Visual Studies

Camera phone images, videos and live streaming: a contemporary visual trend

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New Media Review

Camera phone images, videos and live streaming:
a contemporary visual trend
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Writing for a *new* media review is like writing history as events unfold. In a short time, this article will be out of date and perhaps no more than a few personal 2.0 snapshots taken of a slice of our lives *circa* 2009. Nevertheless, it is useful to draw a clear picture of how this medium is being used today, to define some of its emerging social properties, and to document and pay closer attention to its influence on our daily experiences and self-mediations. By self-mediations I refer to how each one of us decides his or her digital imprint: what we post online, whether they are videos, photographs, CVs, and the like. Due to the enormous quantity of content produced by users – now usually called prosumers – we should pay close attention to these doings.

My focus will be on how camera phones affect how news is created and shared, reminding us of how closely the concept of 'newsworthiness' is linked to immediacy. Then I will briefly compare the camera phone video experience to the cinematic experience and discuss how film narrative and conventions have affected camera use for better or for worse. Finally, I will pose some open questions that touch on the academic and social value of the camera phone images, and on how contextualising them remains a crucial ingredient in all analysis. I will conclude by considering the visual impact that this handheld object is having on our lives and relationships.

THE CAMERA PHONE VISUAL LANDSCAPE

A camera phone has numerous functions. We use it to make phone calls, to send text messages (SMS) and MMS (anon n.d.a), to take, store and to display photographs, to shoot videos, and to play music. We can use it to set agendas, as a watch, alarm clock, calculator and as a GPS device. It is increasingly used to read and compose email, to surf the web, to tweet[1] and in some places to pay bills. But one of the most outstanding applications of this mobile and ubiquitous object is the ability to take photographs and to record video. These two applications are changing how people take, show, share and comment on images. By using phones in different ways we are

redefining their place in society. The telephone is no longer just a communicative device to make or receive calls. It is quickly being transformed into a creative tool whose functions multiply daily. The new smart phones can recognise music that is playing, can read aloud texts for the visually impaired (Kirsner 2008), or can even become transformed into microscopes (Eisenberg 2009), as part of the so-called mHealth Revolution.

A critical observation of the web reveals that notions of intimacy, privacy and memory are evolving in tandem with emerging technologies. More specifically, these person–machine interactions reveal the transformation of important cultural notions, especially the boundaries between *the individual* and *the collective*, *private* and *public*, and *memory* and *experience*. The camera phone not only signals and helps the alteration of such notions, it also helps the alteration of personal memory in relation to the connection between lived experience and image creation. This blurring can then create a feeling of life as fiction, which I will address below.

It is my intention to explain how the capturing and sharing of these camera phone images is changing the communication landscape. Thanks to camera phones, we can share images of our lives more frequently and more quickly, sometimes even instantly: life streamed.

Nowadays, when we witness an unexpected event, chances are it will be our camera phone that we will use to document it. While the recording quality of contemporary camera phones is lower than that of most of the other digital imaging technologies available, it is improving every day. However, since we almost always carry our camera phones, we do not *really* care about this lack of quality. Some years ago, in 2003, Daisuke and Ito predicted that camera phones are 'changing the definition of what is picture-worthy'. If the camera phone image we take has an impact on the future, it will be not because of its quality, but because of its content.
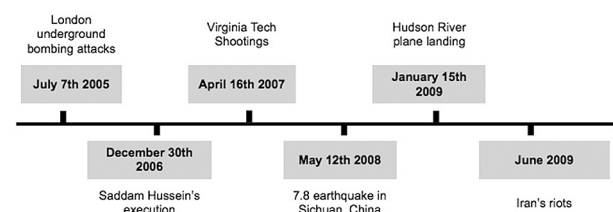

FIGURE 1.   Time line of the benchmark camera phone images that appeared in the news.

