and its accessory film processing techniques by anyone who pursued it.\(^{93}\) Daguerre’s welcoming salvo encouraging women to pursue photography as a hobby was delivered to the public assembly less than sixty years after the signing of *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* in 1789 and the March on Versailles when women presented the *Women’s Petition to the National Assembly*\(^{94}\) asking for equality. Daguerre’s statement demonstrates his awareness of the growing interest by women in participating in the practice of photography.

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91 Daguerre, 13.
92 World Photography Day (WPD) is celebrated each year on August 19 to commemorate the day in 1939 that the French government announced the invention of photography as a gift “Free to the World.” Web. <http://www.worldphotoday.org/about>. 16 October, 2011.
94 Azoulay, In *The Civil Contract of Photography*, Azoulay states this event happened ten years later, but other sources state it happened in 1789, 117.Print.
photography as well as his willingness to exploit their interest by touting the daguerreotype’s ease of use. (a tactic Eastman Kodak Company would repeat fifty years later).

Examined through a feminist lens, Daguerre’s magnanimous advocacy for access to his photographic process by both sexes directly contradicts the reality of the situation for women photographers in the modern world. Even as women were invited to practice personal photography as a form of visual expression, their association with the imagery depicting everyday domestic life may have become part of the implicit justifications or rationalization used to exclude them from the photographic canon. Rosenblum suggests, “women were consistently scanted in the general histories of the medium from which most people gained their knowledge of photography’s development.”95 As a result, the lack of acknowledgement of the contributions by women to the history of photography became more pronounced over the decades, especially for women photographers who used personal photographs as a means of self-expression, commentary, or critique.

In Chapter Three I argue that the hybrid art generated from the reconfigurations of personal photographs by Saari, Logan, and Knight challenges the conventions and institutional traditions that are informed by the stewardship of those who decide what artwork is included in history books and more importantly what is excluded. Their images provide traces of resistance to the structural conventions that discipline the production of both personal and fine art photography and the family histories, identities, and subject positions their images reference. To better apprehend how women learned to “do” things with personal photographs as a way to construct, affirm, or contest their diverse identities, we must first examine how personal photography was formed as a culture practice.

95 Rosenblum, 7.
A Snapshot History of the Rise of the Family Album: Kodak Album Making, Carte-de-Visite, Stammbuch, and Sentiment Albums

Personal photography, Rosenblum notes, “had long been thought of as the insignificant province of females who annotated and kept the family albums.”

Susan Sontag in *On Photography* also notes, “Photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we’re shown a photograph of it.”

Personal photographs combine invention and the apparent documentary truth of the apparatus with the long-standing cultural conventions that regulate the production and dissemination of family albums. As such, the content of personal photographs becomes a visual index of the domestic realm.

From the data Rose gathered in her study, she concluded when women do things to photographs, they not only turn their houses into homes, they also gender themselves as “good mothers” by the way they generate, archive, display, and circulate photographs of their children throughout their homes and with family and friends. Placing personal photographs in family albums to be viewed with children and with other family members, according to Rose, is a part of the audiencing that is central to the togetherness they articulate.

Family album-making requires women to follow long established conventions designed to insure that family members are remembered in absence or in death. Sontag notes the special relationship of individuals to family photo albums that first began at the beginning of the twentieth-century this way:

As that claustrophobic unit, the nuclear family, was being carved out of a much larger family aggregate, photography came along to memorialize, to restate symbolically, the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life. Those ghostly traces, photographs, supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives. A family’s photograph album is generally about the extended family—and often, is all that remains of it.

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96 Ibid., 250.
98 Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 43.
99 Sontag, 9.
Sontag’s remarks acknowledge technological changes due to invention and economic growth and the subsequent effect these advances had on modern society. As the industrial revolution began to move individuals out of the home, and into the offices and factories of the workforce, taking and preserving photographs eased the anxiety individuals experienced by losing physical proximity to loved ones. While husbands, sons, and fathers were away at work or war, photographs stepped in as proxy bodies that waited patiently and indefinitely. Personal photography and album-making were practiced in earnest by everyone, particularly by the women in the British Royal family: “Among their many hobbies and pastimes, women members of the Royal Family took up photography themselves, and Queen Victoria’s own copious albums where filled with views of family picnics and hunting parties.”100 Safely kept inside the pages of the family album, the photograph’s indexical reference to the individual(s) it pictured was always ready, lending a mnemonic function for the viewer while they waited for a family member’s eventual return home. With or without annotation by the women who kept them, family albums stuffed with personal photographs also provide representations of the gendered, racial, and ethnic or cultural identities that may have been marginalized or hidden through intentional reconfigurations that excluded or changed the information accompanying them.

Women left behind at home navigated the practice of personal photography in the same way they did other housekeeping chores such as washing clothes, making beds, or canning vegetables. Snapping personal photographs functioned as a way to keep the family together in the same way as gathering around the table for a meal. Personal photographs and family albums provided emotional sustenance when the physical bodies of family members were unavailable for intimate contact. Therefore, making a good home equated to taking good photographs for the family album. Knowing how to “do” things with personal photographs took time and the process had to be learned. What follows

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is a closer look at some of the marketing systems and cultural production that facilitated the formation of personal photography as a cultural practice.

**Carte-de-Visite and the Family Album**

Sontag noted in the 1970s that “through photographs, each family constructs a portrait chronicle of itself—a portrait kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness.”101 Once personal photographs were generated and organized by women into family albums they became an important way to mark social status and the passage of time within familial relationships and cultural communities. *Carte-de-visites* were some of the first personal photographs to be used by women for family album making. *Cartes* were small paper photographs mounted on a card measuring about “the size of a formal printed visiting card of this period (hence the name).”102 Easy and inexpensive to produce compared to the earlier Daguerreotype, Rosenblum reports in *A Plentitude of Portraits* that, “famous works of art, well-known monuments, and portraits of celebrities along with fashionably attired women (at times pirated and reproduced from other *cartes* rather than from the original *collodion* negative) appeared on the market”103.

Geoffrey Batchen, in *Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination*, states “repetitive and predictable, popular and unabashedly commercial, these small pictures have been denigrated as ‘mechanical and routine by photography’s historians.”104 Batchen questions the marginalization of *cartes* by scholars and writers of history texts in the following passages.

101 Sontag, 9.
104 Ibid., 80.
It is certainly true that cartes were made in their homogenized millions by a multitude of hack photographers. But they were also made by many of the more prominently creative names in the history of photography, including Hippolyte Bayard, Antoine Claudet, Southworth and Hawes, Gustave Le Gray, Camille Silvy, Samuel Bourne, Marc Ferrez, Etienne Carjat, Nardar, Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, Carleton Watkins, Oscar Rejlander, Charles Dogson, Clementina Hawarden, Julia Margaret Cameron and Henry Peach Robinson. Are we to assume that the aesthetic limitation of the format were such that none of these canonical photographers were able to overcome them and produce imaginative images? 105

As I will demonstrate in the following analysis, cartes were the predecessors of the personal photographs we use today in family albums, greeting cards, and online photo galleries. I argue that some of the disinterest in cartes and the practice of personal photography that followed may have been due to their early association with women and family album-making.

The rise of family albums, can be dated “to the 1850s, coinciding with the invention of carte-de-visite format and celebrity portraits.” 106 According to Anna Dahlgren:

From the first period of “cartomanie” in the 1850s and 1860s onward there were three types of carte-de-visites albums for the private mass market: (1) complete collections of photographs mounted in an album, (2) partially complete, with some filled slots and some empty ones for individual inserts, (3) and finally, the kind of albums that were sold empty in order for users to compile their own unique collation and arrangement. 107

The carte-de-visite process was invented and patented by Andre Adolphé Disdéri in 1854. An avid photographer, Disdéri was also actively involved in “improving processes and formulating aesthetic standards.” 108 His small image concept—featuring multiple photographs measuring 3 ½ x 2 ½ inches mounted on a slightly larger cardstock taken with a special camera fitted with a sliding plate

105 Batchen, Dreams of Ordinary Life, 80-81.
107 Ibid, 177.
holder and four lenses—became immediately popular and for the next decade captured the fancy of a supportive public audience eager to pose and trade personal photographs with family and friends. The small, easily transportable and storable cartes provided a convenient way to recall memories and narrate stories of family gatherings, generational connections, and the increasing interest families had for traveling to exotic places. Images of distant family members or friends were accessible at a moment’s notice; memories could be easily conjured through the simple act of scanning the photographic surface.

Personal albums populated everyone’s homes and were soon filling up with photographic memories of family members, as well as collector cartes picturing celebrities and popular members of royal families. For example, after the death of Prince Albert of England, 70,000 likeness of Queen Victoria’s consort were sold. Rosenblum notes in A World History of Photography that cartes were “collected and exchanged, with ornate albums and special holders manufactured to satisfy the demand for the gimmickry connected to the fad.” Rosenblum additionally reports that the practice of collecting these photographs and albums received a boost in England from the enthusiasm of Queen Victoria who accumulated more than one hundred albums containing images of people she was interested in collecting. The Queen’s enthusiasm became her subject’s enthusiasm and the practice of album keeping became the rage for families all over Europe and America.

The popularity of personal albums in the 1850s can be directly traced to earlier rendition called sentiment albums. The sentiment album, states Andrea Kunard, “was popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and was assembled mainly by young women.” Kunard’s 2006 study examines popular women’s magazines from the period and found that sentiment albums contained

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109 Dahlgren, 194.
110 Ibid, 63.
111 Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 64.
112 Ibid., 64.
113 Ibid, 177.
“poems, drawings and apothegms solicited from friends and family members and acquaintances.” During the 1850s to early 1860s young women displayed their albums to male suitors and solicited them to view and add their own poems or drawings to the albums during visits in family parlors or drawing rooms. Sentiment albums in Canada where Kunard conducted her research were not popular with everyone at the time. She notes:

Articles and fiction stories dedicated to the sentiment album phenomenon display a mixed response. It can generally be stated that contemporary debates about the value of these albums centered on their contents, and in particular written entries. Some authors sanctioned their social usefulness; others viewed them as a nuisance. There was apprehension that what was contained in the album would cause confusion about the proper relations between the sexes, especially with respect to marriage.

Kunard also concluded women who did not receive the same education as their male counterparts during that time period were at a disadvantage when male suitors used the contents of the albums to determine if a young woman was a suitable match based on her aptitude for writing or drawing. In other words, sentiment albums depended on the social interpretations spectators brought to the texts or images in the albums as they scanned the pages for information regarding the cultural and social identities of the women who made them. Accidentally forgetting to remove a former suitor’s poem might be cause for concern if found by a husband many years after the fact.

The eventual replacement of sentiment albums by personal family albums was due, Dahlgren argues, to the clear parallels they both had to “an even older predecessor, the Stammbuch, which appears to have influenced the form and aesthetics of nineteenth-century personal albums.” According to Dahlgren, Stammbücher whose name derives from Stammbaum, or family tree, were originally made by German noblemen and included “collected images of coats of

115 Ibid., 227.
116 Ibid., 230.
117 Ibid., 235.
118 Ibid., 177.
arms, together with maxims, signatures, and portraits of relatives and friends.”

Keeping *Stammbuch* and *sentiment albums* stocked with mementos and memorabilia commemorating familial relationships from one generation to the next became tradition.

Doing *Stammbücher*, Dahlgren explains, “eventually spread to other groups in society—students, officers, tradesmen, and craftsmen and to countries outside of Germany—Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, France, and Italy.”

She also points out that the *Stammbuch* and family albums are parallel in makeup, as they both tend to feature similar “visual contents, portraits of family and friends and moreover are connected to traveling.”

Thus it is clear that modern family albums and the personal photographs they archive are not the accidental result of individual photographic fascinations, but instead, the culmination of decades of cultural, institutional, and political grooming that cultivated the design and the associations generated within the album pages. Like the *sentiment albums* before it, the tradition of *Stammbücher* continued to be produced by the matriarch of the family. *Sentiment albums, Stammbuch, and carte-de-visite* worked in tandem to establish an individual’s place within the expanded context of familial, community, and cultural relationships.

*Carte-de-visites* replaced the *sentiment album* and the practice of participating in family album-making became a tradition that thrived from the 1860s through the 1890s. Numerous portrait studios and salons in Europe and North America made standardized photographs mounted on card stock specifically designed to fit the pre-made openings in the numerous family albums emerging in a growing consumer market. “The daguerreotype and negative-positive technologies provided the basis for flourishing commercial enterprises that satisfied the growing need for public and private likenesses, while individuals who wished to express themselves personally through portraiture were able to do so using the collotype and collodion processes.”

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119 Ibid, 178.
120 Dahlgren, 175-194.
121 Ibid, p 178.
Baudelaire summed up the craving the public had for personal photographs in 1859, commenting on the lengthy time portrait sitters were willing to endure in order for the sun-sensitive photographic processes to etch an image onto tin or glass plates, remarking that—“from that moment onwards, our loathsome society rushed, like Narcissus, to contemplate its trivial image on a metallic plate. A form of lunacy, an extraordinary fanaticism took hold of these new sun-worshippers.”¹²³

An ever eager audience, excited to see itself represented in exact likeness, continued to frequent studios and endure the heavy head clamps for adults and laudanum-induced trances for children that held them in place for exposures lasting up to several minutes. Personal expressions suffered under the length of time required to make an impression on the light sensitive chemicals coating the plates. The new professional photographer, ever eager to please their clients’ wishes, began to add props and backdrops to help bolster the social or political status of the individuals commissioning the photographs for personal use. Posing subjects for the camera along with the tedious and complicated procedures of processing and printing images remained the domain of professional photographers until advances in photographic technology made generating photographs more accessible. Upon the introduction of easy to use box cameras, like the Brownie that the Eastman Kodak Company introduced in 1900, individuals embraced the task of making photographs and the formation of personal photography as a cultural practice by women was complete.

**Literacy and the Kodak Camera: The Kodak Girl Teaches Women How to Use the Camera and Construct Family Albums**

When George Eastman introduced the Kodak Brownie box camera in February of 1900, the quest to fill personal family albums with photographs was in full swing and the introduction of a chemical-free- image-making device expanded easily

into the home As the popularity of Eastman’s “easy to use” Brownie camera grew, pre-loaded with Kodak film, the Kodak Company expanded its reach further by launching a systematic advertising campaign directed specifically toward women consumers [Figure A.5]. Numerous advertisements publicizing the ease of making personal photographs appeared in magazines and periodicals targeting young women, mothers and would-be keepers of family memories.

In an advertisement placed in Country Life in America in 1902, a woman is pictured in Victorian dress with a Kodak camera tucked inside a traveling case slung over her shoulder [Figure A.3]. Just below her image, bold black letters proclaim “Tis Kodak Simplicity.”124 Perhaps the most important section of the advertisement is the section with three lines at the lower right side of the illustrated woman that read, “The Kodak Girl.”125 The Kodak Girl became an institutional icon for Eastman and the Kodak advertisements that appeared regularly in magazines until the late 1970s [Figure A.6]. She became a malleable tool from which to teach women how to use and embrace the Kodak way of life which Eastman coined as Kodakery.126 To help women picture themselves using Kodak cameras to photograph others, the company published Kodakery: A Journal for Amateur Photographers from September, 1913 through 1932 for the price of five cents a copy.127 The first issue of the magazine describes the meaning of Kodakery this way:

This is the meaning of Kodakery. It is going to think of you not merely as an owner but as a user of the camera. It is going to assume the obligation to find out what particular points in picture taking, picture developing, picture printing and picture showing will be of greatest interest to you and to exploit this point in its pages.128

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125 Ibid., ‘Tis Kodak Simplicity, (eaa_K0024).
126 Ibid., The Kodak Girl, (eaa_K0511).
128 Ibid, 3.
The cover of the first issue shows a woman with short hair dressed in a floor length dress. She is sitting outdoors on a stone bench aiming a Kodak bellows camera at a small girl sitting in profile on the bench next to her. Although the articles that fill the magazine review a variety of subject matter, the covers depict a remarkable similarity of a recurring theme that pictures women holding, carrying, or photographing someone or someplace with a Kodak camera.

Even more significantly, Kodak also made the point of connecting photographic stories with the Kodak album. This concept is exemplified in another 1914 advertisement that appeared in Ladies’ World. In a black and white photograph, an older white woman, represented with gray hair and a white kerchief cap, sits with her hand to her ear as a younger white woman kneels down at her side holding open a large dark book inscribed with the bright letters Kodak on the cover. Similar to all of Kodak’s advertising, the text of this marketing piece recounts and reinscribes the Kodak Story [Figure A.8].

The story of the Kodak album—it’s a continued and never concluded story that grips you stronger with every chapter—a story that fascinates every member of the family from grandmother to the kiddies because it’s a personal story full of human interest. Let Kodak keep that story for you. Ask your dealer, or write us, for “At Home with the Kodak,” a delightfully illustrated little book that tells about home pictures—flashlights, groups, home portraits and the like—and how to make them. It’s mailed without charge.129

Kodak photographs were personal images that needed to be placed inside a never ending story line; Kodak photographs were to be placed in the albums; and, Kodak provided illustrated books that provided easy-to-follow instructions on how to pose and correctly light subjects to ensure successful results time after time. As digital online photo albums have started to appear on the Internet, the normative relationship women have maintained overtime with “doing” family

things with personal photographs are being reiterated in social networks like Facebook, Flicker, and Photoblogs, as I discuss in Chapter 4.

To create more demand for cameras and film, Kodak began an assertive campaign to inform women how to take interesting photographs of people and landscapes [Figure A.7]. Again and again, the Kodak Story became a part of the message Kodak advertisers transmitted as the reason women needed to own and use a Kodak camera. Once again they expanded on the normative relationship women had already developed with carte-de-visite, Stammbücher, and sentiment album-making that included “doing” things like writing down the details regarding where the photograph was taken and who was pictured in the image. With the introduction of the folding Autographic camera in 1915, Kodak encouraged photographers to “record the ‘Who, When, Where’ on every negative” according to West.130

A 1916 advertisement, with a large caption reading “Let Kodak Keep the Story,” included the accompanying narrative, “Memory has a most aggravating way of sorting up details for which we don’t care a crooked sixpence—and dropping out of sight forever things that we really want to know, especially dates.”131 In other words, as personal photographs began to pile up in homes and family albums, it was easy to forget the details framing the original moment. Whether this was true or not, Kodak’s advertising played on the photographer’s sense of uncertainty as a way to encourage purchasing their new Autographic camera. The ease of writing down the names and dates on the negatives as they were being exposed assured the women taking the images that the information would be there when they needed it.

The Kodak Girl had her European equivalent in the form of young women who were shown in different countries but in similar scenarios. In France, for instance, in a typical scene that recalled the style of a Monet painting, she was illustrated with the same short hair and blue and white striped dress while photographing her family as they floated in a row boat on a pond,

130 West, 167.
131 West, 166.
The poster was reprinted in France for distribution in Germany with a caption reading, “Vorbei ist der Winter! Wählen Sie rasch Ihren “Kodak”, or “Winter is Over! Hurry Up and Grab your Kodak.”¹³² In Germany, as nationalism began to grow, the Agfa Girl, as I will refer to her here, began to appear wearing the red or black colors of the German flag. Sometimes shown with a hat and sometimes not, the Agfa Girl was most often pictured with a camera loaded with Agfa film in her left hand and her right hand raised above her head waving, as though she were beckoning someone to stop what they were doing and look at her camera. Her gesture has the eerie ability to conjure the salute soldiers were required to give Hitler. The red scarf around her neck, with different sizes and lengths depending on the advertisement, always appears flowing out in the wind behind her back, suggesting the presence of a modern adventurous woman. A copy of this style of Agfa advertisement appears in Box-Cameras Made in Germany: Wie die Deutschen Fotografieren Lernten, with the caption that reads, “Schickes Design: Originalkarton fur die England-Box 2,”¹³³ which translates to, “Elegant Design: the Original Container for the England-Box 2.” The German illustrations encouraged women to take up photography in the same way Kodak’s advertisements did in France and North America, through the suggestion of fashion, adventure, and excitement.

Hanz-Dieter Götz’s book, Box Cameras Made in Germany: Wie die Deutschen fotografieren lernten, vfv Verlag für Foto, Film un Video, “How the Germans learned to be Photographers,” makes reference to numerous advertisements authorized by the German government encouraging women to send photographs picturing happy memories of home to their loved ones on the front lines, arguing that it was a matter of national duty.¹³⁴ One advertisement even went so far as to suggest that not having a camera was no excuse for not

¹³⁴ Ibid., 54-58.
sending family photographs to the men on the front lines. It instructed mothers who did not own a camera to borrow one from a friend or family member.

While the content of the German advertisements may have conformed similarly to Kodak’s commercial focus of selling cameras and film to women to increase sales, the message it sent reproaching mothers who did not send representations of familial integration to the front exemplifies how advertising reinforced the gendered identification of mothering with photography. The message of both Kodak and Agfa advertisements encouraged white middle-class women in North America and much of Europe to be good family historians, and good mothers, by telling the story of their family’s history with photographs made with their cameras and film [Figure A.7]. What follows is a closer look at what other women “do” with personal photographs.

**Marginalized Snapshots**

I have argued that the Kodak Girl, *Kodakery* magazines, and the normative practices of album making that developed over time helped affluent, middle-class white women form a sustained relationship with the practice of personal photography as a way to affirm or contest their class identities. However, the story of what women of color “do” or “did” with personal photographs becomes less defined and more obscure because images and scholarly research are not as readily available as they are for white women. What follows are two personal stories that reveal how women who inhabit raced and sexual bodies “do” things to personal photographs to reveal or conceal their gendered, raced, and ethnic, identities.

**Contesting Visual Narratives: bell hooks**

In an essay titled *In Our Glory: Photography and Black Life*, bell hooks notes how photographs became personalized within her family when a single snapshot
of her father became a site of multiple interpretations that separated her and her siblings. hooks writes, “Although my sisters and I look at this snapshot and see the same man, we do not see him in the same way. Our ‘reading’ and experience of this image is shaped by our relationship to him, to the world of childhood and the images that make our life what it is now.”

hooks sees the “grown black man having a good time, playing a game, having a drink maybe, enjoying himself without women” that she never knew as a child, as though the act of ownership could reconstruct the father-daughter relationship she never had as a child, hooks seeks to validate and make whole again the loss of familial identity that thousands of black families suffered during centuries of forced estrangement through slavery.

Although they did not possess cameras, slaves were often the subjects of photographs made as a quantitative (counting their physical quantities as quantifiable data with objective properties) rather than a qualitative (to gain an understanding of their human life) way of measuring and organizing them as property. Many plantation owners in the south commissioned professional photographers to produce visual documents of their slave populations and required that male subjects be photographed nude, and women from the waist up. Under these conditions, “the photographer alone,” notes Azoulay “lacked the power to force the slaves to stand half-naked before the apparatus that he was operating,” and was only able to do such through the request or permission of the slaves’ owners. Azoulay surmises that the violence of the gaze being inflicted upon the slaves by the photographer and the apparatus of the camera was literally an extension of the violence they already endured at the hands of their owners. Considering that few slaves or any non-whites are noted as being involved in the invention of photography or the technical processes that supported it, it may be fair to say that they probably did not fully comprehend the objectification taking place under their master’s direction.

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135 hooks, 388.
136 Ibid, 388.
137 Azoulay, 179.
According to Brian Wallis in *Black Bodies, White Science*, the fact “that slaves were denied individual identity in the antebellum South, is merely underscored by the near-total absence of photographs depicting them.”¹³⁸ No wonder, as hooks reports, personal photography “was the central instrument by which blacks could disprove representations of us created by white folks.”¹³⁹ In the following passage, hooks provides an insider’s view of the complex dynamics involved in the rhetoric of looking and seeing that took place in the homes of people of color.

Although most black folks did not articulate a desire to look at images of themselves that did not resemble or please white folks’ ideas about us, or that did not frame us within an image of racial hierarchies, that need was expressed through our passionate engagement with informal photographic practices. Creating pictorial genealogies was the means by which one could ensure against the losses of the past. They were a way to sustain ties. As children, we learned who our ancestors were by endless narratives told to us as we stood in front of pictures.¹⁴⁰

Personal family photographs, according to hooks, provided members of African American families recovering from the effects of family relocations forced upon them during slavery with a way to maintain a connection with their past histories on their own terms. Every wall and corner of her grandparents’ house and the interiors of most homes in southern black America were lined with photographs that “constituted private, black-owned-and-operated, gallery space where images could be displayed and shown to friends and strangers.”¹⁴¹ In other words, the personal photographs made by African American descendants of freed slaves performed a completely different mnemonic function than personal snapshots made by antebellum plantation owners. By papering the interior walls of their private homes with hundreds of family photographs, African Americans living in post-emancipation North American attempted to reconstruct their denied visual

¹³⁹ hooks. *In Our Glory*, 391.
¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 393
¹⁴¹ Ibid., 390.
histories and cultural authenticity. Personal snapshots in the new South began to help people of color construct visual space in which to be seen, one designed in their own likeness.

**Hidden from View: An Insider Look at the Family Album and Identity**

Like hooks, my own interest with personal photography and family albums started when I was a young girl. Migrating between visits to my maternal and paternal grandmothers’ homes, where hundreds of family photographs were diligently archived in albums or special storage boxes, I remember losing track of time as I scanned the many faces and places pictured in the photographs that these dutiful matriarchs of my family kept safely tucked away in bedroom closets and velvet covered albums. At my maternal grandmother’s house, *carte-de-visite* albums were stored under the kitchen stairs in a wooden trunk that looked like a pirate’s chest and were rarely taken out for anyone to see. During holiday gatherings, rumors usually passed from one child to another regarding the contents of the mysterious and ancient-looking trunk. Surely, we assured ourselves, any trunk that needed to be reinforced with metal straps to support its rounded top and secured with a padlock that required a skeleton key must hold something very valuable. But it was always our older cousin Rose who insisted, “There is an Indian hiding in that trunk.”

Both of my grandmothers created a culture of mystery and intrigue around the special photographs they chose to include or exclude in the family albums they meticulously constructed. I remember watching as my grandmothers held the tiny black and white photographs in their hands while lifting them to their eyes to closely inspect each person and detail in the sometimes tarnished silver surface of the print. After adding names and dates to the backs of their selected paper memories, they would moisten the triangular photo-corners with the saliva from their tongues and tediously attach and sequence the photographs onto the pages of well-worn photo albums. Through observation and close association
with my grandmothers, I too began to save and chronicle the personal photographs that came into my everyday life. The literacy of archiving snapshots and family albums for future generations became a part of my identity as I grew to be an adult.

My mother told me once that my grandmother Aurelia steadfastly denied our Native American heritage, and it was for this reason that she kept the family photographs locked in the trunk at all times. My mother saw some of these photographs only once, and as she slowly scanned their surfaces, they confirmed what she had already suspected from her own dark brown eyes and jet black hair; one of our ancestors surely was American Indian.

Now my mother and grandmothers are gone and I have finally inherited the secret images of my ancestors. Like my mother before me, I recognize in the faces of my ancestors the cultural identity my grandmother worked her whole life to forget [Figure A.9]. The image of my great-great-grandmother Scholastic Giroux Riel Parsonault, unlike the Winter Garden image Barthes refused to share with us in Camera Lucida, is still kept safe in its original album, but is visible now, copied onto DVDs and posted on the Internet for everyone in my family to see and interpret. The story of my grandmother’s unyielding self-control is an example of Michel Foucault’s theories of the formation of citizens through the use of visual observation and behavioral discipline. Foucault posited that disciplinary punishment enacted by governing authorities produced a population intent on self-policing their appearance in society rather than risking brutal displays of punishment or ostracization from the group because of their looks, their actions or their beliefs. In my grandmother’s case, the ability to pass as white was dependent on hiding the photographs of her American Indian relative from the visual field of family and the community she lived in.

Foucault notes that “from being an art of unbearable sensations punishment has become an economy of suspended rights.” Born just after the

142 Barthes, Camera Lucida, 99.
144 Ibid, p12
turn of the twentieth-century in 1908, my grandmother would have experienced and observed personally the disciplinary action taking place in her community to assimilate American Indian children born into a culture of whiteness. According to April Lindala, American Indian children were forced to speak English and “dress like white” people. Between 1885 and 1888, J.D.C. Atkins, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, began enforcing the evacuation of American Indian children from their family homes and neighborhoods in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in order to teach them English, because, Atkins stated, “this language which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for a red man.” Lindala also points out that the Catholic Church acted as a complicit agent by opening boarding schools in Baraga, Michigan, (less than sixty miles from my grandmother’s home)—that operated until 1933.

Speaking only French at home and at school, until graduating the eighth grade from St. John’s Catholic School as a teenager, my grandmother reported to me that, once she learned English, she refused to speak French again. She never had the opportunity to learn the native language of her Anishinaabe grandmother. Certainly the disciplinary actions that regulated the use of language and social status based on racial identity were not lost on my grandmother as she took charge of constructing the visual history of our extended family in her treasured photo albums.

Liz Wells writes, “Family histories often tell of conflict with a community or marginality to it, of migration and mobility across generations, so that the photographs which accompany family members shift in and out of different contexts of understanding.” The story of my grandmother’s need to deny her cultural heritage by the conscious act of keeping the portraits of ‘select’ family

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145 April Lindala. “Anishinaabe Migration and History on the Marquette Iron Range, Recorded in Stone, Voices on the Marquette Iron Range.” Web. 9 October, 2
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid., “In twenty-five years, the boarding schools accomplished what armed force, starvation, disease, loss of land, and Christianity could not—a major and irreversible disruption of Indian culture. It also effectively prepared Indian young people, not for assimilation into middle-class American, but as laborers in American fields and factories.” Citing Cleland, 245.
members out of the family photo album, and thereby rendering them invisible, was the result of her willingness to conform to the prevailing ideology of the period she grew up in. 149 Wells premise is supported by John Tagg when he states “the camera is never neutral.” 150 Additionally Tagg argues, “the representations it produces are highly coded, and the power it wields is never its own.” 151 Tagg is referring not to the camera here, but to the photographer holding the camera and the strategies employed during the picture taking process. In other words, the camera is never neutral because it cannot make the decisions on how to pose the subjects or objects within the frame of the viewfinder. The person operating the camera is responsible for the final message transmitted in the photograph the apparatus generates.

Gillian Rose echoes Tagg when she argues, “images offer views of the world; they render the world in visible terms. But this rendering, even by photographs, is never innocent.” 152 From this point of view, the portraits my grandmother hid embodied the genetic coding that was the rationale for culture genocide being carried out by the American government to eradicate American Indian culture. It was better for her to deny her association with a group of people who were marked for assimilation than to reveal the visual identity of the woman hidden in the trunk and be ostracized by the group. According to bell hooks:

The burden of proof weighs heavily on the hearts of those who do not have written documentation, who rely on oral testimony passed from generation to generation. Within a white supremacist culture, to be without documentation is to be without a legitimate history. In the culture of forgetfulness, memory alone has no meaning. 153

151 Ibid., 246.
153 hooks, 193.
What hooks says here, suggesting that family album keeping not only provides a visual document of the relationships individuals have with each other, also testifies to their family’s place within the cultural group they live in. For individuals without written documentation, like my grandmother’s lack of evidence of tribal affiliation once her grandmother married outside of the tribe, photographs stand in as visual proof of a person’s place in the world. Because my grandmother did not look native, and as long as she kept the photographs of her American Indian ancestors locked in the trunk under the stairs in her kitchen, she was able to pass as white, even among her children and grandchild who continued to carry the burden of proof as they returned the image of straight jet-black hair and questioning dark brown eyes.
Chapter 3: Reconfiguring Gendered, Raced and Ethnic Identities: Bringing Personal Photographs to Public Spaces

Despite the all-pervasive image-making which characterizes our world, “we still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world...The picture is a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, bodies and figurality”\textsuperscript{154} W. J. T. Mitchell

Space is therefore doubly constructed in relation to subjects; people’s orientation in space both reflects their identities and forms them. Where you are placed, literally and figuratively, tells you who you are. It is determined by and determines your identity as a social being with all the attendant variations of, for example, class, race, age and, of course, gender.\textsuperscript{155} Marsha Meskimmon

“Doing” Personal Photography in Galleries and Museums

In this chapter I analyze the reconfigured personal photographs exhibited in public spaces by three professional women photographers: Christine Saari who is Austrian American; Fern Logan who is African American and Native American; and Katie Knight who is German American. I examine their respective work as salient examples of what women “do” with personal photographs to generate new


meanings to reveal, complicate, and interrogate gendered, raced, ethnic, and
cultural, identities, and cultural attitudes towards them. I briefly discuss these
women’s encounters with the photographic institutions that they were mentored
in and the practices of fine art photography that these groups have espoused.
Second, I discuss the unique hybrid practices each woman deploys to reconfigure
both the physicality and meaning of personal images. I argue that, by challenging
the established conventions and display of personal as well as fine art
photography, Saari’s, Logan’s, and Knight’s respective work creates a hybrid
space and subjectivity that can no longer be defined as private or public. Finally, I
argue that each woman’s photographs are inseparable from the gendered, ethnic,
and raced bodies they inhabit. Each woman’s recontextualization of her personal
photographs allows others access to the complexities of her experiences as
someone marked as mixed, outsider, or other. Each woman is an example of a
photographer who is not only actively seeking to redefine herself but is
intentionally, as Allen Trachtenberg puts it, “employing their medium to make
sense of their society,” especially those identities and histories that have been
marginalized, hidden, or repressed.

Gendered Identities and Institutional Contexts

All three women have been active members of traditionally male-dominated
institutions that govern and oversee the conventions and practices of
photographic image-making. Logan and Knight completed MFAs at The School of
the Art Institute of Chicago and the University of Minnesota respectively. Saari began photography courses at Northern Michigan University in the 1970s
and then participated in intensive workshops throughout the United States to

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complete her training. These institutions define the structures that control access to and oversee professional positions such as academic teaching or public exhibition by influencing the way emerging photographers are vetted for fellowships, awards, or exhibition opportunities in gallery and museum spaces.

Another institution all of these women have been a part of is The Society of Photographic Education, a professional organization that holds regional and national conferences to promote the standards of teaching fine art photography in the academy. Michel Foucault observes that institutions mobilize “political harmony” within a body of members through a mutual negotiation of accepting the standards that define membership or association with the group. Foucault interrogates the power relations institutions have over the individuals within the group when he asks “How are we constituted as subjects of our own knowledge?” Asked in 2008 about the potential for women to secure an exhibition at the Tate Modern in London for example, which also includes the opportunity, or chance, to win the twenty-five thousand dollar grand prize given out each year to an emerging artist, museum director Nick Serota responded, “Do I think the right proportion of male and female artists have won the prize in terms of the contribution of the different genders to the discourse of contemporary art over the last ten year, the answer is no.” Serota clearly acknowledges here that women are underrepresented in art exhibitions at national and international museums and galleries, yet he offers no explanations, apologies, nor, recommendations to remedy this institutional imbalance. Serota’s comments demonstrate that the power institutions wield over artists cannot be underestimated.

The respective work of Saari, Logan, and Knight represents a generational scale from the 1970s to the present in terms of the different periods in which each

159 Society of Photography Education. Web. 13 March, 2012
woman began to produce, audience, and exhibit her photographs in public spaces. Interestingly, this time line parallels that of the gradual introduction and integration of photography and feminism into the academy. Perhaps not coincidentally, Saari’s, Logan’s, and Knight’s personal photographs reframe Western notions of the representations of gendered bodies in fine art photographs exhibited in public spaces—particularly traditional representations of female bodies as sexual objects on display for visual pleasure.  

Diane Neumaier asserts:

In Western culture, photographic images of women exist on a continuum from valued personal objects (snapshots and studio portraits) to seemingly objective documents (driver’s licenses and passports) to impersonal and objectionable commodities (advertising and pornographic images). At any point on the continuum of representation, however, women are objectified in a way distinct from the ways in which other groups (men, students, old people, people of color, bankers) are objectified.  

Significantly, the women pictured in Saari’s, Logan’s, and Knight’s personal photographs for display in galleries and museums are not stereotypical art nudes: the women’s bodies are not aesthetically positioned as sexual commodities or objects that are available for consumption by voyeuristic consumers. Instead, the women, children, and family members displayed on exhibition walls perform everyday activities in the world they live in.

By analyzing the broader contexts of production and display of these photographs, I am joining with Neumaier and other critical scholars of photography who have asked researchers to pay less attention to the cultural production of women’s bodies in photographic images but instead, turn our interest toward analyzing “feminist alternative cultural work.” Analyzing this work through the lens of feminist criticism allows for a richer understanding of

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165 Ibid., 4.
the circumstances the images were made in and the possible meanings they generate for the audiences who ultimately view them.

**Research Sources and Procedures**

The visual data for this research project was accessed using a variety of approaches. Most of the texts, narratives, and biographies were collected from the websites of galleries and museums where Saari, Logan, and Knight exhibited their work, and from the portfolios of images they each maintain on personal websites they administrate or other websites administered by galleries and museums. Most of the original photographs the women use for their reconfigurations are archived in personal collections that were not available for me to examine first hand. However, since reconfigured images were exhibited publicly in galleries, museums, printed media (such as exhibit catalogues), or Internet websites, I was able gather the information I needed for my analysis.

Galleries and museums often use the work of artists as well as information about their lives as a way to entice audiences to experience exhibitions in person. Allan Sekula has argued that the traditional architecture of the sustained and financially supported archive can present a non-negotiable space that constitutes “a territory of images” and that the unity of an archive is “first and foremost imposed by ownership.”166 Ownership for Sekula refers to the way the copyright and meanings of images are subordinated by the exchange value they offer to the individuals or institutions that house and maintain them. The archive “disciplines”167 us according to Tagg, by the way we encounter images through linguistic practices that document the authorship of photographs, their intended meanings, and the way the archive sustains the continued physical existence of the image. Other scholars, Rose for example, contend that Sekula and Tagg do

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not “pay enough attention to what may disrupt and exceed particular archives, nor to the slippages and fractures that may disrupt an archives matrix.” Rose is referring to her experience of trying to research original photographs of Lady Clementina Hawarden at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London where she was required to wear gloves that restricted her interaction with the images. The gloves directed Rose to receive Hawarden’s photographs as works of art that were generated during a particular historical period of time, and the linguistic practice the archive used to label the photographs produced Hawarden “as an Artist,” because Hawarden left no record of her photographic activities, “no letters, no diaries that might offer their own version of the truth of what she was doing.” As a result, Rose began to ask questions about what Hawarden was “doing” when she generated and displayed her personal photographs and consequently her analysis began to slip through the cracks of the subject position the archive had constructed of Hawarden. Subsequently, Rose began to see Hawarden not only as an artist, but also as a woman photographer, wife, and mother.

During this research, I accepted Rose’s challenge to resist “assimilation by the imperatives of the archive” by not only visiting archives and exhibition spaces in person but also by analyzing the work of Saari, Logan, and Knight from home as I searched the archive for their images and words using my personal computer. Although my preference was to see the original work exhibited in the exhibition spaces they were intended to be displayed in, when that was not possible I opted to collect, sort, and store copies and facsimiles of the work in my personal research space at home. The adoption of these various approaches has, as Rose predicted, provided me with multiple positions from which to gather and analyze data and images.

169 Ibid., 564.
170 Ibid., 559.
171 Ibid., 560.
172 Ibid., 563.
173 Ibid., 564.
For example, in the restricted space of the archives I visited in Austria and Germany, where, like Rose, I was required to wear white gloves while handling original material, I was limited in the amount of time and intimate contact I could have with photographs, manuscripts, and newspaper clippings. In contrast, at home I had fewer restrictions and more freedom to experience the women’s work from multiple points of view any time I desired. I found that touching reproductions of their photographs and reconfigurations allowed me to experience their work in a more personal way. The images became a part of my life as I held them or placed them next to my computer while writing. Holding images in my hands allowed me to examine their physicality and imagine the effect their presence projected in the spaces they were intended to be displayed in.