FIGURE 2.   Eliot Ward, 'London Underground bombing, trapped' (screenshot).
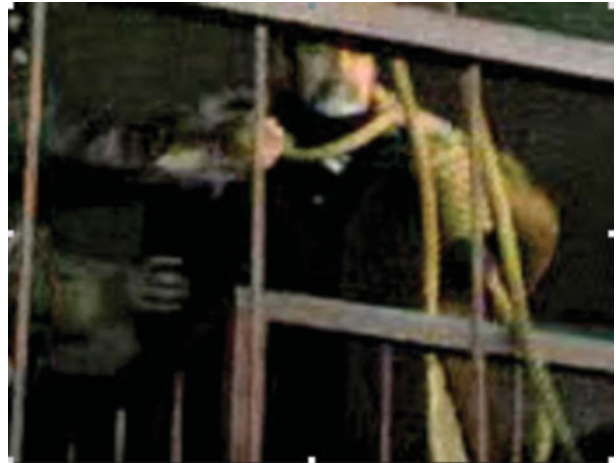

FIGURE 3.   Videograms of Saddam Hussein's execution.

FIGURE 4.   Jamal Albarghouti, 'Virginia Tech School shooting caught on camera phone' (videogram). Albarghouti 2007 is the most watched.

FIGURE 5.   Ericnestler, 'Amazing live video earthquake 7.9 hits in China' (videogram).

BLURRING/BREAKING (THE) NEWS: BETWEEN AMATEUR AND PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Some recent and unfortunate events have confirmed that a camera phone's pictures and videos can inform and expand and perhaps even mould breaking news. Their low graphical and sound quality is compensated for by their high emotional content and relevance.

Let us refresh our memory following a timeline between 2005 and 2009, with six of the most outstanding events recorded by camera phones worldwide (Figure 1).

The first case was the 7 July 2005 London bombings attacks (Figure 2). Due to the impossibility of camera people gaining access to the subway system, only camera phone stills from the bombed underground could be made available online, and this was done almost immediately (Ward 2005). Pictures in the mass media followed later.

The second outstanding case was Saddam Hussein's execution (Figure 3). An Iraqi official who happened to be present was suspected of having secretly recorded it with a cell phone, and then leaked the unauthorised video. He was then arrested amid controversy related to the dissemination of these images. The video was first broadcasted by the pan-Arab satellite channel Al-Jazeera and then posted on the Internet, prompting a worldwide outcry and protests from the Sunni minority in Iraq, who constituted Saddam Hussein's base of support. Mr Al-Faroon mentioned the presence of 'two government officials' who made the 'official record' of the hanging with the help of mobile phones. *The New York Times* reported that Mr Al-Faroon said in an interview that 'one of the two men he had seen holding up a camera phone, so as to record the video, was Mowaffak al-Rubaie'.[2]

FIGURE 6.   Janis Krums' Twitpic screenshot.

FIGURE 7.   PDN pulse screenshot detail. PDN pulse is a professional photography blog by the editors of photo district news, 15 January 2009, available online at: http://www.pdnpulse.com/2009/01/citizen-journalism-photo-lands-on-several-front-pages.html. Concerning the image copyright, it reads: 'Update: Krums's picture was distributed yesterday by the Associated Press. We wondered if they paid for it, so we asked Santiago Lyon, the AP's Director of Photography. He answers: "I can confirm we purchased the rights to the photo of the airliner in the water from Janis Krums, recognizing its newsworthiness and timeliness during an especially hectic afternoon and evening."'

In the Virginia Tech Shootings on 16 April 2007, several students used their camera phones to capture and relay footage of what was going on (Figure 4). Even if we can hardly understand what we see on this footage, we can hear the gunshots and perceive the seriousness of the moment.

In May 2008 a tremendous earthquake hit China (anon 2008; Sydell 2009), and many elementary schools collapsed, killing thousands of children. Hundreds of thousands of people used their mobile phones both to send SMS and to directly record what was happening in their immediate environs (Ericnestler 2008). For example, two university students took a camera phone video in their dorms while the 7.8 earthquake in Sichuan was happening, at exactly 2:30 p.m. on 12 May 2008 (Figure 5); this was life-streaming broadcasting. People communicated with mobile phones, which became a tool for survival.