Visiting the Hayloft Gallery in Steinbach an der Steyr, Austria, where Saari’s original 1940s photographs were snapped with a Kodak No 2 Brownie camera during the war, and where her A Family Album project [Figure A.10 and Figure A.17] is now permanently installed, allowed me to walk through the expansive forty-five by twenty foot space and witness each piece in the collection in comparison to all the other works at the same time. Similarly, experiencing Knight’s large three-dimensional mobile What Hangs in the Balance?, [Figure A.24] a mixed-media piece consisting of personal photographs of family members and individuals she encountered in South America and South Africa, produced a completely different experience than when I viewed them virtually on my computer monitor. Just one of Knight’s twenty massive three-dimensional mobiles exhibited in Lee Hall Gallery in Marquette, Michigan for example, required a ten-foot-by-ten-foot space of the gallery layout. Not only are galleries and museums not always willing to extend an invitation to artists working with the domestic subject matter such as that represented in Knight’s work, but not all institutions are able to accommodate such large installations. Although Knight posts images documenting her installations on her personal website dedicated only to her art and teaching, this cannot replace the experiences of viewing the exhibit in a gallery in person.
More recently, museums and galleries are becoming more approachable as a site to display artwork containing such personal content. Richard Sandell notes that museums are “no longer primarily inwardly focused on the stewardship of their collections, museums are increasingly expected to direct their attention towards the needs of their visitors and communities through the provision of a range of educational and other services.”

Landing a space to exhibit one’s personal photographs is still not guaranteed, yet the women presented here have been successful at negotiating exhibitions of their personal reconfigurations in a variety of public spaces. Saari, in particular, has taken the element of chance out of the equation by turning part of her family farm in Austria into a gallery that will eventually be endowed to the community as an historic archive. This privilege, of course, is not available to everyone.

As a way to analyze the relationship women have with cameras and photographs, I use the following set of categorizations, or questions in my research to interpret and analyze the practices and contexts of personal images. It should be noted, some of the photographs selected for this research project do not include all of the characteristics listed below, nor are they evaluated in the same order of priority each time. What follows are general questions that help structure my analysis of Saari’s, Logan’s, and Knight’s reconfigurations:

1. **Authorship and Composition:** Who took the photograph? Who does the image belong to? Does the person reconfiguring the image have the authority to change the aesthetic characteristics and meaning of the image? How are the subjects positioned within the frame? Who is pictured in the image and what are they doing?

2. **Image production:** What is done to produce or reconfigure the image? What camera technology was the image taken with? What type of surface or paper was it printed on? What type of non-traditional processes did the

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women use to render the final image and finally, was the image made using analog or electronic image-making technologies?

3. Physical appearance: Characteristics of the image based on size and aesthetic quality: Is the image color, black and white, sepia or altered in other ways? Is it small enough to fit in a purse or large enough to fit over a fireplace? Does it have a border or is it mounted on a mat?

4. Context: Is the image displayed in an album, frame, or digital space on the Internet? Or, is it curated in museums, galleries, or publications?

In the context of this dissertation, these questions are meant as guides to prompt further examination of what some women “do” with personal photographs. What follows are examples of reconfigurations by Saari, Logan, and Knight as they engage with the practices of personal and fine art photography to generate recontextualized identities displayed in public spaces.
What They Do With Personal Photographs

Many questions about women’s snapshot photography remain to be answered—why do women picture their families in the way they do? For whom are these photographs intended? What place do they have within image-making systems? Val Williams

Christine (Singerl) Saari

Although we encounter many photographs, movies, and television dramas depicting soldiers engaged in acts of war, there are few occasions when we come across visual references that describe the everyday lives of the women, children, and grandparents who struggled alone, at home, to survive during the ravages of war. Official war photography is not concerned with these groups of people. Therefore, few images have surfaced for the public to view and interpret that show the personal experiences of civilians. Additionally, numerous references to the millions of people detained and put to death in World War II concentration camps proliferate in literature, popular novels, and the performing arts such as theatrical productions on and off Broadway. Yet, in villages and on farms throughout Europe, many individuals braved the possibility of capture, starvation, and even certain death in order to tend to family homes, care for livestock, or plant their fields for food while husbands, sons, or other intimate family members were conscripted to risk their lives in military conflicts.

Christine Saari works with personal photographs and letters that survived destruction during World War II as a way to reconfigure the history of her childhood memories, a history that was marginalized and almost forgotten due to the separation, loss, and death of intimate and extended family members during that period of her life. Saari’s reconfigurations elaborate on the complexities of

everyday life during World War II in Central and Eastern Europe. She shares a personal and family history that resonates with thousands of other German and Austrian families. Because the story of Saari’s German Austrian heritage has been marginalized by the larger Nazi and Jewish narratives that dominate our cultural understanding of World War II, the analysis and biographical background presented here are extensive in comparison to Logan and Knight.

I chose Saari for this project because her work is emblematic of the first generation of women who challenged the established conventions of production for fine art photography by reconfiguring her personal photographs through the application of such non-conventional practices as pastiche and then exhibited them in public spaces such as galleries and museums. My assumption is that Saari may have been introduced to the conventions and practices of fine art photography production in the university photography classes she took at the beginning of her career in the 1970s. Saari’s personal reconfigurations transgress the conventions and practices of both personal and fine art photography by her non-traditional approaches to production and display and as a result her images form a hybrid space that posits new possibilities for the display of personal images in public spaces.

Saari’s installations are comprised of reconfigured personal photographs that combine mechanical and chemically-based reproductions of snapshot images taken on Hirschengut farm during the war. Superimposed on these images are letters written to and from her parents across constantly changing battle lines. The original images were taken sometimes by her mother and at other times by family members and friends who came from Berlin and Wasserburg am Inn for food or safety from the continual bombings that threatened to demolish their homes and food supplies. Reproductions of Saari’s personal photographs, as well as original artifacts from that period of time, have been reassembled to form sculptural collages infused with sentimental and anti-war rhetoric indicated by her selection of titles, including: Letters From My Grandmother and Make Love Not War, I, II, and III. Saari’s work was featured in 2006 at the Holter Museum in Helena, Montana as a part of a yearlong
program, *Speaking Volumes: Transforming Hate*; a project curated by Katie Knight. The online exhibition program for the *A Family Album* exhibit describes Saari’s work as “haunting, quiet pieces [that] evoke a range of feelings: longing, sadness, outrage, and joy. Saari’s photo art is an emotive meditation on displacement, war, relationships, memory, and the power that documentation and archiving play in our lives.” The Holter Museum’s website featured five pieces from her fifty plus reconfigurations exhibited in the *A Family Album* collection.

**The Formation of a Photographer**

Born in Austria at the beginning of World War II, Saari grew up in the Alpine foothills on her family farm in Steinbach an der Steyr. After immigrating to Boston with her new American husband Jon Saari in 1964, the family moved in 1971 with their two sons to their present home in Marquette, Michigan. Saari conducts visual research and produces her photographs in a modest work-space located in a cooperative studio she shares with three women artists.

At her birth, Saari was christened Erdmuthe Christine Anna Elizabeth Dempf, and was affectionately nicknamed Singerl (little baby chick in Bavarian dialect). Saari’s mother, Anneliese Dempf, began chronicling the relationships her daughter developed with family, friends, neighbors, and the animals on the farm in earnest through the use of photographs and words. Considering the lack of photographic supplies or access to processing imposed on her by the war, Dempf managed to accumulate an impressive archive of images documenting her daughter’s early years on the farm.

Dempf’s accumulation of visual images documenting the everyday events in Singerl’s life is an example of Sontag’s observation that “to not take pictures of one’s children, particularly when they are small, is a sign of parental

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Dempf’s dutiful attention to her daughter’s growth was documented in family albums and journals thereby constituting her, by Rose’s definition, as a good mother. Dempf also facilitated the integration of Singerl into the familial group by sending film and photographs to grandparents, aunts, and uncles, even across enemy lines. That Dempf was prolific in her efforts to produce and collect photographs of her daughter’s childhood allows Saari now to provide a common visual memory for the lost generations of Austrian women, grandparents, and children who were made invisible by the war.

The possible effect of Kodakery can be seen in the aesthetic quality of the personal photographs Dempf and others produced for the farm’s family albums by the way they artistically posed and snapped images of Singerl engaged in typical bucolic representations of Alpine life, thus reinscribing the domestic scenes promoted by Kodak and Agfa advertising that permeated women’s magazines in Berlin before the war. Singerl is pictured, for instance, picking wildflowers on the top of a hill with Hirschengut, a typical Austrian four-cornered farm strategically located behind her in the background. Another image portrays Singerl joyfully hugging a fuzzy lamb. The images are emblematic of the Kodakery message that taught mothers how to compose their family members in aesthetically pleasing arrangements in snapshots and family albums to promote representations of family unity and domestic bliss.

Typical of personal photographs, Dempf is missing in most of the images in Saari’s archive, yet implicitly present either as the invisible mother behind the camera’s lens snapping the shutter, or as the woman dutifully archiving the images for future use. Also missing from the archive are any traces of the unyielding war that waged beyond the space of the isolated farm. It is not until Singerl grows up, and takes her mother’s place behind the camera as a new mother in her own right that we see Dempf appear in family albums with her grandchildren. Saari’s process of combining the practices and conventions of

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177 Sontag, 8.
178 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 44.
personal and fine art photography and applying them to the production and display of personal photographs complicates this domestic normality. Whereas Dempf was practicing personal photography to encourage familial unity within her domestic family during the war, Saari is simultaneously deploying and transforming these conventions to add her revised family story to the official narrative we already know regarding soldiers or prisoners of war.

Holland notes, “Personal photographs are embedded in the lives of those who own or make use of them;” she adds “personal pictures are made specifically to portray the individual or the group to which they belong as they would like to be seen and as they have chosen to show themselves to one another.” Saari’s family may have officially been under the jurisdiction of the German authorities before and during the war, and then under the American authorities after, but the photographs contained in her reconfigured family albums depict a far more complex and contested identity for herself and her parents.

Before Saari became a full-time fine art photographer she followed the practices and conventions of a writer and photojournalist. Later, Saari began to follow “her inner voice” as it led her to discover the alternative photographic practices and conventions she currently uses to reconfigure her personal photographs. According to the information available online, Saari came to learn the technical aspects of photography in the 1970s in college when she was in her forties, just as the feminist movement began to foster a rise and interest in feminist theory in the academy. In an artist’s statement Saari shares with viewers how she began the project in 1993 and was able to take on the project with:

the help of family photographs, letters, documents and artifacts I have attempted to explore my childhood memories, family relationships, recollections of World War II, experiences of migration and displacement, my Catholic upbringing, my life as a girl, continuity and change from one generation to the next.

180 Holland, 117.
182 Ibid.
In March of the same year she received a one-thousand dollar first place prize in the annual *Women in the Arts* competition held during Women’s History Month at the Depot Gallery in Negaunee, Michigan. The winning piece was the catalyst for her project *A Family Album*. To date, the project includes over fifty pieces that are made up of personal photographs and family artifacts, including letters, clothing, newspaper clippings, and maps. Visitors to galleries and museums where the *A Family Album* collection was exhibited before its permanent installation at the *Hayloft Gallery* in Steinbach an der Steyr, Austria viewed and received the reconfigurations of her personal history with mixed reactions.

[Figure A.9] During one exhibition in Watertown, Wisconsin for example, someone stole an original German Iron Cross medal from the *Our Hero’s* collage. Also stolen was a book titled *German World War I Heroes*. Both pieces were intended as a critique of war and the work interrogates the culture of uniforms designed by the Nazis to promote national pride in boys in pre-war Germany and the theft may indicate that there are still those who harbor ill feelings of Germans as enemies of the United States, or these objects were enticing to a World War II memorabilia collector.

Because Saari’s parents left Germany to escape the Nazi regime before the war started, the artifacts she uses to create her multi-media pieces are rare and represent a priceless archive unavailable to other World War II survivors. Her archive is vast considering the complexities that limited access to film, cameras, and processing during that period of time. In a self-published book *Love and War at Stag Farm: The Story of Hirschengut, an Austrian Mountain Farm, 1938-1948*, Saari includes translations of her mother’s letters which document Dempf’s repeated requests to in-laws to supply film for the farm’s Kodak No. 2 Brownie box camera, [Figure A.17] or to return prints as soon as possible for her to put in the family album or send to her husband on the front. As it turned out, Saari’s paternal grandfather owned a printing business and a book and stationary store that had a professional darkroom. A luckier coincidence was the

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location of her grandfather’s business in Wasserburg am Inn, Germany, a safe
distance from the battles being waged on the Eastern Front.\textsuperscript{184}

**Letters From Her Grandmother: The Hybrid Space of the Home**

On the outside of a repurposed medicine cabinet used as the scaffolding for *Letters from My Grandmother*, Saari pasted white linen fabric embossed with chemical transfers of hand written letters [Figure A.11]. The cabinet represents a sacred space found in most family homes and the letters stand in for the usual bandages and medicines that may be found in such places to help heal the wounds or emotional pain family members experience during their everyday lives. The letters are juxtaposed by a single photographic reproduction of her grandmother. Inside the cabinet are stacks of original letters yellowed from years of waiting in boxes at Hirschengut farm. They are grouped in bundles on the bottom of the cabinet shelf. Inside the envelopes words tell the story of her grandmother’s exile and starvation in Mecklenburg, Germany after the war.\textsuperscript{185} Next to the cabinet, resting on a table that further reproduces the space of the home, is a handmade book entitled *Letter to My Grandmother* that narrates how her grandmother influenced her as a small child. This book accompanied the cabinet to all the gallery and museum exhibitions it was displayed in before being permanently installed at the Hayloft Gallery in 2010. When spectators visit the galleries where Saari’s ode to her grandmother is displayed they read the following statement which introduces the contexts for the piece:

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., An August 1939 handwritten letter to Saari’s father Michael from his stepmother for example states, “Enclosed are your fotos. The little one is so sweet.”\textsuperscript{184} A second letter written to family members in Wasserburg am Inn at Pentecost in 1940 reveals Michael’s anxiety regarding the arrival of a roll of film he sent to his sister Lily for processing. “We have heard nothing from Lily since Christmas. Please be sure she’ll send the prints from the films, does she still have them, as we ourselves have not yet seen any of the pictures.”\textsuperscript{184} Finally, in a third letter dated 1943 Saari’s mother Aneliese Dempf writes, “The film Lily sent is ready. We rarely have the opportunity to have it developed here,” 123. 

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., 197.
She lived in Pomerania until 1922, when her husband died and her stepchildren booted her out. Then she moved to Silesia, to keep house for her brother, a Lutheran pastor. From there she fled after the end of the war to Mecklenburg, in the Russian occupied zone, where she died of starvation in 1947.  

By viewing and reading the two pieces together, audiences may be able to apprehend the emotional trauma individuals suffered as their families were exiled, conscripted, or killed during World War II in Central and Eastern Europe. Inside the space of the exhibition hall, Saari’s installations produce a hybrid space that is neither gallery nor domestic. The medicine cabinet filled with personal images and letters, and the family album set on a table is reminiscent of something typical in a bathroom, kitchen, or living room thus inviting audiences to consider the hybrid space of common memory, one that is both private and public and transcends the loss and marginalization felt by ordinary German citizens who were unable to negotiate the construction of their personal identities once the war ended [Figure A.12].

**Make Love Not War I, II, and III: Physicality**

Saari’s family’s war experience is developed further in a triptych collection of three-dimensional mixed-media sculptures entitled *Make Love Not War (Letterbox Triptych)*. The installation reconfigures the World War II story of her father’s service in the German army, her father-in-law’s service in the American army, and her long distance courtship and marriage to her husband Jon during the period of the Vietnam War. As a series, the collection of photographic montages contextualizes for spectators an approximation of what it must have been like for Saari and her family to live in the complex reality of social and

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cultural uncertainty that they all experienced during globalized social and political conflicts they each endured during World War II.

The first piece in the collection is *Make Love Not War I—From the Eastern Front: Letters from a German soldier to his five-year-old Daughter, January–April 1944* [Figure A.13]. It is a wooden hinged box lined with aged white silk and linen fabric. Inside, original letters written by Saari’s father during the war are positioned below a sepia-toned reproduction of him sitting on a military horse. He is dressed in a German uniform, a rifle slung across his shoulder. Opposite this, pinned to the linen fabric covering the surface of the backside of the hinged door of the cabinet, hangs one of her father’s war medals. The medal is positioned just above a black and white photographic reproduction that was most likely taken by Saari’s mother using the farm’s Brownie camera. The snapshot shows Saari playing happily with her father on his last visit home before leaving for the Russian military front. The piece speaks both for the loss of her father, but also the erasure of the childhood life that she could have had with both her mother and father continually at her side had the war not inserted uncertainty, death, and loss into their familial lives.

In the second piece constructed of similar materials, Saari memorializes the military service of her American father-in-law in a piece entitled *Make Love Not War II—From the European Theatre: Letters from an American Soldier to his American Family, January 1943 – August 1945* [Figure A.14]. Neatly bundled letters are tied with red ribbons almost obscuring the American flag attached to the interior of the cabinet beckoning spectators to look closer at the emotional and political cost of war. A reproduced hand-colored photograph shows her father-in-law wearing an American military uniform. Similarly, a medal hangs above his photo as he smiles off into the distance, thinking perhaps of the family members who took the time to correspond so prolifically during his protracted absence as a soldier in Europe.

The third piece in the triptych series, *Make Love Not War III—Courtship Letters: From the German Soldier’s Daughter to the American Soldier’s Son, September 1961 – January 1964* [Figure A.15] is a visually rich narrative of
Saari’s love affair, courtship, and marriage to her American husband Jon Saari. Her reconfiguration of personal photographs, fabrics, and letters provides a bridge of understanding and accessibility for the next generation of her German-Austrian-American post-war family. The original long-distance love-letters are bundled with ribbons in two separate stacks inside the cabinet; one bundle for the letters Saari wrote to Jon and one bundle of her future husband’s return correspondence. The addresses and stamps on the front of the envelopes trace the couple’s physical separation before their marital union. Their courtship coincided with the Vietnam War and the general theme that runs through all the letters is one promoting peace and harmony for the future they are about to begin as a family. A stamp visible on the surface of one of the envelopes protruding from the stacks shows a reproduction of a couple kissing.

Saari placed a handmade Christmas card on the inside of this cabinet’s door. The words, “he’s got the whole world in his hands” is written above a drawing Saari made of various ethnicities and races from all over the world.187 Inside, two photographs, on the right, a photograph of Saari’s village in Austria with the words Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht, and, on the left, a photograph of her husband’s home town Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin are embellished with the words Silent Night, Holy Night.188 There are little stars pasted randomly throughout the surface of the greeting card. Their two worlds seem to become one as they look up into the same star-filled sky of night. Saari here condenses the cultural, political, and geographic spaces that separate their two lives as she translates English and German Christmas carols and displays images of their hometowns in a greeting card designed to close into the center as the message of peace and hope is tucked in an envelope and dispatched across the globe. The practice of sending family photographs at holidays, Rose suggests, is a way to integrate lives and cultural customs and thereby form one family unit.189

188 Ibid.
189 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 18.
On the outside of the cabinet, a large black and white mechanical reproduction of Saari’s wedding photograph has been chemically transferred onto linen fabric. The photograph shows Saari placing a wedding ring on her husband’s finger, offering him her pledge of partnership as they combine their anti-war passions in an unbreakable bond of family unity. The photograph is doubly framed on top and bottom with white fabric on the outside edge of the cabinet and also by vertical lines of buttons—on top with smaller glossy white shell buttons, and below with larger white satin covered buttons. A piece of scallop lace from her grandmother’s dress has been delicately stitched into the edges of the collage. Transfers of their wedding announcement are placed throughout the entire surface of the cabinet.

The physical reconfiguration of Saari’s family photographs and letters challenges not only our understanding of what personal photographs are, the types of things that can be done with them, and the types of spaces they can be audienced in, but they also question hidden assumptions regarding the gendered, ethnic, and racial subject positions that individuals hold within families, villages, and the globalized politics of the world. The personal photographs Saari uses in Make Love Not War III connect the past to the future by their promise of survival, rebirth, and familial continuation for future generations.

Then and Again: The Album of Passing Time

One cornerstone of Saari’s A Family Album Project is a modest photo scrapbook titled Then and Again: Hirschengut Through the Generations [Figures A.9 and A.12]. The book presents snapshot reconfigurations of the past and present using members of the next generation in her family as subjects. The book was exhibited at the Oasis Gallery and also at a public opening at her studio in November of 2010. This visual monograph is covered with handmade paper embedded with dried brown leaves. The album measures seventeen by fourteen inches and holds twenty-eight monochromatic inkjet digital photographs Saari individually
embellished with Marshall oils and colored pencils. Below each image, descriptions are written in white indicating where the images were taken and who is pictured in them. Before reconfiguring the black and white photographs by hand-coloring the surfaces, Saari transformed them by scanning them into JPEG files, that she printed and then applied subtle pastel hues to their surfaces using cotton balls, Q-tips, and colored pencils. The white text below each image generates a stark contrast to the black construction paper they are attached to with archival photo corners.

The reconfiguration of personal photographs in *Then and Again* transforms the album into a singular artifact chronicling her family’s immigration from Germany to an Austrian farm in 1939, just before the outbreak of World War II, as well as Hirschengut’s renovation over the past three decades. The album has a unique, un-duplicable “aura” in Benjamin’s sense of the term. In its reference to the past, the reproductions in the album suggest the presence of the original for which Benjamin posited was “the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity.” Saari reproduces the photographs to create another unique artifact with its own aura by means of mechanical reproduction insuring that even if the aura of the original image should be lost, another takes its place. In other words, the reconfiguration of Saari’s personal photographs does not erase the historical significance of the period of time they were generated in because what she does with these photographs is to underline their connection to a unique space in time and place, and thus, regardless of their reproducibility through her reworking they are connected to this experience.

A pair of images in the album memorializes the loss of her father while simultaneously relating the continuation of her life today on Hirschengut [Figure A.16]. In the image, Saari is shown as a one-and-a-half year old toddler walking down a well-worn lane of the farm with her father Michael who is on his way to

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190 Using Photoshop software on her personal computer at home, Saari edited each of the photographs for brightness, contrast, and density before printing them on watercolor paper using a professional quality Epson ink-jet printer.
192 Ibid, 43.
work in the fields wearing knee length shorts and no shirt. He is carrying a pitch fork and wire basket in his right hand and holding Singerl’s hand in the other. As he looks down at his daughter, his swollen veins protrude from the arm that holds Singerl’s tiny hand. The caption under the photo, written by Saari reads: “1940: Singerl (1 ½), walking with her father, Michael Dempf. The baskets are used to haul wood to this day...”

On opposite page, Saari reconfigured the 1940s snapshot by (re)photographing her husband Jon Saari walking on a similar road on Hirschengut with their one-and-a-half-year-old son Alexander. Saari scanned both the original 1940 black and white gelatin-silver image taken by Dempf and the 1968 reenactment on a flatbed scanner importing them into her computer as JPEG files where she made adjustments in Photoshop before printing them as inkjet prints. She next applied Marshal Photo Oils with cotton balls and Q-tips to their surfaces. Under the photograph of her husband and son, Saari has hand-written the message, “1968: Singerl’s son, Alexander (1 ½) walking with his father, Jon Saari.”

Posted on the Oasis Gallery website where a part of A Family Album was exhibited Saari explains the conventions she utilized to reconfigure her personal photographs:

Artistically, I use a variety of photographic techniques, especially various photo transfer methods. I frequently transfer images to fabric, which can then be applied to surfaces, embroidered and otherwise adorned. For my books I have made my own paper, used digital images, transparencies or hand coloring. It usually depends on the emotional quality of the subject matter what technique I choose.

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193 Saari, Make Love Not War, 29.
194 Saari originally captured this image on film in a 35mm camera, processing the film and printing the final image in her basement darkroom. Source: Hayloft Gallery, Austria. Visited May, 2011.
195 Christine Saari. Then and Again, family album.at Hayloft Gallery in Steinback an der Steyr, Austria. Visited May 2011.
When Saari participates in fine art conventions by applying pastiche techniques to the reconfigurations of her personal photographs for display in public spaces, she overcomes the normalized attitudes directing photographers to “make no alterations of any kind to the segment of reality chosen.”\(^{197}\) According to Terry Barrett “art primarily refers to other art,”\(^ {198}\) therefore Saari’s reconfigurations truly are hybrid because they disrupt the traditional conventions of fine art photography. Saari doubly challenges the meaning of personal photography by questioning the conditions of its production and dissemination when she places her reconstructed stories inside the space of a gallery. Inside these new spaces, audiences and spectators are able to piece together on their own terms the histories and personal identities that lay hidden under the dominant stories of battles lost-and-won by men.

Saari’s images are emblematic of Holland’s conclusions that women working with personal photographs are looking “for truths of the past, the user of a personal collection is engaging in acts of recognition, reconstructing their own past setting a personal narrative against more public accounts.”\(^ {199}\) In other words, users of personal photography are sometimes able to disrupt the commonly accepted visual memory of historic events when they recontextualize visual evidence used to verify their own version of how events transpired in the past.

**Ethnic Survival and Visual Memories**

Saari’s elaborate two and three-dimensional mixed media pieces of art reconfigure the missing histories that her family members experienced during the war allowing spectators to view the lost identities that begin to emerge and reemerge from the work. Most importantly, in the process of doing things to her


\(^{199}\) Holland, 151.
personal photographs, Saari’s story becomes the story of others whose forgotten lives as the women, children, and grandmothers were also marginalized by the larger Nazi and Jewish narratives that dominate our Western visual and written histories of World War II. Saari’s photographic project provides us with an example of Benjamin and Sontag’s respective theories of how photographic archives gain cult status through their collection and display; in family living rooms, in family albums, or in the public spaces of an exhibition hall. Stating that works of art are received and valued in different ways, Benjamin goes on to argue:

In Photography, exhibition value begins to displace cult value all along the line. But cult value does not give way without resistance. It retires into an ultimate retrenchment: the human countenance. It is no accident that the portrait was the focal point of early photography. The cult remembrance of loved ones, absent or dead, offers a last refuge for the cult value of the picture. For the last time the aura emanates from the early photographs in the fleeting expression of the human face.200

Ultimately, Saari’s artwork asks viewers to face their own questions regarding national or ethnic prejudices. Should Saari’s loss be less than others who lost loved ones during World War II because she is German, or, because her father served in the German army under the Nazis? Can we put a value on an individual’s loss based on which uniform their family members were forced to wear? *Make Love Not War I, II and III*, reminds spectators that everyone experiences loss as well as the possibility of (re)membrance and rebirth.

200 Benjamin, p 47.
Fern Logan: Picturing Gender and Racial Identities

Photographer and graphic designer Fern Logan also reconfigures the physical appearance of photographs as she relocates them to galleries, museums, and publications. The fine art techniques she deploys to recontextualize the personal photographs she has reappropriated from her family’s archive represent other possible ways to reveal the hidden, marginalized, or contested meanings behind the images of her African American family. The critical work of bell hooks provides insight into the way African American women like Logan approach the visual images they generate for public display. Speaking from personal experience hooks describes how people of color internalize white supremacist values and aesthetics that discipline, hide, or negate their value:

And it struck me that for black people, the pain of learning that we cannot control our images, how we see ourselves (if our vision is not decolonized), or how we are seen is so intense that it rends us. It rips and tears at the seams of our efforts to construct self and identity. Often it leaves us ravaged by repressed rage, feeling weary, dispirited, and sometimes just plain old brokenhearted. These are the gaps in our psyche that are the spaces where mindless complicity, self-destructive rage, hatred, and paralyzing despair enter.

Logan combines the conventions of personal and fine art photography to challenge dominant representations of people of color. Additionally, she disrupts the accepted conventions of the exhibition space as she engages spectators to consider family snapshots as fine art objects as well as a vehicle to deliver messages regarding the subtle ways racist segregation permeates the everyday lives of people of color. Logan’s career as a professional photographer spans thirty-five years; first, as a graphic designer for McGraw Hill in New York City, and then as a photography educator and scholar at Southern Illinois University in

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202 Ibid.
Carbondale where, according to the faculty profile page, she taught photography and alternative imaging applications from 1995 to 2010.

Logan is an example of a woman photographer who followed the traditional conventions of photographic production prescribed by the commercial establishment until she gained academic tenure, finally allowing her freedom to express her gendered African American–Native American visual narrative as part of her publicly viewed portfolio of fine art images. I chose Logan for this research project because her work is a salient example of an African American woman using personal photographs to recontextualize her gendered, raced, ethnic, and cultural identity and history.

Logan’s repertoire of images includes family photographs taken by her father of her and her sister, as well as images she has taken over the years of her own children and grandchildren. The reconfiguration of the physicality of her personal photographs with the antiquated nineteenth-century gum-bichromate printing process and enlargement from three-and-a-half by five inches to eleven-by-fourteen inches, demonstrates a transgression of the traditionally accepted conventions for the production of personal photographs. To generate her gum-bichromates, Logan scans her snapshots electronically and manipulates them in Photoshop before printing a reproduction on a sheet of clear transparency material that produces a digital negative. Next, Logan places her digital negative right side up on a light sensitive sheet of watercolor paper treated with potassium dichromate or ammonium or sodium dichromate and then exposes the contact image to ultraviolet light.

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204 The gumming technique is described here by Beaumont Newhall. “The technique is based on the property of gum Arabic when mixed with potassium dichromate to change its solubility in water upon exposure to light. The more strongly light acts upon the bichromated gum, the less easily it can be dissolved. A watercolor pigment of the type used by painters is mixes with the prepared gum and washed over the surface of a sheet of drawing paper. When dry it is exposed to sunlight beneath a negative. The image reappears when the paper is washed with ware water. The developing is done with a brush or less commonly by pouring a soup of sawdust and hot water over the print again and again, a technique developed by Victor Artigue in 1892.” Beaumont Newhall. The History of Photography. The Museum of Modern Art. New York: Bulfinch Press, 1982, p 147. Print.
Logan’s works consist of colorful photographs that tell the story of her mixed racial identity as a woman of color. Her personal photographs are an example of how images made by women can testify to the reality of lived experiences. According to Abigail Solomon-Godeau:

Much feminist photographic production—and photography has historically functioned as the quintessential realist medium—is premised on the conviction that the camera can express authentic social and psychic truths, including the lived reality of female experience, merely by the act of what has not been imagined, a truth guaranteed by the investment of its maker and the authority of her experience.”

By infusing her more recent images with the hybrid mix of personal and fine art photography conventions, Logan challenges the way we interact with personal photographs and the way they also provide visual evidence of the mixed-race identity of her family. I have chosen three images of Logan’s to analyze. The first piece, Lil Fern: From Memories in Non Silver, was exhibited in 2010 in a group exhibition titled The Synergy of Inspiration in Marquette, Michigan.

**Lil Fern: Physicality**

In the image Lil Fern, Logan is standing on the rear bumper of a car. The license plate next to her hand reads NY 47 [Figure A.18]. She is smiling broadly; her arms are stretched out at her sides as her right arm clutches the side of the car for balance. Logan’s right leg and knee are bent forward as the heel of her foot rests casually on the car’s bumper. Although Logan’s father took this image, she now becomes the author through recontextualization and exhibition in the space of the Synergy exhibition. Logan uses the gum bichromate process to generate an image that resembles a color photograph that has faded just as memories sometime fade over time without color photographs or videos to continually remind us of what actually transpired. Unlike traditional photographic processes

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205 Solomon Godeau, p 297.
that are based on static chemical interactions of silver with ultraviolet light, the gum-bichromate process allows the photographer to physically manipulate the surface of the image during the development process. The simplicity of using an ultraviolet light source to expose the digital negative means that Logan controls what sections of the image she wants to manipulate during the images’ development phase in the water wash where she can selectively rub off the gum in specific areas.

In this image, Logan is wearing a one piece white jump suit with white shoes and socks suggesting that this is a special family occasion. Whatever the occasion, there is no further linguistic text to guide the spectator’s interpretation. What is knowable from the image is her racial identity and that she was a child in 1947, the same year Jackie Robinson made history by becoming the first African American major league baseball player for the Brooklyn Dodgers and President Truman paved the way for desegregation of the military. The title Lil Fern implicitly asks spectators to consider her racial identity as well as what may be missing from her childhood memories as a small child living in a segregated society just before the outbreak and unrest of the African American civil rights movement in this country. Lil is a contemporary term appropriated by African American hip-hop musicians that helps draw viewers’ attention to the language used by people of color and its significance in cultural identity formation. Beyond the frame of the 1947 photograph, battle lines were being drawn as the civil-rights movement was beginning its parallel journey into Logan’s adult life.

Coney Island: From Memories in Non Silver

A second image, Coney Island: From Memories in Non Silver, also from the Synergy exhibition, shows Logan’s parents sitting outdoors on a white bench crowned by a floral arch [Figure A.19]. Her mother is holding an ice cream cone

206 Urban Dictionary LLC (the Company). Web. 10 March, 2012,
in one hand as she leans comfortably into the chest of her husband. Again, they are smiling for the camera, portraying comfortable easiness with the anonymous person tripping the camera’s shutter behind the lens.

Throughout our country’s history, says Coco Fusco, “one of the most forceful means of circumscribing American identity has been race.” Perceiving oneself as others see us requires that we understand that the “relationship between racism and racialized self-perception is never a purely philosophical matter,” and that “racism represents a social and political dilemma for the society.” Logan’s reconfiguration provides visual evidence that her parents had a personal life in the public sphere, one omitted from dominant representations of the culture of the time. In the apartheid-like atmosphere of the Southern United States, for example, black students regardless of their economic status, usually attended the same underfunded schools and may have had their property bombed by the Ku Klux Klan. Most personal photographs used in the homes African Americans suggests hooks, were the stylized photographs taken by professional studio photographers, because they were the easiest images to produce. To counter the racist images that proliferated in the media hooks notes that, “the walls and walls of images in southern black homes were sites of resistance.”

They constituted private, black-owned and—operated, gallery space where images could be displayed, shown to friends and strangers. These walls were a space where, in the midst of segregation, the hardship of apartheid, dehumanization could be countered. Images could be critically considered, subjects positioned according to individual desire.

208 Ibid., 16.
209 Ibid.
211 hooks, *In Our Glory*, 390.
212 Ibid.
Countering the traditions or conventions of black and white snapshot photography through the use of the gum bichromate process, allows viewers to consider the possibilities of what can be “done” to personal photographs to extend the limitations family members experienced during periods of segregation or political struggle. *Coney Island*, taken originally to commemorate a special day long ago on the boardwalk, transgresses its domestic singularity by asking viewers to imagine what public life must have been like for people of color as they displayed intimate familiarity during the segregation era of this country, as well as why such images were not part of our photographic canon.

**Daddy Took the Picture: African American Families**

Perhaps the most culturally specific image of the *Memories in Non-Silver* portfolio is, *Daddy Took the Picture* showing Logan as a child posing with her sister and mother [Figure A.20]. The alternative gum bichromate treatment softens the harsh contrasts inherent in the original black and white gelatin-silver snapshot, and the title, here more explicitly, asks the spectator looking at the image in the gallery to imagine the context in which the image was taken. Logan and her sister are attired in what would be considered formal dresses for the period. Their dark hair has been carefully combed or braided and then tucked back on their heads with bows. Logan’s mother wears an oversized hat with a large circular brim that balances on the back of her head allowing her face to be openly viewed. Although the short sleeves on the dresses of Fern and her sister indicate that it must have been a warm day, Logan’s mother is wearing a fur coat that was the fashion for affluent women of color in the 1940s.\(^{213}\) The sisters and their mother appear to be returning the smile of the photographer, their father/husband, as he directs them to pose for the camera in his hand. The angle of view in the images indicates that he may have been bending down or sitting on the ground as he aimed the camera up at his family to avoid the glare of the mid-
day sun and the characteristic dark circles under the eyes that would be typical for photographs taken at that time of day without a fill light or an off-camera flash. We do not know the type of camera he used to generate the images, or how he learned to use it.

Logan’s choice of title directs the audience viewing *Daddy Took The Picture* away from the assumption that the image represents a single parent family, that is to say, of an African American mother raising her children without an African American father present to complete the nuclear group. Whereas, as discussed in the section on *Kodakery* culture in Chapter Two, the mother was implicitly present behind the camera in white households, hooks makes it clear that picture taking “was more informed by the way the process was tied to patriarchy” in her household. She explains that her father controlled the camera.

Our father was definitely the ‘picture takin’ man. For a long time cameras were both mysterious and off-limits for the rest of us. As the only one in the family who had access to the equipment, who could learn how to make the process work, he exerted control over our image. In charge of capturing our family history with the camera, he called and took all the shots.\(^{214}\)

Logan’s titles and hook’s narrative provide a glimpse into the gendered politics taking place behind the camera in African American households and contradict the studies done by Rose and West cited in Chapter One. Rosenblum adds that photographers such as James Van Der Zee, probably the “best-known”\(^{215}\) African American portrait and social commentary photographer in America, were often unable to compete with their more affluent counterparts for the recognition they were due because unlike white Americans, “Black photographers could not afford the leisure and financial freedom to indulge in personal expression nor were they able to find a niche in photojournalism, advertising photography, or social documentation until after the second World War.”\(^{216}\) During the informal study I

\(^{214}\) hooks, *In Our Glory*, 391.
\(^{216}\) Ibid., 274.
conducted on Kodak advertising at the online Duke University Archive, none of the images included illustrations of people of color. From this analysis, there are several questions that suggest further research on the subject of gendered image-making practices in the homes of raced and ethnic communities. These include:

Where do African Americans learn the conventions and traditions of personal photography? How does gender play a part in the production and display of family snapshots and album-making? And, are the traditions of album making and keeping different for people of color than those of white families?

Rosenblum’s survey highlights how women like Logan apply critical race theory and feminist modes of inquiry to the practice of personal photography to inform their revisionist approach to contested family histories. Carrie Mae Weems according to Rosenblum, uses gender, race, and history to inform the fictional reenactments she produces to deconstruct the awkward space black males occupy in familial and domestic relationships. Adopting the black and white aesthetic of the family snapshot, Weems poses an African American male sitting alone in a small room at a kitchen or dining room table lit by a single shaded lamp dangling from the ceiling. A Victorian style wall lamp is hidden in the shadows on the wall just over his right shoulder. On the far left edge of the frame, a white rotary style phone receiver lies face down on the table next to an open bottle of wine and white ash tray. As the plume of white smoke rises into the beam of the light, the man’s gaze appears frozen on the cassette tape recorder as he listens intently\(^{217}\) to a message we assume to be words typed in bold black letters at the bottom of the image, “Jim, if you choose to accept, the mission is to land on your own two feet.”\(^{218}\) The scene imitates a stereotypical scene taken from a *Mission: Impossible* TV series that ran from 1966-1973.\(^{219}\) The text suggests a cultural myth that implies African American men find it more difficult to thrive and survive in contemporary culture. The man is in a room that is a part of a house, but appears to be home alone without the support of anyone else in

\(^{218}\) Ibid., 251.
\(^{219}\) *Mission: Impossible*, Internet Movie Database. Web. 18 December, 2011
his nuclear family. Using the conventions of personal photography, such as photographing the man in the home, adding text that identifies his name and what is happening to him in the domestic space he occupies, highlights the complexities of gendering family members in African American culture.