On 16 January 2009, US Airways flight 1549 ditched in New York City's Hudson River. In a reflex act, Janis Krums, a passenger in a nearby ferryboat, posted a picture of the event using Twitpic (Figure 6).[3] Twitpic is a Twitter application that enables a person to post photographs directly to their own Twitter account. The volume of interest was such that

the Twitpic servers went down (Terdiman 2009) and many newspapers (printed and online papers) used this photograph on their front page (Figure 7).

A more recent, yet again very sad, example is the protesting and rioting that took place in Iran in June 2009, as a response to the re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as President of Iran. The Iranian regime's answer to these events was swift and brutal and revealed deep rifts within the governing class. Since SMS, MMS and Internet connections were forbidden, the Iranian people tried to skirt around the rules and mainly used Twitter to broadcast what was happening (Web Ecology Project 2009). During this period, we saw once and again that camera phones can have a dramatic impact on news gathering, especially during extraordinary events.

It is important to note that not only are these images being increasingly used by mainstream media in exceptional situations, but many people are using them for direct communication with their own social circles (Figures 10 and 11). In one of the many videos of the Tehran protests, for example, we even see a wounded man trying to pass his own mobile phone to one of the people in the crowd, perhaps to let others know his fate (Figure 8).[4]

FIGURE 8.   'Tehran protests – camera phone – man shot by police' (videogram).
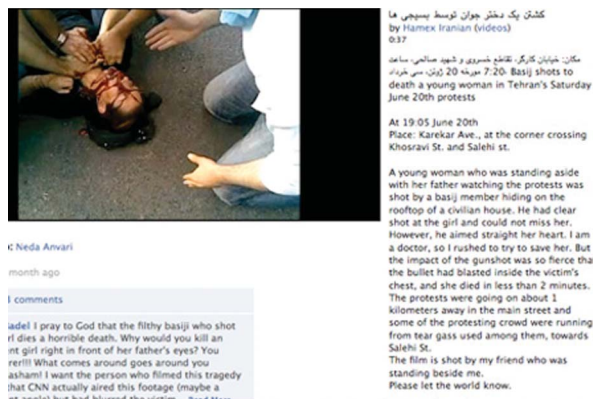

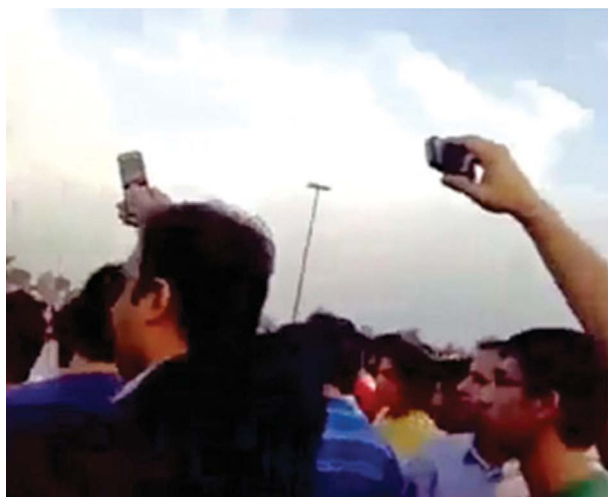FIGURE 9.   Screenshot detail taken from Hamex Iranian Facebook page.

FIGURE 10.   'Tehran protests – camera phone – man shot by police' (videogram).

FIGURE 11.   'Tehran protests – camera phone – man shot by police' (videogram).

During the Tehran demonstrations, the most memorable example of camera phone communication was the murder of Neda Agha Soltan, shown on a camera phone video that was streamed almost immediately and distributed worldwide. The video was first posted on the Hamex Iranian Facebook page (2009) (Figure 9). The author describes his experience of the event. He explains that, being a doctor, he tried to help, but that unfortunately 'the impact of the gunshot was so fierce that the bullet had blasted inside the victim's chest, and she died in less than 2 minutes. . . . The film is shot by my friend who was standing beside me.' He also wrote: 'This was my private page, during the Iranian Protest, It turned to a news portal, I try my own to publish true and correct news, images and movies, help me in This Matter [*sic*].'[5] These and other terrifying camera phone images relating to the same event found on the web were very moving, and the buzz and almost immediate flurries of reposts they created transformed Neda from an innocent victim into a martyr and finally, and perhaps unfortunately – in a very short time – into a web icon.