Logan’s direct address of the assumptions about her familial relationship with her mother, sister, and father are examples of a growing body of work that specifically examines, according to Deborah Willis, “the ways one looks at and interprets photographs and how identity and representation are constructed in photographs of African Americans.” When Logan uses the title *Daddy Took The Picture* she defines her family as complete and directs her audience’s gaze, in the words of Deborah Willis, “to the sociological relationships centered on experiences with the African American community.” In other words, like Weems, Logan situates her family inside the larger picture of African American history by calling attention to her father’s presence behind the camera’s lens. *Daddy Took the Picture* follows all the conventions and practices that define it as a personal photograph; it pictures a smiling group of family members posing in front of the domesticated family home complete with a well-maintained landscape. It rewrites the ideal Kodak family moment in a family’s history promoted in *Kodakery* articles and Kodak Girl advertising by calling attention to Kodak’s deliberate omission of people of color from their advertisements. “To be a family photograph” Rose states, “an image has to look like a family photo but also to be treated like one. It has to have family photography things done to it. It has to be a participant in family photography practices.” Although Logan’s image looks like a typical family photograph, adding the fine art gum bichromate process to her snapshot and displaying it in a public space changes how spectators interact with it. Reconfiguring the physicality of a personal photograph, “is what changes the way it is received by the audiences” women show them to, posits Rose I argue that Logan’s reconfiguration of personal

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220 Willis, x.
221 Ibid., 89.
223 Ibid.
photographs irreversibly transgresses the practice of family photography as well as fine art photography without diminishing the conventions of either genre.

**Katie Knight: Gender, Race, and Global Identities**

Katie Knight lives in Helena, Montana where she works as a visual artist and educator teaching photography and art at Capital High School and Carroll College. Knight reconfigures personal photographs of her children in mixed media installations for the numerous exhibitions she participates in locally and nationally each year. Her son Jika is a popular focus of many of her hand-colored photographs. Additionally, Knight incorporates photographs of the many women, children, and families she encounters while traveling internationally as a social justice advocate into her large scale gallery installations that focus on the inequity of economic distribution between first and third world populations. I chose Knight for this project because she is an example of a woman photographer who disrupts the accepted practices and conventions of photographic production for personal photography by manipulating its conventions as she reconfigures her personal images using fine-art applications such as drawing, painting, printmaking, and sculpture to transform the history of her family’s mixed-race identity in public spaces. Additionally, unlike the reconfigurations of Saari and Logan mentioned above that include images that have been reappropriated from family and friends, Knight only uses photographs she has taken and processed herself in the work she produces.

Knight is American with German ancestry. She earned a Master’s of Fine Arts focusing on Inter-area, including printmaking, electronic media, photography, and sculpture with a minor in Museum Studies from the University of Minnesota in 1999. Prior to her MFA she did graduate work in Linguistics, anthropology, printmaking, art history, and Spanish at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Knight is the mother of two children. Her

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224 Katie Knight Resume. Web. 12 November 2011, 7:13 pm
son’s father was born in South Africa and Knight’s adopted daughter is both white and African American.\footnote{225} Knight incorporates personal photographs taken of her children into mixed media reconfigurations that are displayed in exhibitions throughout the United States.

For eight years Knight “was the curator of Education at the Holter Museum of Art where she conceptualized and implemented the thought-provoking exhibition Speaking Volumes: Transforming Hate.”\footnote{226} As a visual artist, Knight currently interrogates racist and sexist attitudes in society by generating confrontational artifacts for exhibition in public spaces.\footnote{227} Coming of age as a photographer a full generation after Saari and Logan, Knight found mentors in the academy that encouraged her to begin her professional career as a fine-art photographer by using non-traditional approaches to the practice and production of her personal art work. Knight’s mixed media reconfigurations provide opportunities to consider how traditional conventions of photographic practice have shaped what women do with personal photographs and for what reasons.

**To Peace (Jika sleeping)**

An example of how Knight reconfigures personal photographs of her son can be seen in the hand-colored gelatin-silver print in Figure A.21. In the sixteen-by-twenty inch image, the dark brown skin on Knight’s infant son glows from an unknown light source projecting illumination on his tiny face. The vibrant surface of his skin contrasts with the darker hair of his eyebrows and eyelashes. Spectators see him in close-up in a similar fashion to the intimate way only mothers or close members of the integrated familial group are allowed to view babies and small children. In this close proximity to his face, they are able to scan

\footnote{225}Katie Knight, Ravalli County Museum at the Old Court House. Web. 12 November, 2011.  
\footnote{226} Ibid.  
\footnote{227} Ibid.
the contours of his nose, lips, and forehead. His eyes are closed, suggesting that he is sleeping.

This assumption is reinforced by Knight’s choice of title, *To Peace (Jika sleeping)*. The title suggests Knight generated the image as a rhetorical gesture representing a toast to the elimination of political conflict or future wars her son may face when he awakes. Knight is holding her son up for spectators to see him as she sees him, innocent and untainted by the ravages of racial and political conflict. He represents her hope for a future without war, without segregation, and without prejudice.

The image and title exemplify hook’s statement, “We must begin to talk about the significance of black image production in daily life...When we concentrate on photography, then, we make it possible to see the walls of photographs in black homes as a critical intervention, a disruption of white control of black images.”228 In other words, the production of personal photographs picturing people of color as mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons is crucial to changing the politics of racial identity inside the domestic space of the home as a way to disrupt the disciplinary gaze of supremacist white culture.

Clarissa Sligh, the lead plaintiff in the Clarissa Thompson et al. v. Country School Board of Arlington County speaks similarly when she states, “I became a photographer partly in response to the continuous omission and misrepresentation of me and my point of view as a black working-class female who grew up poor.”229 Like Saari, Logan, and Knight, Sligh uses reconfigured family photographs and texts to reframe her racial and ethnic identity and history in a project entitled *Re-Reading the Family Album*.230

Knight’s inclusion of personal photographs in gallery exhibitions relocates the discourse of her family’s racial identity from the private to the public sphere. Addressing the absence of such personal images representing African Americans as integrated members of society in the public conscience, hooks declares:

228 hooks, 47.
The sites of contestation were not *out there*, in the world of white power, they were *within* segregated black life. Since no “white” galleries displayed images of black people created by black folks, spaces had to be made within diverse black communities. Across class, black folks struggled with issues of representation. Significantly, issues of representation were linked with the issue of documentation, hence the importance of photography. The camera was the central instrument by which blacks could disprove representations of us created by white folks.\(^{231}\)

Filling the walls of public galleries with photographs of her mixed-race son and daughter, integrated among the many ethnic, raced, and gendered individuals she meets on her travels around the world, forms a family album open to everyone and moves the site of contestation into public view. Resistance for Knight is no longer a private matter to be undertaken at home away from the view of the dominant white gaze. As a white mother of a child of color, she takes control of who has the right to look and to see into the domestic space of the home literally into her own hands.

**Water Source (Jika discovers)**

A second image in the online portfolio shows Knight’s son as a toddler. He is stepping tentatively into the unknown depths of open water [Figure A.22]. Viewing him in silhouette, spectators recognize his racial identity by the brown skin-tone Knight has added by hand with Marshall Oils to the surface of the image. Her son is walking forward toward the bright light projecting onto him from the top of the image. Again, Knight’s title, *Water Source (Jika discovers)*\(^{232}\) helps viewers navigate the visually complex rhetoric of the image. Knight colored the water’s surface, as well as the ripples emanating from Jika’s entrance into it with blue, white, and magenta, overlaid with highlights of yellow. The ripple

\(^{231}\) bell hooks, 48.
\(^{232}\) Katie Knight. Web. 26 January, 2012, 8:10 AM
effect that emerges on the surface of the water guides Jika’s exploration into unknown depths that expand in front of his tiny stride.

Underlying each of Knight’s images of her son is the historical reality of what a body inscribed by color represents in American culture. Knight calls attention to the disparity African American males’ experience in American society by including a passage from Glenn Loury’s research in an essay she wrote for the 2008 Speaking Volumes: Transforming Hate exhibit she curated for the Holter Museum of Art. From Loury’s research, The Anatomy of Racial Inequality she included the following passage.

The racial disparity in imprisonment rates is greater than in any other major arena of American social life. At eight-to-one, the black-to-white ratio of incarceration rates dwarfs the two-to-one ratio of unemployment rates, the three-to-one ratio of non-martial childbearing, the two-two-one ratio of infant-mortality rates, and the one-to-five ratio of net worth.233

Water Source (Jika discovers) reconfigures the racial and ethnic realities that Knight faces as a mother raising a mixed-race male child in a society that provides fewer opportunities to people of color. Writings like Loury’s inform Knight’s approach to producing revisionist family histories with her personal images by supporting them with statistical facts that speak to the white-generated oppression facing African American males in today’s society that she is directly addressing.

Jikizizwe one day-old, and his father, and, Self-portrait with my son, Jikizizwe, 1979

On her website, in a section she defines as her fine art gallery, a pair of Knight’s personal photographs are shown hanging one above the other in an installation in the gallery space at Rocky Mountain College in Billings, Montana [Figure A-23].

The top image shows Jika as a newborn being held by his father, *Jikizizwe one-day, with his father, 1979*. Jika is just a few minutes old in the image and spectators can clearly see the contrast of his lighter mixed European-African skin against his father’s darker African skin. Jika’s face is still swollen from the trauma of descending through the birth canal of his mother’s body. The angle of view of the camera’s lens is one-on-one with the subjects. Having just given birth, Knight took her camera and photographed her son with his father as they lay on the bed looking back at her. In the bottom image, *Self-portrait with my son, Jikizizwe, 1979*, taken from a camera stationed above them on a tripod, she is pictured lying with her son just a few days after his birth. Knight is rolled on her side with one of her elbows and hand tucked behind her head on the pillow. Her other hand lays open and protective on the baby’s chest while he contentedly puts his fingers into his little mouth.

The black and white images measure sixteen-by-twenty inches and are matted with extra wide gallery borders that are the typical format for fine art gallery presentations. They are mounted in handmade wooden frames that expand their presentation dimensions to thirty-two-by-forty inches.\(^{234}\) The images in this diptych follow traditional conventions of black and white fine art production by the way they were generated using black and white film with a Canon FTB 35mm camera and printed in a darkroom on Agfa Portriga Rapid paper in Kodak chemicals. No color has been added to the surface of the photographs. They are hung on the wall of the gallery, one above the other in a way that reinscribes the traditional placement of personal snapshots in a family album. Yet, they cannot be considered traditional fine art photography due to their content because, as Rose points out, “specific practices of production, circulation, display, and viewing constitute family photographs as particular kinds of images, then: family photos cannot be defined simply by their visual content.”\(^{235}\) In other words, Knight’s personal photographs simultaneously deploy and deconstruct the conventions and practices of both photographic

\(^{234}\) Katie Knight, hand painted photos. Web. 26 January, 2012, 8:10 AM

\(^{235}\) Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 20.
disciplines by extending the intimate viewing space of family photography into the public space of the gallery for audiences to view. The practices the photographs are caught up in are reconfigured as they struggle against the institutional expectations of production and display.

**What Hangs in the Balance?**

Knight’s recent work continues her tradition of recontextualizing personal photographs for exhibition in public spaces, including her refusal to adhere to the conventions that define the practice and production of personal and fine art photography. *What Hangs in the Balance?* is a collection of photographs and sculptural mobiles that occupy twenty-by-forty feet of exhibition space and include twelve suspended visual commentaries on the instability of the global family [Figure A.24]. Each of the more than one hundred and twenty unique pieces constructed for the project are assembled in interrelated communities that represent the homeless people of the world. Fabric villages are embossed with the images of her children, Colombians, Namibians, and Nicaraguans that float and sway as spectators move through the mazelike map they form inside the restricted space of the gallery. Knight’s installations are transient and buoyant, as are the lives of the occupants they symbolically represent.

Knight’s personal photographs of her children, the images of people she encountered, and the objects she gathered while traveling in South America and South Africa are transferred onto silk. The transfer occurs through a monoprint method that utilizes Xerox reproduction to generate a lithographic plate that can then be pressed into a fabric’s base. The transfers maintain the integrity of the original image, whether traditional black and white, hand colored or digitally generated by analog or electronic capture. Knight sews, weaves, or ties the fabric pieces together onto the driftwood and twigs collected in her travels. One of the floating houses, *Water House*, is constructed from water bags she salvaged on one of her trips to Colombia [Figure A.23]. The personal photographs of her children are dispersed throughout the collection of houses as they balance
precariously on wooden sticks teetering to and fro at the slightest breezes
entering the space; suggesting the fallacy of entitlement and colonialism without
consequence [Figure A.25].

There are no titles for these houses. Visitors to Knight’s displays of
reconfigured personal photographs must make their own assumptions regarding
the metaphorical representations they signify. The following poem is placed
prominently on the wall at the entrance to the exhibition hall and it provides the
only written text available to guide audience interpretation of the *What Hangs in
the Balance?* No other title cards or information pamphlets are available [Figure
A.26].

They do not own their land but
Slip into the margins.
No-man’s-land.
They construct homes without foundations
Using salvaged materials that carry their own memories.
On the outskirts of Katatura, Namibia,
They grow by 1,000 each month. In Soweto they wait for opportunity. In
El Salvador,
They climb high into the Andes and erect shelters overnight.
In Colombia,
they are vacated by violence.
In the Gaza Strip,
they are bulldozed.
They cannot be counted.
They do not have titles.236

Including personal photographs of her children in the transitory villages of
marginalized populations of the world references the conventions of how
integrated familial groups are constituted through the relationship of looking at
or doing things with personal photographs. Knight reconfigures her archive of
family photographs to include all the children, mothers, fathers, and daughters
her camera encounters as she travels the globe. Her family album is the world—
not just the biological or adopted members of her nuclear group. As such, her

ephemeral houses become homes and constitute the people living in them as visual members of the community of human relations.

Many of Knight’s sculptural reconfigurations in the project include images of Nicaraguan and Colombian mothers and children holding photographs of their missing family members presumed to have been assassinated by military and paramilitary groups. In a piece entitled *Shelter Installation* exhibited at the Paris Gibson Square Museum in Great Falls, Montana, <http://www.katieknight.net/Site/Projects/Pages/What_hangs.html#3>, these images are accompanied by photographs of her daughter peering out of a window in one of the fabric houses suspended in the installation. Next to this is another mixed-media installation entitled *Virgin Boat*, <http://www.katieknight.net/Site/Projects/Pages/What_hangs.html#1>, made of sticks, twigs and tree branches resembling a reiteration of Noah’s Ark [Far right in Figure A.24]. A series of four pieces of fabric form a small house-like shelter in the middle. Screen printed on to each side are images of children; including one of a Columbian boy and girl standing next to a statue of the *Virgin Mary*.

On the floor in the center of the floating fabric shelters stands a life sized reproduction of a homeless shanty that is made out of corrugated materials such as cardboard and rusted metal. Suspended in front of the doorway to this inadequate shelter hangs another smaller house made from fabric infused with Van Dyke Brown transfers of personal snapshots of her son and daughter when they were children which are mixed in with images of her father and mother. To make the Van Dyke fabric prints, Knight contact-printed large format negatives onto sensitized watercolor paper or fabric sized of the final dimensions of the image. The negatives were generated by scanning the originals into a computer where they are manipulated in Photoshop and then printed on clear acrylic material. Knight generated the final image for this and the other houses by

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238 Ibid.
placing an acrylic negative on linen fabric previously coated and dried with a solution of water, ammonium ferric citrate green, ammonium ferric citrate brown, tartaric acid and silver nitrate. The light sensitive matrix was then exposed under ultraviolet light for three to ten minutes. After exposure, the fabric was washed in several baths of warm water for approximately thirty minutes before being hung up to dry.

Knight’s revisionary installations challenge imperialist dogma and society’s propensity to turn a blind eye to issues of racial entitlement, homelessness, and misogyny. Her work questions how “we grow increasingly reliant on photographs for information about histories and realities that we do not experience directly.” Knight’s work also asks audiences in U.S. galleries, where she exhibits her work to consider how members of mixed race communities find their place in the family of the world. In Fusco’s words:

By looking at pictures we imagine that we can know who we are and who we were. Though the fashioning of one’s self-image may be most frequently associated with family snapshots or portraits, the endeavor to see, and thus to know oneself is also a public, communal activity. Photography offers the promise of apprehending who we are, not only as private individuals but also as members of social and cultural groups, as public citizens, as Americans.

In other words, to disrupt the hegemonic narrative of who we are as women, mothers, families, and members of the community of the world, Knight co-opts the traditional practices and conventions of personal and fine art photography and transforms their meaning by exploiting the public space of exhibition to reconfigure her own gendered identity as a women photographer, mother of mixed raced children, artist, and educator.

I have demonstrated here that Knight does many of the conventional things women, particularly mothers, are expected to do with and to personal photographs. Though Knight documents her children’s lives with photographs,

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240 Fusco, 13.
241 Ibid.
her choice to reconfigure them for display in public spaces changes what her personal photographs are, as well as the meanings they generate for the audiences who view them. They suggest that Knight views her son and daughter in the context of the complex global community of gendered, raced, and ethnic identities they will inherit as adults.

In *Gender as Seriality*, Iris Marion Young explores the benefits of thinking about the serialities that connect women as an alternative approach to understanding the collective similarity of the experiences they share in everyday life. In the “amorphous collectives defined by routine of practices and habits,” individual women recognize the way they and others are brought “together by their relation to a material object,” such as a photograph or a family album. The Kodak Girl advertising strategy encouraged women to unite as a group by prompting them to identify with the actions they deployed and objects they used while photographing and preserving their family histories for future generations. By “acknowledging oneself as a member of the group,” states Young, “an individual acknowledges oneself as oriented toward the same goals as the others; each individual thereby assumes the common project as a project for his or her individual action.” Eastman Kodak advertising not only taught women how to “do” personal photography but also allowed them the simultaneous awareness of being linked to other women doing the same thing. Kodak’s objective may have been to colonize women photographers into a group based on their association with the domestic space of the home and its association with the conventions of personal photography, family album making, and history keeping, but it also may have served as the basis of another kind of unity between women outside this dominant hegemonic context, one which allowed them to acknowledge the reality of each woman’s life within her raced, ethnic, and cultural communities.

“Gender” states Young, “like class, is a vast, multifaceted, layered, complex, and overlapping set of structures and objects. Women are the

243 Ibid., 725.
244 Ibid.
individuals who are positioned as feminine by the activities surrounding those structures and objects.”245 In other words, personal photographs are collectively feminized by the routines and objects women habitually deploy to produce them and the spaces these conventions take place in. Using personal photographs to construct and preserve family history aligns women photographers with each other in normative ways but does not preclude the resistant or even subversive possibilities of this unity. Similarly, when Saari, Logan, and Knight entered the university classroom as undergraduate students in their respective photography programs in the mid-1980s, they became part of the first collective of young women photographers learning the practices and conventions of fine art photography and the patriarchal history that defined it within the academy. Undaunted by the long-standing rules that restricted the use of personal photographs in galleries and museums they persisted in their production of hybrid images and began to reconstruct a space in the home and fine art world. Utilizing technologies of the past and present—analog cameras loaded with film, chemically processed photographic papers, painting, drawing, pastiche, gum bichromate and cyanotype processes, digital scanners, digital cameras and scanners, Photoshop, and Internet spaces—these women use and also deconstruct the tools and actions that traditionally gender photographs as male or female thereby generating a new space for their identities to be constructed and seen on their own terms.

I begin the next chapter by reviewing the state of personal photography generated by electronic image-making devices as studied by Servas, Frohlich, and Rose, before moving on examining what two women “do” with their personal photographs online. Servas and Frohlick’s study indicates that, “the nature of the domestic has changed over the last two decades,”246 in Western Europe and the USA and that “what it means to be a family is now different in those locations”.247 This change could ultimately affect the way that the gendering of personal

245 Ibid., 728.
246 Sarvas and Forhlich, 147.
247 Ibid.
photography is constituted as described in Rose’s empirical studies from 2001 and 2011. Similarly, early research on photoblogging by ethnographer Kris Cohen indicates that women and men are showing an interest in sharing personal photographs online that are more about the banal repetition of everyday life and less about art or families. I briefly examine the conventions, practices, and spaces that women are beginning to use since the introduction of electronic imaging making and sharing technologies that may uncover similar situations of the colonization of the domestic space as undertaken by Eastman Kodak with the introduction of easy-to-use Brownie cameras in 1900 but also reveal alternative practices. By bothering “to look into the matter ourselves,” as Bovenschen and Weckmueller point out, we may be able to follow more closely how the conventions of photographic practice define a woman’s place in the serial collective of photographic production and audiencing in emerging electronic spaces.

Chapter 4: “Doing” Personal Photography In New Digitized Spaces

The difference between analogue and digital image technologies is only one factor within a much larger context of continuities and transformations. In short, in order to assess the significance of new image technologies we also have to look at how images are used, by whom and for what purposes.249

Martin Lister

The more things change, the more they stay the same.250

French proverb noted by Alphonse Karr

“Digitizing” the Space of Personal Photography

In previous chapters I argued that personal photographs produced by women photographers generate meaning based on the physicality of their appearance, the character and circumstance of their recontextualization, and the spaces they are reconfigured and audenced in. In this chapter, I briefly explore the practices of personal photography by women using electronic image-making technologies. I begin first by examining the implications of recent research on electronic image-making devices by Gillian Rose, Risto Sarvas, and David Frohlich that suggest the simultaneous continuation and reconfiguration of gendered subject positions for family members adopting the use of electronic image-making devices to produce personal family photographs. From there I discuss Ariella


Azoulay’s civil contract of photography relating her key concepts of how photographers and photographs are controlled by copyright laws implemented by state. I then theorize the interpersonal relationship of photography that allows women to share personal images regardless of copyright and its relevance to the newly converging practices that allow women to use personal images online for audiencing in multiple configurations including, but not limited to, designing family albums, posting images in social network galleries, tagging, commenting, appropriating, reconfiguring, and archiving images of themselves, or others, for personal use. I embark on a preliminary examination of the electronic platforms that mediate the production and audiencing of personal photographs on Facebook, Flickr, and photoblogs. I use the social network spaces of two women to demonstrate how these platforms are used by these women to “do” things with their personal photographs and consider the possible consequences for their online identity formation. I argue that electronic image-making technologies and the economic infrastructures that support them, for example, digital cameras, laptop computers, photo printers, and Internet websites, duplicate older traditions for producing and audiencing personal images in private and public spaces, while fostering the emergence of new conventions and practices.

**Women, Personal Photography, and Electronic Display**

Although personal photography has survived a dynamic range of changes in the way electronic image-making technologies generate, collect, archive, and audience images, many of the reasons why women continue to engage in the practice of personal photography have stayed the same. Sarvas and Froehlich note in *From Snapshots to Social Media—The Changing Picture of Domestic Photography*, “We are indeed witnessing a great change in domestic photography: the constellation of technologies, businesses, conventions, practices, artifacts, etc. that constitute photography have changed.”

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251 Sarvas and Frohlich, 131.
Froehlich provide a review and analysis of recent literature and research on domestic photography production in Europe and the United States and examine the ways in which individuals in families and social groups use and provide electronic image-making technology to produce and disseminate personal images. They conclude that although more “individuals were acting as primary capturer, organizer, and display manager[s],” the role was usually taken up by “the adult parents of each family, with more mothers than fathers across the sample.” Further analysis indicates that mothers are more likely to take charge as a “display manager” of electronically-generated images, although they emphasize that “what it means to be a family is now different” in Western Europe and the North America because fathers have begun to take a more active role in raising their children. Their findings support early studies mentioned in Chapters One and Two on album making by Chalfen, Hirsch, Sarvas and Froehlich, Coe and Gates, Dahlgren, and Kunard that note how the tradition was continued by the matriarch of the family. Sarvas and Froehlich additionally show how the transition to digital image-making and sharing technology has facilitated a significant increase in the number of photographs individuals produce each year:

*The Kodak Annual Report* in 1998 reported that 2.2 billion rolls of film were consumed globally in 1997, which means that roughly 53-79 billion photographs for both professional and non-professional purposes (approx. 9-14 photographs per person, globally). Measuring the current number of photographs captured globally is much more difficult, because there is no measurable consumable such as rolls of film. To give some indication, in May 2010, the social network service Facebook was reported to be receiving 1 billion unique digital photography weekly (i.e., roughly 52 billion images a year). 

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253 Ibid, 131.
254 Ibid, 147.
255 Ibid, 142
In other words, the number of electronic images currently being archived on Facebook is almost the same number as it was for the entire global use for film based image-making thirteen years ago. Concurring with other researchers such as Rose and Lister, Sarvas and Froehlich also note the “reasons and motivations of people doing domestic photography have remained surprisingly constant.” From qualitative data generated by their respective studies, however, Sarvas, Froehlich, and Rose predict that the relationship women and others have to personal photography will ultimately change. Rose states:

My suspicion is that a really significant transition in family photography—one which will articulate changed subjectivities and a different relation to digital images—is likely to take place in another decade, when today’s teenagers who use social networking sites as a central part of their social relations and presentations of self become parents in their turn.

Rose’s predictions are confirmed by Neustaedter and Fedorovskaya’s 2009 study of twenty-two U.S. families adopting “different roles in family photography, according to their age, expertise, and gender.” The study revealed that although mothers overwhelmingly acted as “display managers,” other family members also participated “as primary capturers and organizers” and that large populations in emerging economies such as Brazil, China, India, Korea, Mexico, and Russia must be recognized for the way they may potentially change cultural practice of family photography. In other words, more members of the family, including children and teenagers were becoming involved with the production and archiving of digital images than in the past. This contrasts with the results of Rose’s 2001 study of personal photography using analog practices where she concluded that mothers were most often in charge of generating and

256 Ibid., 142.
257 Sarvas and Forhlich, 146.
258 Rose, Family Photographs and Domestic Spacing, 129.
260 Sarvas and Forhlich, page 131.
261 Ibid, 131.
262 Ibid, 170.
audiencing and that this type of “doing” constituted them as subjects based on their feelings of obligation to fulfill this particular domestic responsibility.263

What has changed though is the anxiety some users now have regarding privacy and sharing due to the “expanding access to their personal photographs,” and “new dilemmas such as how to control images of them taken by others.”264 Central for women to practice, distribute, and audience personal photographs in private and public spaces is the freedom they enjoy to do so without regulation. To understand better how women have been able to produce and share personal photographs with multiple audiences without restrictions since its formation as a cultural practice, I examine the contexts and regulations under which the unspoken permissions to do such have formed over time. First, I discuss the position of the state and the current legal position of the U.S. copyright law in context with Azoulay’s civil contract of photography—including its implications for the globalized production and audiencing of personal photographs in social network communities such as Facebook, Flickr, and photoblogs. Second, I examine the formation of what I will call the interpersonal contract of photography and its relevance to the relationships women have to the conventions and practices of socially producing, collecting, archiving, and audiencing personal images in multiple spaces without anxiety of any legal recourse.

The Interpersonal Contract of Photography

To begin, consider the situations when photographs are not personal, that is, for example, when they are conceptualized and executed for use as journalism, fashion, architectural, and commercial photography. In these situations the photographer as author retains all legal copyrights to an image for seventy years  

263 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 39.
264 Sarvas and Frohlich, 121.
past her or his death.\textsuperscript{265} For personal photographs generated within domestic and socially networked spaces of the home, familial groups, or the Internet, women are presumed, as demonstrated in Rose’s 2001 and 2010 studies,\textsuperscript{266} to have unrestricted permission to generate, collect, display and disseminate personal photographs as they please.

I start this examination by briefly reviewing how North American and European photographers benefit from the current copyright law that allows them to generate and share personal and professional photographs in public spaces. The right to take photographs of buildings, objects, and people in public spaces has long been a protected extension of freedom of speech dating back to 1890,\textsuperscript{267} and as a result the law has formed an awkward space where subjects of photographs are denied control over how their likenesses are used. According to Bert Krages, “Despite the importance that society places on personal privacy, the law imposes relatively few restrictions on photographing people.” He further explains, “Most confusion over the right to photograph people comes from failing to distinguish between the legal aspects of taking photographs and those of publishing them. The laws that protect against unauthorized publication are much broader than those that apply to taking photographs.”\textsuperscript{268} Krages’ observation is the pivotal point of departure that separates the conventions of professional and personal photography practices and audiencing.

This system flourishes, according Azoulay, because “to see more than they could alone, individuals had to align themselves with other individuals who

\textsuperscript{265} Copyright Law of the United States, “Pictorial, graphic, and sculptural works” include two-dimensional and three-dimensional works of fine, graphic, and applied art, photographs, prints and art reproductions, maps, globes, charts, diagrams, models, and technical drawings, including architectural plans….Copyright in a work created on or after January 1, 1978, subsists from its creation and, except as provided by the following subsections, endures for a term consisting of the life of the author and 70 years after the author’s death,” section 302, p 124. Web. 22 April, 2012.

\textsuperscript{266} Rose, 2001 and 2012.


would agree to share their visual field with one another.” Azoulay is speaking here specifically to the issue of media or newspaper photography and the leeway given to photojournalists to capture images of people in public spaces and then disseminate them in the media without the individual’s expressed permission. Azoulay terms this system the civil contract of photography, defining an important praxis of photographic production:

Photography reorganized what was accessible to the gaze, in the course of which everyone gained the opportunity to see through the gaze of another. In order to create this economy of gazes, each and every one had to renounce his or her right to preserve his own, autonomous visual field from external forces, but also acquired an obligation to defend the gaze in order to make it available for others to enter and intermingle. This was primarily the individual’s renunciation of ownership of “his” or “her” image or point of view, just as he or she was prepared to give away that image or to become one.270

In other words, for photographers such as photojournalists to continue taking images of anonymous people in public spaces for others to see in newspapers or magazines, everyone participates in the practice, agreeably or not, of conceding control over their likeness to the apparatus of the state and professional media organizations. Individuals increasingly became aware that in public spaces the photographer has more rights than they do. Azoulay states, “In the legal institutionalization of this encounter, the photographed individual has not been recognized as its owner, whereas the photographer who produces the image has been given legal rights.” Public citizens are often aware that professional and amateur photographers are taking capturing them in crowds while attending events such as basketball games or Fourth of July parades, yet they may be surprised when a local or national paper publishes an image of their likeness in the next day’s newspaper without seeking permission.

According to John Tagg, it was the emergence of the mechanical reproduction of images that allowed the penetrating powers of the state to

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269 Azoulay, 113.
270 Ibid., 113.
271 Ibid., 105.
regulate and control the movement of their citizens.272 While the state maintains and upholds the copyright laws that give photographers the right to generate an image of anyone venturing to a public space, personal photography managed to slip through the cracks of government control because of a “hierarchy of photographic practices” and “new legal and institutional definitions of instrumental and non-instrument representations.”273 The state was not interested in what women did with personal photographs in the privacy of their homes and in Tagg’s words, “the result was a structure of differences—between amateur and professional, instrumental and artistic—which was to become relatively fixed and in which popular practice was allotted a particular, subordinate place.”274 This structure of differences allowed women photographers to cultivate the practice of personal photography as we know it today.

The civil contract of photography is also the context for public photography projects funded by the state, for instance the Farm Security Administration. In the 1930s the U.S. Government hired professional photographers to document the lives of families displaced as result of growing economic depression in the United States. One of the photographic surveys conducted by the FSA produced the now famous image *Migrant Mother* taken by Dorothea Lange in winter of 1936275 [Figure A.27]. A second survey done by Margaret Bourke-White in the winter 1937276 generated the provocative image of homeless and out-of-work Africans Americans standing in line for food entitled “World’s Highest Standard of Living: There’s no way like the American Way.” Both Lange and Bourke-White had limited rights over what they could “do” with the images they produced because they were produced under an early iteration of

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273 Ibid., 20.
274 Ibid., 20.
the “Work For Hire”\textsuperscript{277} clause under the direct jurisdiction of the U.S. copyright law. The law continues to limit what can be done with professional photographs without a copyright release from the photographer who authors them. Even though Lange’s image came under unofficial scrutiny when the woman pictured in it, Florence Owens Thompson, a Cherokee Indian,\textsuperscript{278} claimed that Lange never asked permission to photograph her or her family and that Lange promised she would never publish it,\textsuperscript{279} at the time the picture was taken Thompson’s duty to comply was implicitly understood. The image was eventually released by the FSA to the public domain and I am able to publish the \textit{Migrant Mother} image in this dissertation without Thompson’s consent because I have permission from the Library of Congress.

While Azoulay’s examination reveals how photographers are allowed to photograph freely in public spaces and also how the copyright law enables the media and the state to maintain control of the right to publish and disseminate photographs of an individual’s likenesses without permission, she does not examine how the civil contract of photography \textsuperscript{280} affects the spaces for the production, collecting, archiving, and sharing of personal photographs. In particular, her research overlooks the special leeway mothers photographing in domestic spaces are given room to challenge the limits of the law when they “do” particular things with images like sharing them in greeting cards or posting them on the Internet without permission from the subjects the photographs represent. In a sense, mother’s exploit the implied understanding that they have intimate access to the family members they photograph that entitles them to “do” more things with the images they generate. Additionally, Azoulay overlooks the way

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\textsuperscript{277} Source: U.S. Copyright “Although the general rule is that the person who creates a work is the author of that work, there is an exception to that principle: the copyright law defines a category of works called “works made for hire.” If a work is “made for hire,” the employer, and not the employee, is considered the author. The employer may be a firm, an organization, or an individual.” Web. 1 February, 2012.


\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., 116.
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women engaging in the practice of personal photography appropriate the copyright of images made by others when they incorporate them in family albums or post them in social network spaces without giving the author credit. This in turn generates a new space, which I will call the interpersonal relationship of photography that simultaneously acknowledges the relinquishment of ownership by the person(s) being photographed as well as the copyright of the photographer snapping the shutter.

Maintaining agency over the creative production and dissemination of one’s likeness in these types of situations depends on the interpersonal relationships women photographers cultivate with their subjects during the photographic moment. I argue that the interpersonal contract of photography allows the community of women photographers, in particular mothers, grandmothers, wives, partners, and daughters acting as family historians, to be guaranteed continued access, free from restrictions or legal recourse, to produce and appropriate photographic representations of themselves, their children, and intimate members of the familial group as well as members of the local communities they live in.

“Doing” Things With Personal Photographs Stays the Same As It Changes

Over the past five years, “doing” things with personal photographs has changed the relationship some women have with the way they collect, archive, and audience the images they generate to integrate family members into the group. Different approaches to understanding what is happening as electronic image-making technologies replace older ways of generating photographs has recently emerged in academic scholarship. Martin Lister, on one hand, has theorized our current situation as a post-photography era, and computer generated imagery as “the age of electrobricolage.”281 His description invites the possibility of creativity

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and the option to tinker around with electronic images to see what can be done with them in new electronically generated spaces.

Jonathan Crary, on the other hand argues that digitized images reference the “mimetic capacities of film, photography, and television.”282 Crary’s approach suggests that users are limited in what they can do with electronic images because they ultimately, and always, refer back to the original moment of capture as a document of when the event took place in space and time. Lister and Crary though, are both alerting us to the way that the digitization of photographs has changed our interaction with making, sharing, and looking at photographs. Even when we engage with new digital technologies to render images that look like photographs, the reasons why we continue to generate and use them have remained the same for the past one hundred and seventy years. Taking a snapshot of one’s child’s birthday party serves the same function today as it did in the past, regardless of the camera technology one utilizes to make a visual trace (artifact) of the event.

Advertising on social media websites has also been a powerful regulatory influence on how women use social media networks and open source software to generate and share personal photographs. According to Lister, we should look closer at the institutions and new media social spaces that produce “the kinds of cultural continuity that runs through technological change”283 to discoverer how cultural practices from the past are being extended and transformed through their continued use in the present. Reinscribing Kodak’s North American and European practice of illustrating a young independent woman using the box camera to tell the story of her family’s collective history,284 new advertisers such as Snapfish (see further Sarvas, 2011) and MyPublisher feature images of contemporary women enjoying the easy-to-use online family album software programs. Women photographers making personal photographs with computer

283 Lister, 318.
284 West, 166.
generated images are once again interpellated\textsuperscript{285} by the strategies of online advertisements which fill the headers and sidebars on their Internet social media spaces.

In Internet spaces, women assimilate the culture of personal photography when they interact with online how-to tutorials, podcasts, and YouTube videos. These virtual classrooms provide step-by-step guidelines by showing Illustrations of women working in the visual space of photo album (photo book) design and production. The one-size-fits-all pre-designed templates provided by online album-making companies such as MyPublisher which I will examine in the following discussion, produce books that reproduce the domestic tradition of family album-making; (see further Chalfen, 1987; Hirsch, 1981; Batchen, 2002; Rose, 2011) thereby leaving little room for individual creativity, or ways to resist the technology’s disciplining architecture.

To better understand how changes in technology have influenced the way women photographers engage with the practice and production of personal photography in online spaces, I briefly examine how social networking spaces have changed the way women “do” things to personal photograph, yet in many ways stayed the same. I will then analyze the consequences of these technological characteristics for what is done with personal photographs, in the particular geographic spaces they are used, including MyPublisher, Facebook, Flickr, and Photoblogs. I will conclude with a summary of the influences that computer generated image-making has made to the practice and production of personal photography, including the implications for women as they continue the practice of personal photography in the future.

Photo Book(s)

Virtual photo-album-keeping practices embedded in social network spaces such as Facebook, Flickr, and Photoblogs gained popularity as a way to share personal imagery within social media networks extending beyond the physical space of the home. In other words, although new digital technologies changes the way everyone interfaces with the conventions and production of photographs, the particular practices of making, collecting, archiving, and displaying personal photographs generated by electronic devices continues to sustain an ideological connection to the basic tenants that originally formed it as a practice—integrating the familial group through visual evidence of proximity and cooperation. (Bourdieu, 1965; Chalfen, 1987; Hirsh, 1981; Batchen, 1987, 2002; Lister, 2007; Rose, 2001, 2011).

Digital photo books (family albums) are produced through the use of computer generated images that have been uploaded into an editing software platform that allow them to be organized, sequenced, or indexed with text and dates to identify people and places, and then dragged and dropped into pre-designed album templates. Many software templates have text-editing features that allow women to add family narratives to their online album pages just as they do with traditional analog albums. Written narratives are a normative part of the intimate story telling that occurs when mothers pass information on to their children regarding the meaning of their photographs (Rose, 2011) during family gatherings or special occasions are now managed by online text editing software.

Figure A.28 shows sections of an album made from snapshots of my parents’ that I designed on my laptop using free interactive Internet software provided by MyPublisher. To make the album, I uploaded personal photographs to MyPublisher’s website and then used their “vintage” template to generate an “authentic” simulation of a traditional family photo album. Although collecting, sorting, and scanning the images took many years to complete, the album itself took less than an hour to produce from the upload of images to the final
publishing of the photo book. MyPublisher produced a hardcopy of the book in their facility and shipped it to my house. Additionally, I was able to email a link of the online version of the book to family and friends which allows them to view it online and order their own copies if they so desire.

While many of the strategies women photographers engaged with in the past to make personal photographs have been extended as a valued part of our current new media culture, innovative forms of interacting with computer based photo-editing and image-enhancement software, such as Photoshop, Adobe Bridge, Lightroom, and Picasa, for example, have made it possible for anyone to publish or render hard-cover copies of virtual online family albums. Predesigned templates, I argue, discipline the way women produce family albums by restricting the options and limiting the aesthetics and physicality of the final product. As Rose indicated, the women in her study told her what was most important to them was what was done with their photographs to solidify familial relations, support maternal subjectivity, and generate a domestic space. 286 Today, websites such as, Snapfish,287 Shutterfly,288 Blurb,289 Mixbook,290 MyPublisher,291 and Lulu292 extend these features for individuals who do not engage with website development or know how to write code by providing them with easy ways to use platforms to design their family photo books, holiday greeting cards, and calendars that replicate and reproduce the objects closely associate with earlier analog practices of personal photography.