Mainstream media and journalists are not only aware of this growing torrent of images taken by 'normal people', but also incorporate them increasingly in their own reporting. New words have been coined for the authors of these images and reports: *snaparazzis* (Greenslade 2005; anon n.d.b) or *waparazzis*.[6] Camera phone contributors have been called 'citizen journalists' and 'participatory journalists' (Bowman and Willis 2003; Gillmor 2004). Gunthert (2009) notes that we should call them 'everybody photographer' instead of 'all journalists', since taking photographs does not transform the photographer into a journalist.

However, being in the 'right place at the right time' in order to take the photograph or camera phone video does not transform us into photographers or cameramen

either. It enables us to participate, as a way of being visually engaged with what is going on and being able to retransmit our own ways of seeing, points of view and feelings. Because, 'if someone witnesses an event and records it with a camera phone, even if these images do not have a professional resolution, they can probably have a closer and more immediate feel' (Weigwang 2009, 51). Anybody can provide them to the mass media easily, through a direct SMS or by posting them on the web, where the mass media is fishing constantly for breaking news. This way the wider citizenry, armed with mobile phones, are taking a much more interactive role in major news and events.

But '[t]his parallel activity does not change the general pattern of reception of the mainstream media' (Gunthert 2007). It only adds other source possibilities, other layouts to the stream of our visual input-output. 'However, it is altered when, in the absence of appropriate treatment media, the visual platforms are requested as a first source of information' (ibid). In the pyramid of amateur photography, those who take pictures with camera phones are the first rungs on the ladder (Cox, Clough, and Marlow 2008).[7]

Nevertheless, '[o]nly exceptional circumstances can transform a recreational media into an informational media. Such an event occurs in one of two ways. The first is a paroxysmal brief event, such as the London attacks and more recently the Virginia Tech massacre . . ., which have the effect of intensifying the demand for, and supply of, information by occupying all the available channels. The second case is precipitated by a deficit of information by the media, which results in a demand addressed primarily to alternative networks' (Gunthert 2007, 178). In other words, 'the search for complementary information indicates that there is either a lack of coverage or bias in the treatment by traditional medias' (ibid., 180), which suggests that we meet this need by producing our own images as a means to cope with a reality whose mediation by established sources is unsatisfactory.

What can these examples teach? First, that the abiding interest in camera phone images relies on the fact that the device is ubiquitous, and thus always 'on the spot'. Second, that uploading or sending them to someone is quite easy to do. Third, as in the case of the Air France Airbus tragedy,[8] sometimes there are no images and their very absence tells us how quickly the event transpired. Last, but not least, social media platforms play a key role in the circulation of the imagery of tragic events. It is in this fashion that objects or products that are a priori individual documents enter into the consciousness of the collective.

IMAGES AS THE CORE OF OUR MESSAGES

Camera phone photographs are sometimes uploaded and stored online (mostly on Facebook, Twitpic and Flickr).[9] Many others are just sent directly from one person to another, as an MMS, addressed from one camera phone to another. They are then much less available. In other cases they are just kept in one's own camera phone as a sort of personal/intimate album to be seen or displayed at any time, anywhere, to visualise what we are making a point about. For instance, when talking about somebody or something, there is no longer a need to have paper prints or physical picture albums at hand to show 'what a lovely outfit he/she was wearing', or to 'look at our new garden' and so on. Just by browsing through our camera phone we can quickly see and show the pertinent images to our interlocutor. So, whether illustrating some piece of information or – what is even more common – used for chat, or triggers for conversation starters, camera phone images enable us to build a conversation that is rooted in the visually concrete.