According to Lister, digital photography “has clearly shown us that even if the mechanical camera and chemical film are no longer involved, a practice and a form of image production persists that can be called photographic.”293 In other words, computer generated imagery is able to extend its participation in the cultural history of photography by the way it sustains continuity within our past

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286 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 58.
287 Snapfish. Web. 15 November, 2011
288 Shutterfly. Web 15 November, 2011, at 8:31 AM.
289 Blurb. Web. 15 November, 2011, at 8:33 AM.
291 MyPublisher. Web. 21, November, 2011, at 8:37 AM
292 Lulu. Web. 15 November, 2011, at 8:33 AM.
293 Lister, 318.
experiences of looking at and using photographs. The practices of looking at and doing something with, or to, personal photographs have continued to be a productive practice regardless of the technology used to produce them. The look of the family album has changed due to electronic technology, as I will demonstrate, but the cultural practices that formulate its production still persist.

**Sharing Personal Photographs in Social Online Spaces**

Facebook is an online space that reproduces many of the conventions women employ to “do” things to personal photographs such as organizing images by groups or by relationships, or by how and when they share their photos with family and friends. Personal photographs are uploaded to the Facebook platform in folders, or albums that require labeling with titles, locations, and tagging the image with the names of their Facebook friends. The ability to post family photographs in online albums through the use of social media networks such as MySpace, Facebook, and Twitter has allowed the family album to move beyond the geographic space of the home in ways that redefine what women photographers can “do” with personal photographs. Looking at what is done with photos, according to Rose, produces a “more complicated account of family photography’s domestic integration.”

Hannah Arendt has argued that “immortality means endurance in time, deathless life on this earth and in this world as it was given.” Her remarks suggest our need as humans to strive to overcome, through the work we do as political citizens, the motility and eventual death of our bodies. She further asserts that “the task of potential greatness of mortals lie in their ability to produce things—words and deeds and works.” Arendt’s comments provide one way of understanding what women “do” with the personal photographs they

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296 Arendt, 18.
generate based on what they think they will gain by posting their images in virtual spaces that have the potential to produce longevity. Even though virtual spaces are notoriously short lived and susceptible to being obsolete unless they are continually maintained, the impulse to act on the desire for longevity seems to be carried along by the idea that the more images we send out the more we will live on. One may encounter, again and again, the virtual infinity of a deceased friend’s website that has been locked out because the password protects it from being accessed by anyone other than the spaces’ administrator who may no longer be alive.

**Facebook, Flickr and Photoblogs**

In this part of my analysis I discuss how two women photographers use the platforms provided by Facebook, Flickr, and Photoblogs to reconfigure personal photographs made, collected, archived, displayed, and shared in virtual online albums. I focus on personal photographs posted in the social networks spaces of two women, Julie Fine, living in California, and Colleen Taugher, living in Idaho. I selected Fine and Taugher for this part of my project because they represent professional women who learned how to “do” things with personal photographs and family albums before the introduction of social networks like Facebook, which was launched as thefacebook.com February 4, 2004. I have a privileged view of what these women are “doing” with their images in Facebook, Flickr, and WordPress photoblog because I have access to their images as a member of their social network of friends. Without permission from Taugher and Fine, I am not able to observe the things they “do” to or with the personal photographs they store in the albums they construct and share with members of their selective network of online friends. What these women do with their electronic images through the act of reconfiguration may challenge earlier assumptions of how

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women are constituted by the practices they engage with while audiencing their images in public spaces.

In my Facebook album, where I posted an image I took of Julie Fine when she visited Marquette in the summer of 2010, I used the tagging application that simultaneously posted the image on Fine’s Facebook Wall and stored the image in her Facebook cloud album [Figure A.29]. Fine’s portrait is also stored on my external hard drive, in my Facebook cloud album, and archived on a DVD in my home storage system. Additionally, the Facebook platform allows Fine the ability to download the image as a JPEG file, at any time and for any reason without my permission. The file can then be printed on photo quality paper or attached in an email to share with anyone she chooses. The image has the potential for infinite reproduction. Having accepted Facebook’s end-user agreement contract regarding the sharing of images hosted on their platform when I became a member, I recognize that I have no control over what Fine or anyone else does with her/my image after it enters the Facebook cloud. At the date of this writing, Facebook allows me to track how many times the image has been shared with her Facebook friends, but it does not allow me to track how many times the image has been downloaded, or by whom. It remains to be seen if Facebook will comply with the demands of its members to know who is downloading the billions of JPEG files Facebook friends post every year.

Fine uses her Facebook page as a way to connect over distances since moving to Southern California from Boston for a new job. She also connects instantly with friends in the Midwest where she grew up by using the instant messenger program that was recently added to the Facebook platform. Fine posts personal photographs of sunsets, her visits to the beach, and various outdoor locations she travels to with her dog. Fine maintains forty-three personal Facebook Photo Albums holding three hundred and thirty six images. These albums are hidden from viewers on her Wall until they click on a small icon labeled Photos that launches the album folders into full view. The assortment of albums on the webpage all have labels including, Julie’s Albums on the top and Photos of Julie on the bottom. Clicking on the cover photo of a Facebook album
launches the images stored inside across the top of the monitor in one quick burst. Scrolling further down reveals images were Fine has been tagged in the image. These are sorted by years in descending order starting with 2012, 2011, 2009, etc. The two largest albums that hold ninety-two and ninety-four images are labeled *Mobile Uploads* and *Megan and Julie’s Awesome Adventure* and reproduce earlier conventions of album making that included the archiving and labeling of family photos. Other albums in her collection also include labels that correlate to the archiving women did in Rose’s 2001 study. Fine’s labels, *Laguna Beach, Getty Center, Graduation, Senior Prom 2009*, and *Summer*, provide a space for her to store personal and family memories conveniently in the cloud thereby allowing her to access them anywhere she can connect to the Internet.

Interestingly, the choice of images Fine includes in her personal Facebook albums do not conform to the practices and conventions used to define personal photography under the analogue system. Her personal photographs are not necessarily about her place in the hierarchy of her family. With the exception of three photographs (a black and white gelatin silver image of Fine as a child shown sitting next to her father, a recently produced image of her standing with a man with white hair, and an image showing her standing with her mother and nephew) the only images where she is not pictured along show her with: groups of women, with her daughter, or holding her dog and these are most often at the beach. Fine does not alter her images with photo editing software or add image enhancing plug-in treatments that are available to photo enthusiasts online. Her choice not to reconfigure her images in any way may be an example of Crary’s suggestion that users of electronic technologies are limited by the options available to them or that she is relying on their mimetic capacity to replicate older photographs generated with film and paper. Her images recall some of the earlier illustrations of the Kodak Girl advertisements featuring independent women exploring the world or standing on a sandy beach with the wind blowing at her back [Top right of Figure A.28 compared to the Kodak Girl in Figure A.7].

Through all periods of advertising women were often pictured as the primary person responsible for narrating the visual history of the family. Women
were never encouraged by Kodak to turn the cameras on themselves to make self-portraits. Photographers such as Cindy Sherman, Lorna Simpson, Joe Spence, and Nan Golden have demonstrated that self-portraits can deconstruct or reaffirm gendered, raced, and ethnic identities. Diane Neumaier states that photographic self-representation is “a vigilant response to oppressive patriarchal methods of representation.” Neumaier further adds, “clearly, the issue of self-representation is not restricted to literal self-portraiture. The issue is not what one looks like but how and by whom one is represented.” A review of Fine’s three years of participating in Facebook’s online social networking shows that she is defining her place in the visual world of self-representations as an independent woman who enjoys the outdoors as well as the company of female friends, her daughter, and her dog.

Colleen Taughers uses the interchangeability of Facebook, Flicker, and a WordPress photoblog to share personal photographs representing a complex-mix of domestic, personal, and professional narratives with her interpersonal network of friends and professional associates on the Internet [Figure A.30]. Inside Taughers’s Facebook Wall, in a hyperlink labeled Colleen Taugher Photo Albums, are computer generated representations of her looking at the spectators who visit her Facebook page. The electronic self-representations she posts in her albums have been generated by digital cameras as well as web-cameras from her laptop computer.

Taugher’s personal Facebook page also archives images representing places she has visited for work or representations of the social networks or groups she follows, such as the close-up image of a Packers football helmet. These electronically generated images are part of her personal album labeled Profile Pictures, one of nine photo albums she archives on Facebook’s cloud server; in total they archive 95 images. Taugher has labeled her albums Travel, Ruby, Summer, Ecuador in Washington State, First Day of Spring 09, and Garden. Like Fine, Taugher uses the cloud storage space provided by Facebook to

\[298\] Neumaier, 1.
\[299\] Ibid., 3.
organize, label, and share her personal images with family and friends thereby eliminating the clutter of boxes and dresser drawers of single photographs shifting aimlessly in her home waiting to be sequenced and placed in photo albums. One of the limitations of storing one’s images in online photo albums is not being able to access them without a computer or connection to the Internet.

In her *Travel* album, Taugher displays self-representations posing with groups of people in Kabul, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Guinea-Bissau, Oregon, Volcanos National Park, Rwanda, Brussels, Belgium, and Ecuador. Taugher is only occasionally seen with family members such as her sister, husband, or sons. The other images represent her posing with one or two individuals who are usually also facing the camera smiling. There are also photographs of Taugher standing alone, facing the camera, and in the background spectators can see the exotic landscapes of the places she visits for her professional position as an Information Designer. For example in Figure A.30, she is shown feeding two giraffes.

At her professional university position Taugher is responsible for “launching a rural telecenter project in Rwanda that helps coffee farmers communicate with one another and with their international buyers.” Taugher’s ability to share images of the people she works with in so many countries is due to the wide-spread acceptance of the interpersonal contract of photography due to world-wide enculturation through mass marketing of the conventions and practices for posing and sharing personal photographs. Around the world cameras are used to generate millions of images each year which creates “a new form of encounter, an encounter between people who take, watch, and show other people’s photographs, with or without their consent.”

As a woman Taugher calls on the domestic authority given to her to as a photographer to visually author and document her visits to the exotic places she travels to for work with the authority given to her through the interpersonal

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301 Azoulay, 24.
302 Azoulay, 24.
contract of photography. The same privileged authority allows her to produce and audience her personal photographs online without the expressed permission of the individuals she photographs. In other words, Taugher collects self-representations and the visual documents of others she encounters during her travels around the world without resistance from the authorities within the countries she enters. Taugher is not responsible for sharing the names of the individuals represented in her personal photographs with the spectators who view them, nor is she required to reveal the names of individuals who used her camera to produce the images showing her posing with the people she visited. Posting her travel photographs on her Facebook Wall resonates with the images of Fine that recall the adventurous carefree Kodak Girl of the past [Figure A-7].

An example of how Taugher participates in the interpersonal contract of photography can be seen in an image taken of Taugher in Kabul, Afghanistan.303 Taugher is represented standing in the middle of a group of nineteen people. The only information given to Facebook spectators about the photograph are Taugher’s words that appear under the image, “Following training I conducted at Kabul Medical University.”304 With light colored skin and red hair, she stands in the middle of the front row where four other women in the group are posing on the steps in front of a gray and black tiled institutional looking building. All the women are wearing head-scarfs. Taugher’s head-scarf though is the most colorful, with red and violet stripes. It stands out in the group especially when compared to the solid colors the other women are wearing, three women in black, and one woman in a pastel lavender version. There is no indication of who took the photograph, copyright credit, or what date the image was taken. Taugher falls back on her understanding of interpersonal contract of photography to mediate

303 Colleen Taugher. Although I have been given permission from Colleen Taugher to use the images posted on her Facebook page for this dissertation, I have chosen not to show the image her discussed above because I do not have permission from the individuals pictured in it to do such. You can view the image at: <http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1091197442517&set=a.1091197202511.2015919.1303944327&type=3&theater>, accessed. Web. 22 November, 2011.
the final use of the snapshots she took with traveling to distribute them when she
returns.

This image contrasts with another personal photograph representing
Taugher sitting with two Ethiopian women having tea. Two large paintings,
one depicting people of color dressed in clothing with geometric designs are
sitting close together in a circle the ground, and another painting showing a
woman of color in a stately profile pose, are displayed on the walls behind the
seated women. One of the Ethiopian women has her head and the top half of her
body draped in a white silky-fabric as she pours a cup of tea for Taugher who is
leaning shoulder-to-shoulder with a third women dressed in a brightly colored
Western tee-shirt and capris style blue jeans. All three women are sitting on
compact sofas upholstered in dark brown and umbra hues. Taugher and the
Ethiopian woman dressed in Western attire are smiling up enthusiastically for
the unidentified person standing behind the camera. Again, the only information
Taugher provides spectators about the image is the text typed under it, “Muya
Ethiopia”. Taugher is the only person tagged in this image. Tagging is a way
for members of Facebook to “let people know when they’re in photos you
share.” Sarvas and Frohlich make references to the shift in peoples “attitudes
toward the privacy of personal data in their research when they state:

Social networking services and other Web services let people make
available information such as their name, photograph, address, previous
schools and employees, and so on. The motivation for doing so is for
people to find each other on the Internet and to keep in touch with those
people. However the ownership of the information and rights of the
service provider to use the data for its own purposes are less celebrated
and often are hidden in the legal language of an end-user license
agreement...In summary, the service provider uses the personal data to
target advertisements and personalize the service, and the user uses the
personal data to find and interact with other people (e.g., by uploading
photographs), and also to personalize the service to work better for him or
her.308

306 Ibid.
308 Servas and Frohlich, 166.
As a Facebook user since 2005, my assumption is that the members of the group in the image taken in Afghanistan, as well as the image of the two women in Taughér’s personal photograph from Ethiopia, may not have Facebook accounts therefore they are not able to be tagged. Or, Taughér may not want to share more precise information about when the images were taken or the real identities of the men and women represented in her personal travel photographs. Again, the interpersonal contract of photography allows Taughér to generate snapshots and transport them across global boundaries to the US where she mobilizes them in her online Facebook album for global audiencing.

Taughér also audiences visual representations of herself participating in sporting activities or with family members celebrating special occasions like her son’s graduation from college in her Facebook album labeled Wall Photos. The phrase Wall Photos is Facebook’s label for personal photographs posted by members on their Facebook Wall, or on the opening page spectators view while visiting “friends”’ pages. Personal photographs taken at home or on trips to foreign countries are archived in her Facebook photo albums as well as hosted in sets on her Flickr account and, they are additionally inserted into narratives on her personal WordPress photoblog “Connecting Places.”

Flickr is an online “photo management and sharing application,” where you can “show your favorite photos and videos to the world, securely.” Unlike Facebook and Flicker, WordPress does not limit the number of spectators who can view Taughér’s images. However the platform does require viewers to subscribe to the WordPress feed in order to place a comment on her blog. Taughér archives 71 sets of images on Flickr which are sorted into albums containing 2,764 personal images, and thirty videos. Taughér is able to limit access to the sets through the process of accepting or denying contact’s access to her Flickr account.

Taughér’s WordPress photoblog on the other hand is viewable by anyone, at anytime, anywhere there is internet access. Unlike her personal photo albums

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on Facebook and Flickr, where her Facebook friends, or contacts at large, are left to interpret the meanings and contexts on their own terms, the images on her “Connecting Places” photoblog have detailed texts that describe what is happening, where they were taken, and in most cases who is represented in them. Taugher also provides rich background information on the cultural importance of the work she is doing and the experiences she is having in the places she is pictured in. In Figure A.31, a snapshot taken in Kazakhstan, Taugher can be seen interacting with a group of people at a long table filled with plates of cookies and other desserts. Spectators are not informed about who took the photograph but are able to see that the photographer has gotten up to stand at the end of the table to snap the image. The narrative, posted under the heading “A Little Culture Lesson,” was posted on December 14, 2009 and states:

There are all kinds of protocols for respect and authority. Even though we had important guests, there is no doubt that Gulnara (Director of the Institute of Botany) was running the show. You can see that she is in charge because of her special-fancy tea cup distinguishing her from the rest of us.  

The image is interactive and under it appears the words, “check out the tea cups to see who is in charge,” which is intended to entice spectators to right-click on the photo to enlarge it. Once the image is activated, spectators are transported instantly via a hyperlink to an enlarged version of the image posted in a set of other images from Kazakhstan archived on her Flickr account. Although Taugher has hyperlinks to her Flickr website where personal images of her domestic and family life are archived in her album sets, she does not include any photographs representing her private family or social life on her “Connecting Places” photoblog. It appears that the personal snapshots she takes while traveling are used only to support her professional identity when she uses them on her photoblog.

311 Ibid.
Conclusion

This dissertation has examined salient instances of what women “do” with personal photographs and the relationships they have formed over time with the practice by analyzing how they work as authors but also as collectors, archivists, and family and cultural historians. First, it reviewed the critical work done on family and personal photography by Brian Coe and Paul Gates (1977), Richard Chalfen (1987), Gillian Rose (2001, 2011), Pierre Bourdieu (1965), Naomi Rosenblum (2010), Nancy Martha West (2000), and Patricia Holland (1996) that demonstrates that “doing” personal photography is gendered because it is overwhelmingly undertaken by women at home312 and thus the practice has become devalued or dismissed313 by men as official historians. Additionally, I discuss how the private and public the spaces personal photographs are produced, archived, and audience in affect how personal photographs get looked at.

Second, this dissertation further examined how commercial actors such as Eastman Kodak Company helped shape the emergence of photography with the introduction of its easy-to-use image-making technologies and in particular by the rise of the family album as it migrated from Stammbuch to carte-de-visite to sentiment albums. These cultural practices used predominantly by women demonstrate how the corporate message about family album-making and history-keeping promoted by Eastman Kodak was able to find its place so quickly in American and European societies at the turn of the twentieth century. I demonstrated how several examples of Eastman Kodak advertisements taken from the Duke University Digital Collections and the Martha Cooper KodakGirl.com collection illustrate the claims made by Chalfen and West that the practice of producing, displaying, and sharing personal photographs is directly connected to the visual messages promoted by Eastman Kodak’s marketing

312 Rose, Doing Family Photography, 6.
313 Rosenblum, 7.
strategies. I concurred that the Kodak Girl advertisements communicated to women George Eastman’s notion of how they should use his Brownie cameras to pose family members in pleasing arrangements that demonstrated happy memories of integrated familial relationships, at least for affluent middle-class white women. I also posited that for other women, including mixed raced African American and American Indian women such as bell hooks or mixed race Native American and French women like my grandmother, other practices of “doing” things with personal photographs emerged as a way to reframe or redefine their contested, marginalized or hidden raced, ethnic and cultural identities.

Third, this dissertation examined how Christine Saari, Fern Logan, and Katie Knight recontextualize their personal photographs to provide an alternative approach to family album making by deploying hybrid practices to reconfigure both the physicality and meaning of their images. Each woman is an example of a photographer who actively seeks to redefine herself while simultaneously using her reconfigurations to make sense of the society she lives in, especially the parts of their identities and histories that have been marginalized, hidden or repressed. Each of these women has capitalized on the practices and conventions that define the genres of personal and fine art photography by deploying them as tools to constitute visual identities that reveal their gender, race, and ethnicity on their own terms.

Finally in Chapter Four, I briefly examined how the platforms of Facebook, Flickr and WordPress photoblog integrate the practice of personal photography into Internet spaces. I reviewed the research of Gillian Rose, Risto Sarvas and David Frohlich that suggests the simultaneous continuation and reconfiguration of the subject positions of women who use personal images to define their identities online. I propose it is the interpersonal contract of photography that allows them to do so regardless of copyright, and I discuss its relevance to generating and sharing images in public spaces. The social network sites used by Julie Fine and Colleen Taugher provide examples of how these sites duplicate

314 Chalfen, 40-43.
315 Trachenberg, xvi.
older traditions of album-making and image-sharing while fostering the emergence of new conventions and practices.