Apart from the fact of being able to receive and send images easily and quickly, I feel that the pictures taken by camera phones are not all that different from those taken by compact digital cameras. Special events, such as weddings and birthdays, are usually recorded by full-feature cameras – 'good' cameras – that possess higher image quality. It is obvious that due to their symbolic significance, those events require better-quality apparatus. Nevertheless, many people also record those special events with their camera phones too. The reason is simple. While a wedding will have one or two professional photographers, almost everybody else has a mobile phone and wants their own take on the event. In addition, even those in the wedding party, including the happy couple themselves, want their special personal pictures so that they can view them 'tonight' and not in two weeks' time when the professional comes back with a small set of pictures for sale.

Thus, if an event occurs unexpectedly, and if the only camera we have with us is a camera phone, which is more probable, we will now record it as naturally as we would have done with a camera in the past. That was the case in the above-mentioned breaking-news cases. Nora Mathys (2008) accurately describes the fact that 'photographic events' define activities regarded as worth being remembered, the primary reason being their private and personal resonance. These moments also include personal recollections of emotions and other people, and they will be captured with no intent to share them publicly. The low colour balance, idiosyncratic

themes, off-hand arrangement, inattention to tagging and the like merely emphasise that vernacular photographs and videos produced by camera phones gain worldwide popularity only if they record an event that has substantial interest for a wider public, and especially journalists.

Research done on public archives has sadly taught us that unless the images are linked to contextualising information, the memories they record will disappear with those who made and used the images (Mathys 2008). Images might also be 'lost' or 'forgotten' when the person changes or upgrades their phone model. What we do with our image depends on the exigencies of our lives, will, habits and values. But usually, apart from the multimedia information itself, the rest of the data we have available to draw on in interpreting others' images are very limited. Accordingly, the many issues that could profitably be raised by a potential treasure trove of images remain also very limited. Nevertheless, images can accrue meanings rapidly from many different parties when shown in (especially contested) public contexts.

SHOWING THE CORE

The main sites where you can share your mobile videos and for live streaming – apart from YouTube (the most well-known platform for video compilation and dissemination) – include Ustream.tv, Seesmic.com, qik.com, flixwagon.com, thisMoment.com and kyte.tv. Thus, with only a few clicks, your camera phone videos can be online. Sometimes, these videos get reproduced in many different forms as 'remixes' or spoofs, and might end up just about anywhere (Wesch 2008, 2009), acquiring along the way quite unexpected, and perhaps discomfiting, meanings. Their volatile circulation is facilitated and empowered by the fact that: (a) they are low-fi images; (b) the files are not heavy; (c) they are usually short; and (d) they have embedding logic. How rapidly they can spread is probably the most important aspect of today's images. It is in these terms that media interest is so much related to the immediacy of the images.

Each platform has differences not only in layout, but also in how things are visualised and shared. For example, Flickr encourages comments; YouTube favours remixes; Qik favours spontaneous and on-the-move mobile transfers; and Seesmic encourages discussion.

Why are users motivated to post their camera phone videos online? There are some outstanding reasons. Online stocking frees space on our phone card or

computer memory. It also works as a backup, as an online archive. It is also a place to show and share them with our friends and/or families. But one of the main reasons why people upload more and more videos is simply because it is getting easier to do. The new phone models already come with user-friendly integrated applications to facilitate the task. There are also less visible purposes to which this camera phone image-taking is being put that also affect the normative order. For example, if we show-share our visuals we believe they have a value, and may in this way believe that we are making a contribution to shaping the wider culture's system of values.

Not too long ago books were supreme; images were there mainly to illustrate the text. Then, when television appeared, images picked up more weight and began to fascinate – quite literally – audiences. However, the verbal – the voice – still had a marked supremacy. Now, if anything, communication has become much more visual. One of my hypotheses is that when we either send an image to someone in particular (from phone to phone) or upload a camera phone image to the web, it is the images themselves that are the core of our message. Because images by their immediacy so easily establish their own validity, justification and reason for being, the text that surrounds them is most often reduced to illustrating the message, and is therefore experienced as something that is trying to explain the non-explicable, and which, if we continue to explain it, will lose all its freshness and meaning. Conceptualising text as a way of illustrating an image might, at best, be seen as a paradox or, at worse, as an oxymoron. Nevertheless, it is quite an accurate way of rendering what is going on. It is true that we usually use images to illustrate our discourses. But when we visit any camera phone online sharing site, the feeling we have is that texts are tags, in the proper sense of the term, designed to provide a frame to make our images all the more vivid. For example, at Qik, one of the camera phone video-sharing platforms, we find very few texts accompanying the postings. Its indexing of the images is basic and comments are almost nonexistent. Comments might be posted elsewhere, or perhaps they are simply not that important. They might even be done orally, while viewing the images with someone else. Here the main message we want to get across is the image, with all its open and, of course, easily misunderstood meanings.

The screenshot in Figure 12 is a simple example that is representative of practices at Qik: its title is the main context information about the shooting moment that we have; and that is it – no comments, no other tag, no

keywords. It is as if the image is self-explanatory. It seems like an odd practice, because the success of Flickr has demonstrated that tagging makes our images searchable and findable, and not indexing them seems awkward and counterproductive. Tags, indexation and all the related original contextualisation would help us grasp and retransmit these mobile and very ephemeral images.

Many of the emerging personalities or well-known Qikkers (hot Qikkers) at Qik are digital freelance journalists. Why? Because some of these avant-garde journalists have come to understand that news coverage can also be live cast with a simple camera phone. In many situations, not having a huge camera can be a real advantage not only because they are unobtrusive but above all because the lack of a professional look to their low-quality digital or camera phone images lends a tone of verisimilitude to the images. Also, not having a huge camera makes us lighter in weight and gives and facilitates more mobility; but above all, we do not upset those who are being filmed.

The general public finds testimony (photograph or video) from a direct witness, or an event in real time, to be more credible than those coming from the various mass media. This has much to do with the long-term decline in the media's believability.[10] In addition, the fact that the media no longer has a monopoly on recording equipment is important. Often, the low-quality amateur aesthetic is perceived as being more real than edited images of high production value. Nevertheless, just witnessing and disclosing immediate events does not always make the images we see more accurate or credible. Non- or semi-professional witnesses are not unlike newspapers, TV channels or radios in filtering or slanting information. Whatever the camera frames is smaller and a sided view when compared with the situation we are experiencing and trying to record.

CAMERA PHONE VIDEOS ARE JUST LIKE FEATURES

The images from camera phones are not only partial and incomplete, but are experienced as such by their viewers, who always want to see more. They are inherently suspenseful and thus are very much like feature films. It is as if we were seeing trailers, or partial previews, except that in these cases they are about real life. Usually, the camera phone videos' short length tends to construct narration through a series of images. The logic of their arrangement varies from site to site. For example, Figure 13, which is representative of images on Qik, is structured in a way where each video is part of
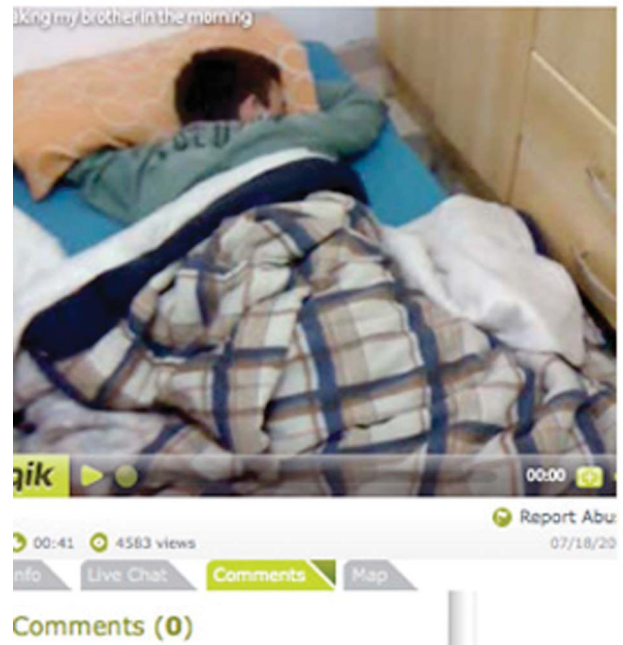

FIGURE 12. Clash (Julio Souto), 'waking my brother in the morning, videogram', July 2009. See Clash 2009.

a real-time flow from the site's home page to personal pages chronologically, as a sequence of personal videos time-lined through their first videogram (from the newest to the oldest).