Throughout this research the argument has been that it is the meanings personal photographs produce based on the spaces they are generated and audioned in, the physicality of their appearance, and what is done with them by the women who use them to reframe and redefine their gendered, racial and ethnic identities that constitutes the possibilities of personal photography as a particular type of practice. According to Holland, “those who had been hidden from history—women, black people, working-class people, and many minorities—insisted on writing their own histories that ran counter to the dominant view of events, and they used personal photographs as a part of the process.”316 By recontextualizing, reconfiguring and relocating the personal photographs in their family albums, Saari, Logan, and Knight provide revisionist histories constructed with images that redefine their gendered, racial, ethnic, and cultural identities. Each of these women have capitalized on the practices and conventions that define the genres of personal and fine art photography and deployed them as tools to constitute their unique individual points of view.

In her family’s European and American archive, Saari has demonstrated how women can generate sites of resistance to overcome the way their “stories have been concealed by the conventional ways of recording history.”317 Her personal photographs, mixed together with the snapshots her mother and the numerous authorless images made by wartime visitors to the farm, form a collective witness of the everyday lives of wartime women, children, and the elderly. Her work (re)tells the story of other German and Austrian families by recreating domestic spaces using reconfigured family albums placed on original farmhouse tables covered with her grandmother’s tablecloths in the Hayloft Gallery at her family’s farm, Hirschengut, in Upper Austria. At a presentation Saari made to a Midwest university photography class where the pieces were on exhibit, I overheard a student thanking Saari for sharing her story because he had

316 Holland, 150.
317 Ibid., 150.
never considered that Nazi soldiers had mothers, wives, or daughters. Saari’s visual autobiography is an example of what Holland calls a “self-expression based on settling accounts with the past.”

Logan in turn uses family snapshots to mutually constitute her gendered and racial identity in American society. Additionally, she disrupts the accepted conventions of the exhibition space as she engages spectators to consider family snapshots as hybrid objects as well as a vehicle to deliver messages regarding the subtle ways racist segregation permeates the everyday lives of people of color. Logan combines the conventions of personal and fine art photography to challenge dominant representations of people of color by including their personal lives as a part of the dialogue of who they are. The image of Logan’s mother wearing the fur jacket in Daddy Took The Picture can be compared with Willis’ description of James Van Der Zee’s iconic 1932 photograph Raccoon Couple picturing a Harlem couple dressed in full-length raccoon coats standing in front of a car parked on a Harlem street. “I imagined as I saw this photograph on the walls of the Met, that life during the Harlem Renaissance must have been vibrant, supportive, and prideful” writes Willis in the introduction to Picturing US: African American Identity in Photography. Logan’s reconfigurations of personal photographs are particularly significant because these types of images were long missing from our public archives. Similarly, Logan’s Daddy Took The Picture, is an example of how families of color use personal photographs to define themselves in terms of class and family in the same way that other non-African families have for generations. As families of color gained access to economic and political freedom, they used the practice of personal photography to negate stereotypical representations as single parent families and also as a way to insure the survival of familiar memories for future generations.

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319 Holland, 154.
320 Willis, 9.
Knight co-opts the traditional practices and conventions of personal and fine art photography and transforms their meaning by exploiting the public space of exhibition to reconfigure her own identity as a women photographer, biological and adoptive mother of mixed raced children and as an artist and educator. Knight’s hand colored and three-dimensional work reminds spectators that all families are bound together regardless of race, politics, or geographical boundaries while at the same time focusing on the inequity of economic distribution between first and third world populations. Her installations disrupt the hegemonic narrative of who we are as women, mothers, families, and members of the community of the world. Knight uses images of her mixed race son to evoke and respond to cultural attitudes toward black males. She uncovers the racial and ethnic realities that she faces as a mother raising a mixed race male child in a society that provides fewer opportunities to people of color by exhibiting along with her work data that support her responses.

Finally online photo archiving sites like Facebook and Flickr and online photo printing and album production servers such as Snapfish, Blurb, MyPublisher, and LuLu have made personal image-making and family history construction for women photographers more popular than at any other time in the history of photography. These new platforms have yet to be thoroughly analyzed with the same scrutiny by scholars as other forms of photographic practice. As photoblogging gains more popularity, it may begin to infuse older traditions of domestic album making and labeling with richer narratives that reveal the ‘real lives’ of women in more complex ways. Ethnographer Kris Cohen writes that “photobloggers question what a photograph of someone self-composed and smiling (aware of themselves as a photographic image) is actually a photograph of.”321 Her study of thirty photobloggers using electronic devices to generate and post personal photographs online accompanied by narratives, revealed some similarities to the research done by Rose, Sarvas, and Froehlich.

From this exploratory research there is evidence on both sides of the argument that electronic image making is trying to take us back to the old mold, but at the same time it may encourage innovation by generating a certain type of public space that moves beyond the display of family photographs to family and friends. My brief survey shows that some women are now sharing more images of themselves that picture them “doing” non-domestic activities outside the home. How are the practices of displaying and sharing personal images that constitute women as photographers in online communities the same and yet different from older analog practices? What can we learn from observing personal photographs in online spaces about the impact they have on constituting the visual or virtual space of the home? Finally, has digital technology’s capacity to expedite the taking, processing, and sharing of personal photographs changed the way some women picture their families, the communities they live in, and their own bodies? Future research may also suggest whether “doing” things to personal photographs continues to be an important way for women to define, refine, and reconfigure their identities in the global communities they interact with outside the domestic spaces of family and home.

What has remained constant thus far throughout photographic history is the unique gendered relationship women have been afforded through their association with the production or “doing” and sharing of personal photographs. From this point forward, what happens to the practice of personal photography depends to a greater extent on what women want it to do for them as the practice continues to migrate into virtual spaces outside the privacy of the home. Considering the myriad of cultural and political forces, as well as the possibilities for sites of resistance that may occur as personal photography encounters technological advancements, the final space for its production in the lives of the women who practice it may well depend on how these converging forces merge or continue along on their individual paths. The closing of Eastman Kodak in January, 2012 after operating for more than one hundred and thirty two years is an indication that the era of electronic image-making is an unpredictable space, one that cannot be counted on to support status-quo hierarchies as has been the
case in the past. Commenting on the collapse of Eastman Kodak to the *Detroit Free Press* reporter Ben Dobbin, Ryerson University of Toronto photography professor Robert Burley stated “Kodak played a role in pretty much everyone’s life in the Twentieth Century because it was the company we entrusted our most treasured possessions to—our memories.” According to Sarvas and Forhlich, personal photography in the era of electronic technology is less about reifying the relationships and integration of the family as one happy group and increasingly more about the act of capturing and sharing images “for social bonding, communication, and demonstrating a specific identity than preserving memories.” Without the infrastructure of Eastman Kodak’s advertising to instruct women on how to become keepers of family history and assemblers of albums that archive their treasured family memories, personal photography has the potential to become a practice more fully determined by the women who use it instead of the hegemonic institutions looking for financial gain. The challenge for women in the future will be identifying image-making devices, image enhancement software and online sharing platforms that enhance and advance their creativity and expertise as photographers, storytellers, and authors of their unique racial, ethnic, and cultural identities.

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323 Sarvas and Frohlich, 148.


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Figure A.1: All Outdoors Invites Your Kodak
1911 example of an Eastman Kodak magazine advertisement showing a woman holding a Kodak camera. Duke University Libraries Digital Collection. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0129. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.2: The Simple, Kodak Way
1911 advertisement in *Country Life in America* magazine showing woman demonstrating the simplicity of processing film at home with the Kodak film developing tank. Duke University Libraries Digital Collection. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0137. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.3: 'Tis Kodak Simplicity
Kodak advertisement showing simplicity and fashion fused together. Duke University Libraries Digital Collection. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0024. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.4: All Out-doors invites your Kodak
Kodak advertisement showing how women could experience the world with their children outside the home with a Kodak camera. Duke University Libraries Digital Collection. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0125. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.5: Eastman Kodak Co's Brownie Camera
1900 advertisement in *Youth’s Companion* magazine. Duke University Libraries Digital Collection. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0430. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.6: The Kodak Girl
1914 *Ladies’ World* advertisement. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0511. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.7: The Kodak Story
1914 *Ladies' World* advertisement connecting story telling by women to album making. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0477. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.8: The Kodak
1923 Kodak advertisement in *Outing Magazine* appealing to white middle-class women. Reproduced with the kind permission of Duke University Libraries, Digital Collection, eaa_k0520. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.9: Carte-de-Visite of Scholastic Giroux Riel Parsonault
My great-great-grandmother. “There is an Indian hidden in that trunk.”
Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Garceau. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.10: Hayloft Gallery in Steinback an der Steyr, Austria
Photo by Christine Garceau. The Hayloft Gallery in Steinback an der Steyr, Austria houses a series of installations that recreate the domestic space of home but also reveal a different narrative of war. The Stag, a symbol of Hirschengut farm, has remained with the farm since 1938. Top—*Then and Again Album*. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.11: Letters From My Grandmother
Photograph by Christine Saari. Letters From My Grandmother, made from recycled medicine cabinet, fabric, photographs, and letters. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.12: Family Albums at Hirschengut Farm
Figure A:13: Make Love Not War I
Photograph by Christine Saari. Make Love Not War I—From the Eastern Front: Letters from a German Soldier to his five-year old Daughter, January –April 1944. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.14: Make Love Not War II
Photograph by Christine Saari. Make Love Not War II—From the European Theatre: Letters from an American Soldier to his American Family, January 1943-August 1945. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.15: Make Love Not War III
Photograph by Christine Saari. Make Love Not War III—Courtship Letters: From the German Soldier’s Daughter to the American Soldier’s Son, September 1961-January 1964. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.16: Then and Again
Photographic reproduction of *Then and Again: Hirschengut Through the Generations* made by Christine Garceau while album was on display at Christine Saari’s studio in Marquette, Michigan, February, 2010. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.17: Hirschengut Farm with Brownie Camera

Christine Saari at Hirschengut farm in Steinback an der Steyr, Austria holding the original Kodak No. 2 Brownie camera used by her mother and visitors to take the images Saari uses today in her reconfigurations. Photographs taken by Christine Garceau, May, 2011. Reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Garceau and Christine Saari. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.18: Lil Fern

Gum bichromate print by Fern Logan. Lil Fern: From Memories in Non-silver, 1986. Reprinted with the kind permission of Fern Logan. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A:19: Coney Island

Gum bichromate print by Fern Logan. *Coney Island: From Memories in Non-silver, 1986*. Reprinted with the kind permission of Fern Logan. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.20: Daddy Took The Picture, Family Album

Screenshot

Gum bichromate print by Fern Logan. *Daddy Took the Picture: From Memories in Non-silver*, 1986. Reprinted with the kind permission of Fern Logan. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.21: To Peace (Jika sleeping)

Photograph by Katie Knight. *To Peace (Jika sleeping).* Silver gelatin print colored with lithography inks. Exhibited at the Holter Museum of Art. Reprinted with the kind permission of Katie Knight. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.22: Water Source (Jika discovers)

Photograph by Katie Knight. *Water Source (Jika discovers).* Silver gelatin print colored with lithography inks. Exhibited at:
<http://www.katieknight.net/Site/Projects/Pages/Handpainted_Photos.html#0>
. Reprinted with the kind permission of Katie Knight. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.23: Jikizizwe Diptych

Photographs by Katie Knight. Top: *Jikizizwe and his Father One Day-old, 1979*
Bottom: *Self-portrait with my son, Jikizizwe, 1979*
Silver gelatin prints exhibited at Rocky Mountain College, Billings, Montana.

Reprinted with the kind permission of Katie Knight. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.24: What Hangs in the Balance? (1)
Photograph by Katie Knight. *What Hangs in the Balance?* (1) Mixed media installation at Rocky Mountain College, Billings, Montana. Reprinted with the kind permission of Katie Knight. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.25: What Hangs in the Balance? (2)
Photograph by Katie Knight. What Hangs in the Balance? (2) Mixed media installation at Custer County Art and Heritage Center, Miles City, Montana, 2006. Reprinted with the kind permission of Katie Knight. See permission in Appendix B
Figure A.26: What Hangs in the Balance? (3)
Figure A.27: Migrant Mother
*Migrant Mother* by Dorothea Lange. Taken in the winter of 1937. Reprinted under the fair guidelines of the U.S. Farm Security commission. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.28: Family Album Screenshot
Screenshots from MyPublisher.com platform showing design for Christine Garceau’s *Vintage* album layout with Facebook social network visible in background in middle section. Family album reprinted with the kind permission of Christine Garceau. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.29: Screenshot—Julie Fine's Facebook Album
Screenshots of Julie Fine's Facebook page. Reprinted with the kind permission of Julie Fine. See permission in Appendix B.
**Figure A.30: Colleen Taugher Screenshots**
Screenshots of Colleen Taugher’s social network spaces. Top left—Wordpress photoblog, top right—Flickr account, bottom four images—Facebook photo albums. Reprinted with the kind permission of Colleen Taugher. See permission in Appendix B.
Figure A.31: "A Little Culture Lesson"
“A Little Culture Lesson.” Screenshot from Colleen Taugher’s WordPress photoblog. Reprinted with the kind permission of Colleen Taugher. See permission in Appendix B.
Appendix B
Permissions

1. The following email messages are from Lynne Eaton, and Liz Shesko at the Hartman Center Reference Archivist at the Duke University Libraries at the Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library in Durham, North Carolina.

Regarding Permission for the following advertisements and corresponding figures:

Figure A.1  (Eaa_K0129) All out-door invites your Kodak
Figure A.2  (Eaa_K0137) The Simple, Kodak Way
Figure A.3  (Eaa_K0024) 'Tis Kodak Simplicity
Figure A.4  (Eaa_K0125) All out-doors invites your Kodak
Figure A.5  (Eaa_K0511) The Kodak Girl
Figure A.6  (Eaa_K-430) Eastman Kodak Co Brownie
Figure A.7  (Eaa_K0477) The Kodak Story
Figure A.8  (Eaa_K0520) The Kodak

>Regarding Dissertation Permission for Kodak Girl Advertisements.
>January 11, 2011 Liz Shesko, Reference Intern wrote:

Dear Christine,

I'm attaching your permission document. Please let me know if the list of images that you are using has changed, if you note any errors in the publication information, or if you'd like me to use a different address.

Best,
Liz

>Christine Garceau wrote to Liz Shesko (Reference Intern) on January 11, 2012 
cgarceau@gmail.com

Dear Liz,

Thank you for responding to my request to use the Kodak Girl advertisements so quickly. I do not remember an 'extenso' contract being discussed or included as a part of my original request from last summer.

By all means, please put all the images on the same list and here is the title for my
The research in Chapters One and Two of my dissertation includes an examination of how Kodak advertising helped domesticate personal photography. (following the research of Nancy Martha West in "Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia" and the Kodak Girl Collection of Martha Cooper posted on KodakGirl.com).

Thank you for your help in facilitating my request for permission to use images in your archive to support my dissertation project.

Best,
Christine
The following message is from Martha Cooper, the administrator of the KodakGirl.com website. (Her kind permission to reference the Kodak Girl images from her private collection posted on her website in the literature review and informal research section of my dissertation in Chapter Two). Re: Dissertation Permissions for: <http://www.kodakgirl.com/kodakgirlsframe.htm>, 8 January, 2012.

>From: kodakgirl@rcn.com  
>To: cgarceau@gmail.com

Hi,  
Thanks for your email. Sure--I'm happy if you mention my Kodakgirl website. Also I have a book coming out soon called Kodakgirl published by Steidl in Germany< http://www.steidville.com/books/1241-Kodak-Girl-From-the-Martha-Cooper-Collection.html>.  

Unfortunately I haven't updated my site in years. I now have a lot more interesting images including some wonderful images of Kodak Girls in India wearing striped saris.

Best,  
Martha (aka Kodakgirl)

>Christine Garceau wrote on January 8, 2012:

Dear Martha,  

Thank you for supporting such a valuable resources on Kodak Girl advertising. Your dedication is amazing and inspirational.

I am currently finishing a Ph.D. in Rhetoric and Technical Communication at Michigan Technological University in Houghton, Michigan. My dissertation, *Interrogating the Spaces of Personal Photography: Women, Identity, and the Cultural Formation of Photographic Practice*, includes a chapter that examines how the Kodak Girl advertisements taught women to become domestic photographers.

Much of my research has come from the archives of Duke University. I would like to be able to mention your website as a valuable resource in my dissertation, and I hope you will agree to let me do as much. If you agree, please respond to this email at your earliest convenience.

Best Regards,  
Christine Garceau
3. The following correspondence is from Christine Saari for her kind permission to reproduce:

Figure A.10: Hayloft Gallery, Figure A.11: Letters From My Grandmother, Figure A.12: Family albums at Hirschengut Farm, Figure A.13: Make Love Not War I, Figure A.14: Make Love Not War II, Figure A.15: Make Love Not War III, Figure A.16: Then and Again, and Figure A.17: Hirschengut Farm with Christine Saari holding Kodak Brownie Camera.

Permission 3: Christine Saari.
4. The following correspondence is from Fern Logan for her kind permission to reproduce:

Figure A.18: Lil Fern, Figure A.19 Coney Island, and Figure A.20: Daddy Took the Picture.

Permission 4: Fern Logan.
The following email correspondence is from Katie Knight for her kind permission to reproduce:

Figure A.21: To Peace (Jika sleeping), Figure A.22: Water Source (Jika discovers), Figure A.23: Jikizizwe One Day-old, and his Father, Figure A.24: What Hangs in the Balance? (1), Figure A.25: What Hangs in the Balance? (2), and Figure A.26: What Hangs in the Balance? (3).

Permission 2: Katie Knight
6. The following is the information posted at the U.S. Farm Security commission website <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8b29516/>, and <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/195_copr.html#question1>, defining open use for Dorothea Lange’s *Migrant Mother* photograph because it was created while she was a government employee: accessed April 17, 2012 at 8:33 PM.

Figure A.27: Migrant Mother by Dorothea Lange

- Title: Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California
- Other Title: Migrant mother.
- Creator(s): Lange, Dorothea, photographer
- Date Created/Published: 1936 Feb. or Mar.
- Medium: 1 negative : nitrate ; 4 x 5 in.
- Summary: Photograph shows Florence Thompson with three of her children in a photograph known as "Migrant Mother." For background information, see "Dorothea Lange's Migrant Mother' photographs ..." http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/list/128_migm.html
- Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-fsa-8b29516 (digital file from original neg.) LC-DIG-ppmsca-12883 (digital file from print, pre-conservation) LC-DIG-ppmsca-23845 (digital file from print, post-conservation) LC-USF34-T01-009058-C (b&w film dup. neg.) LC-USZ62-95653 ((b&w film copy neg. of an unretouched file, showing thumb)
- **Rights Advisory:** No known restrictions. For information, see U.S. Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Black & White.
- Most photographs in this collection are considered to be in the public domain; however, labels on a few images indicate that they may be restricted. Privacy and publicity rights may also apply.
- **Reproduction (photocopying, hand-held camera copying, photoduplication and other forms of copying allowed by "fair use"):** Permitted; subject to P&P policy on copying.
- **Publication and other forms of distribution:** Permitted. Most photographs in this collection were taken by photographers working for the U.S. Government. Work by the U.S. Government is not eligible for copyright protection (see page 5 of the Copyright Office’s Circular 1, "Copyright Basics").
7. The following correspondence is from Christine Garceau for permission to reproduce:

Figure A.9: Carte-de-visite of Scholastic Giroux Riel Parsonault, Figure A.17: Photographs of Christine Saari at Hirschengut Farm, and figure A.28: Family Album Screenshot.

From Christine Garceau

April 17, 2012 at 9:09 PM.

I give my permission to reprint the family photograph of my great-great-grandmother Scholastic Giroux Riel Parsonault and the photographs taken by me of Christine Saari at the Hayloft Gallery at Hirschengut Farm in Interrogating the *Spaces of Personal Photography: Women, Identity, and the Cultural Formation of Photographic Practice.*
8. The following correspondence is from Julie Fine for kind permission to reproduce:

Figure A.29: Julie Fine's Facebook Album.

Permission 3: Julie Fine's Facebook Page
The following correspondence is from Colleen Taugher for her kind permission to reproduce:

Figure A.30, Screenshots of Colleen Taugher’s WordPress Photoblog, Flickr, and Facebook Pages. And Figure A.31: “A Little Culture Lesson.”