On Flixwagon, in contrast, the concept is structured more thematically (Figure 14). The categories/taxonomies provided are: my life, my movies, news, events, sports, travel, entertainment, music and shopping.

On thisMoment, the organising concept is based on 'moments' (Figure 15). Users are invited to create or join an existing moment. By doing so, videos of the same moment/event will get assembled and people will be able to see other people's videos related to that 'moment'. This logic contributes to a more collective construction.

In all of these cases, it is through the series – by the addition of new videos – that expectation of a more visual narrative is fostered. However, due to the fact that these sites are not strongly linked to the top-ranking social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, they remain similar in some ways to a photo club, in the sense of being something close and not yet really widely spread.

Repositories of digital pocket videos often tell stories that feel like old spaghetti western films. Most of the home camera phone videos lack dramatic action. While the spectator just wants to see what will happen next, the
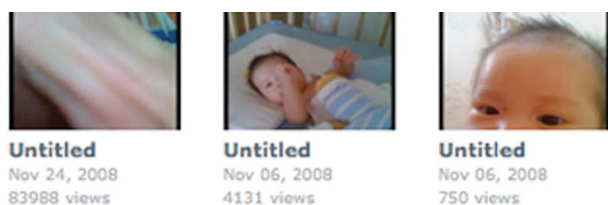
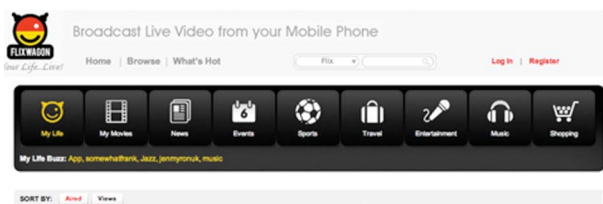FIGURE 13.   Screenshot from one of Qik's users. Detail.

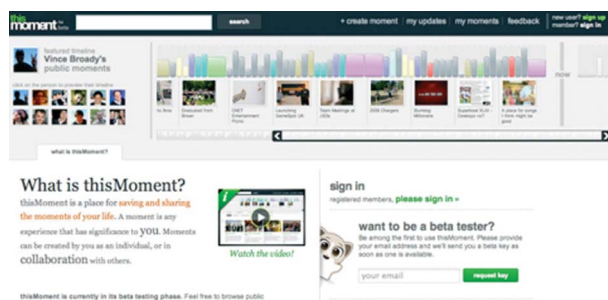FIGURE 14.   Flixwagon homepage screenshot detail, February 2009.

FIGURE 15.   thisMoment screenshot, February 2009.

takes are long and the desert dry. Camera phones are an appurtenance of everyday life, which we rarely storyboard. The images so produced, therefore, tend to be spontaneous, at least in their content. So, apart from those specific moments which may later become breaking news, camera phone images are not particularly rich storehouses of information for their audience of viewers whose interest, at best, is most often idle. The images undoubtedly have more information and/or importance for the image-maker and for those intimates who understand his/her references and codes.

Since there is no material support (apart from the device itself – for example, there are no paper prints), it is the screen that brings things together and enables us to see. Camera phone videos are a kind of cinema: a real-life cinema, which takes people from their everyday existence into a perception of being in the middle of an unfolding sequence of events, however tedious they may be.

As cinematic as the experience of entering another's digital imagery may be, there are some important differences. The big screen and the darkness of cinema bewitch. The cinema is generally experienced collectively, whereas camera phone videos are viewed in more intimate, personal settings, usually on computers and/or on camera phones. Usually we watch the live-streaming sites alone, and we know the action is actually happening, we know it is not *a film*, that it is rather *reality being filmed*; it just seems like a film. 'Probably,' say Lipovetsky and Serroy (2007, 25), 'it is [now] when film is no longer the dominant media that, paradoxically, it triumphs in setting imaginary cultural needs . . . The animating spirit of cinema is what feeds, nourishes the other screens . . .'. 'The more film is rivaled, or even surpassed, by the Internet, television, video games and sports shows, the more its essential esthetics phagocytes those many areas where that culture is screened. . . . Today, the spirit of cinema by creating the visual spectacle and the cult of celebrity through the star system becomes the template for all expressions outside itself' (ibid.).

CONCLUSION: THE CAMERA PHONE IS ONE OF OUR LIFESTYLE'S CENTRAL DEVICES

Generally speaking, camera phones have become widely popular. Most people have a mobile phone – people of all ages and even middle- and lower-income groups. However, camera phones have yet to be given the attention they deserve by researchers and, more specifically, by visual researchers. For example, if one compares research done on, or involving, camera phone videos with research done with/on Flickr, YouTube and/or Facebook, it is striking how little has been done on the former, which is an enormously important global phenomenon.[11]

There are many questions that need to be explored further. As Kindberg et al. (2005) state: 'A camera phone's value might not lie in sending images but in using the captured images for other activities.' Thus, apart from the difficulties of interpreting images with minimal contextualising information, there are the daunting challenges of discovering the uses to which the images are put, especially when they involve different media, such as television, newspapers, websites and social networking sites. Devising methods for showing what happens to digital phone photographs in their various contexts of production, dissemination and consumption will be paramount. Only then will we have the kinds of information we need to make judgements about the impact that this new technology may be having on our lives and relationships.

In all cases but the Hudson River landing and the Chinese earthquake, which were unforeseen events, all

the examples mentioned above were events that were supposed to remain hidden, sometimes censored. Thus, camera phone videos also enable us to see that which was often intended to remain veiled or hidden.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] Twitter is a microblogging site. Its newsfeed appears in real time. Once you log in, you can post anything up to 140 characters. Many people use it in order to share links or breaking news, or to reproduce again and again the web's latest ongoing topics.

[2] Marrakesh portail marocain d'actualités, 'Vidéo de l'exécution de Saddam Hussein: un suspect arrêté' [Marrakesh is a Moroccan news website, 'Saddam Hussein's execution video, a suspect arrested'], 3 January 2007. http://www.emarrakech.info/Video-de-l-execution-de-Saddam-Hussein-un-suspect-arrete_a10539.html.

[3] Janis Krums' footnote reads: 'There's a plane in the Hudson. I'm on the ferry going to pick up the people. Crazy.' 600 x 800 pixels, 15 January 2009. http://twitpic.com/135xa.

[4] Nobodyimportant10002, Tehran protests: camera phone - man shot by police (2 minutes 19 seconds), 20 June 2009. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1imoqIq3zo.

[5] Hamex Iranian Facebook Page 2009, http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=89928823259#/hamedfrt?v=wall&viewas=575313883.

[6] Waparazzi: 'A new term for amateur photographers at major events was coined in February 2006 by Orange' (*MediaGuardian* 2006).

[7] I would like to thank André Gunthert for providing me with this article.

[8] On 1 June 2009, Air France flight 447, carrying 228 people flying from Rio de Janeiro to Paris, was scheduled to arrive in Paris, but disappeared about 186 miles northeast of the coastal Brazilian city of Natal.

[9] A proof of this fact might be that on Flickr the iPhone was, for 2008, one of the most used cameras. See Ashley 2008.

[10] For example, the US-based General Social Survey (GSS) reveals that between 1973 and 2008, the number of people who expressed a 'great deal' of confidence in the press in general declined from 23% to 9%, while those who reported 'hardly any' increased from 15% to 45%. The corresponding figures for television were 18% to 9%, and 22% to 38%, respectively. Source: http://sda.berkeley.edu/archive.htm.

[11] A notable exception is Richard Chalfen's article 'It's only a picture' (Chalfen 2009).

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